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K.K.Venugopal

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A

# GENERAL COLLECTION

OF

# VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

## *A S I A.*

## EXTRACTS

FROM

## THE TRAVELS OF PIETRO DELLE VALLE, *IN PERSIA.*

### THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

I HAD flattered myſelf that Mr. Schipano, a very learned man, and my particular friend, would have taken the trouble of adjuſting the collection of letters he had received from me at different places, in which I gave him a ſketch of the particulars of my travels; he having promiſed to digeſt my crude accounts into a connected and hiſtorical ſhape, ſo as to form a perfect book of them. Had he had leiſure to dilate on them as they required, and put them in regular order, they would have afforded a much more finiſhed production, in point of elegance and inſtruction, than from under my hands.

That this did not take place, I impute rather to the numerous occupations of my friend than any coolneſs towards me; and poſſibly the exceſſive abundance of matter with which my long letters were ſurcharged, tended to prevent his reduction of them into any proportionate body. On myſelf, therefore, has devolved the care of hindering my extenſive travels from going without the reward more honourable than intereſted, of meeting the public eye, and of preventing the world itſelf from being deprived of the profit and pleaſure deducible from them.

The mere recital made by me publicly in the Academy of Humoriſts at Rome, ſhortly after my return from the Levant, was inſufficient to ſatisfy either myſelf or thoſe who

read it; ſeeing that however juſt my deſcription of the matter I detailed, I could in a diſcourſe of no more than a few hours, but ſlightly and imperfectly expatiate on the ſubſtance. Much have I deſired to ſee theſe relations in a more perfect form, and more regularly diſpoſed in reſpect to the various matter, that they might ſo be better adapted to the inſtruction of the ſtudious; this, however, to me would have been a labour as tedious as difficult, on which account, to ſave toil, as adviſed by my friends, I have reſolved on preſenting them to the public in the ſame ſhape of epiſtolary detail in which they were communicated to Mr. Schipano at Naples; and, notwithſtanding I had neither the patience or inclination on the ſpots whence I wrote to take copies of them, I have had the good fortune of finding the whole of my letters complete, not one having been loſt that I had addreſſed to my friend, who had favoured a number of perſons of honour with copies of them, both at Naples and Rome, ſolicitous of them after hearing them read as amuſing and gratifying to curioſity.

Either I am deceived, or they are now given much ameliorated and more correct than in the original, as I have been ſtudious of amending every fault of language or orthography with which they were replete; of retrenching in many places light and frivolous circumſtances relative individually to myſelf, which I had candidly and frankly related to a confidential friend, but without intention of publiſhing to the world.

In lieu of theſe frivolities retrenched I have ſubſtituted matter eſſential to the ſubjects, either omitted in hurry or ſuperficially treated, with intention of amplifying upon them at leiſure on ſome future occaſion. My friends have generally conceived, in uniſon with me, that this form of letters is beſt calculated to pleaſe the reader, as much from its novelty (the familiar ſtyle being rather unuſual for hiſtorical matter) as from the frankneſs and candour natural to the character of epiſtles ingenuouſly conceived and void of deceit. In them will be diſcerned that naked and ſimple truth, which in writing I have ever been anxious to diſplay.

Of this deſcription do I preſent them to the reader; and ſhould they prove acceptable, my gratification will not be trifling; yet if the reverſe be the caſe, he will poſſibly excuſe the weakneſs of an author who has done his beſt. If not wholly ungracious, he will have ſome reſpect for my intention of ſtudying as much as poſſible to attain perfection. I have further to add, that in compoſing theſe letters I have not ſought a pure, choice, and elegant Tuſcan ſtyle, ſuch as might ſerve as a model for other writers, or an authority to be conſulted as a ſpecimen of the manner of the moſt excellent orators and hiſtorians; on the contrary, I have compoſed them in my paternal tongue, the Roman, and the ordinary dialect, without the affectation of piquing myſelf on the delicacy of the ſtyle, conceiving I effect enough in giving them that polite and ingenuous turn which is ſought in familiar correſpondence. If, however, the terms and ſtyle ſhould fail to pleaſe my reader; if he ſhould fail of diſcovering that depth of erudition he may require, let him reflect that my condition of life, my profeſſion exact of me as a duty to be more delicate of doing well than of relating things with nicety. And in caſe I ſhould be ſo unfortunate as to produce in theſe letters nothing which may accord with his fancy, let him conſider at leaſt, that in writing them I had no object of framing a ſource of entertainment for him, but merely of gratifying by their peruſal, a friend who would receive them with delight. Now, therefore, on preſenting them to the public, it is not to one particular place alone, not to the preſent generation that I give them, but to all the world, and to ſucceſſive ages: ſo that if any thing ſhould be diſtaſteful according to the judgment of the public in one quarter, let it in compaſſion reflect, that in other countries it may be graciouſly received by other perſons, and in other times.

I claim excuſe rather than condemnation for having ſtudied to ſatisfy the taſte of different parties, not only in the preſent but in future ages, for not having confined myſelf to one corner of the globe, ſuch as Naples or Italy, and for being deſirous of ſhewing myſelf to the world, the chief parts of which, by my long travels, have become ſufficiently familiar to me to juſtify my aſſumption of the title of a citizen of the world, as ſuch to its various nations I wiſh my life and actions to be known.

## LETTER I.

*Conſtantinople, 23d Aug.* 1614.

I DO not merely imagine, I feel certain, that it will gratify you to hear from me at this place, and ſee me fulfil with pleaſure what I conſider a duty — imparting a deſcription of my voyage. I ſhall not repeat the account of my journey from Rome to Naples, and ſhipment thence to Venice, but proceed to tell you, that on the 8th of June I departed early in the morning from Malamoco, in the Grand Dauphin, a Venetian galleon, mounting forty-five guns, and well provided.

On board we had, among five hundred perſons, a ſtrange medley, both male and female, conſiſting of ſoldiers, ſailors, merchants and travellers, of various religions; Catholics, heretics of different ſects, Greeks, Armenians, Turks, Perſians, Jews, Italians of different provinces, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Portugueze, Engliſh, Germans, Flemings and others. The ſingularity of the aſſemblage would have made it more agreeable, had it not been for the inconvenience ariſing from ſo great a number compreſſed in ſuch little ſpace.

*An infectious diſorder was the reſult*, and of twenty or thirty which were daily afflicted, Death failed not of his tythe. Among the number taken off were two travellers of diſtinction; fortunately neither my ſervants or myſelf had occaſion for the remedies of the miſerable barber-ſurgeon on board; a man whoſe appearance was ſo little prepoſſeſſing, that I ſhould have been loth to have ſuffered him to feel my pulſe even in perfect health, leſt I ſhould receive a diſtemper. Before we could hoiſt ſails, in order to clear ſeveral ſhoals, we were towed for an hour by twenty-three barks of eight oars, as large as feluccas, each commanded by a good-looking man, lightly clad, with ſo much ſkill and ſuch cheerful and accordant notes, as much delighted me.

At length the ſails were ſet, the ſea perfectly calm, but the wind ſo adverſe as to oblige us to traverſe frequently the whole breadth of the Adriatic; ſo often indeed, that we paſſed backwards and forwards from the ſhores of Italy to thoſe of Sclavonia, at leaſt five-and-twenty times, ere we reached the narrow mouth of this ſea, coaſting occaſionally on either ſide. I tenderly ſaluted, in paſſing the ſhores of the kingdom of Naples, mindful of the friends it contained. When clear of the gulph, we got on with more eaſe, having wider ſea-room, the wind yet continuing adverſe.

On loſing ſight of Italy, the firſt land we diſcovered was the mountains of Chimæra, anciently called Ciraunian.

Unde iter Italiam, curſus breviſſimus undis. Æn. lib. iii. 507.

We laid for ſeveral hours at the foot of theſe mountains, which, from my affection for the poet who deſcribes them, I regarded with delight; thence we coaſted the ſhores of Epirus, where I noticed before we arrived at Corfu, the port of Chaonia and the town

of Butrinto, which ſtill retains the very ancient name, a little disfigured by the corruption of language. The ſight of it brought to my memory the tears and lamentations of Andromache, and the honors paid by her to the manes of her huſband:

Ante urbem, in luco, falſi Simoentis ad undam. ÆN. lib. iii. 302.

I ſaw this river, and viewed with pleaſure thoſe ſpots, anciently the abode of the allies of the Trojans. While gratified with the imagery which the ſcene before me raiſed in my mind, our veſſel arrived at the port of Corfu; about which the Venetians, on rocks which frown defiance, have conſtructed ſome very ſtrong fortreſſes.

We entered the port on the eve of the feſtival of St. John, a day of great rejoicing at Naples, but different then with us; a furious wind ariſing juſt after our entering the port, which drove us from our anchors, and but for the ſkill of the mariners, would have thrown us on the breakers; they ſaved us, but the ſea all day continued to run ſo high, that I was unable to go on ſhore till the next. Then I had an opportunity of viſiting the town, which is ſmall, and has little to recommend it; the country about it, however, is beautiful.

We remained here four days, on each of which I went on ſhore to obſerve whatever was curious, treated always with much kindneſs by Signior Fabio Aronio, an officer there, and a countryman of ours, ſleeping at night on board. The only thing I found remarkable was the fortreſs, defended by nature more than art, and impregnable. Here the body of St. Spiridim is preſerved ſo perfectly, that although he lived in the time of the firſt council, his fleſh appears yet lively and freſh, that of his leg when touched, riſing again from the preſſure. Here alſo lives a man reputedly of the race of Judas; whether this be true or falſe (it is denied by himſelf) I know not; I however, remember a ſervant of ours who had reſided at Corfu, affirming that ſome of his race ſtill exiſted there, and that a houſe was pointed out as one which he inhabited.

Corfu was an unlucky port for us; juſt after raiſing anchor we were encountered by a hurricane, and dropping a ſail, ſeveral ſailors were injured; upon this occaſion we again ran great riſk of being driven on ſhore, but were reſcued by the people of a galley who ſaw our danger; and, on the ſame day, from the negligence of a Jeweſs, part of the rigging caught fire; our people were prompt at extinguiſhing it, or we might, in midſt of water have been a prey to the flames. Hence we proceeded towards Zante the more pleaſantly, from our having landed one hundred and fifty ſoldiers at Corfu, together with ſeveral merchants, which left us more room. On this courſe I ſaw the Venetian cruizers, the ſpot on which a great naval battle had been fought, and had opportunity of noticing Leucate, Nerito, Samos, the rocks of Ithaca, and the two Cephaloniæ, called by Virgil the Laertian kingdom; I did not however ſee Dulichium, which with Samos, poſſibly formed a part of its domains; neither did I meet with elucidation on the ſubject of that Apollo, dreaded by mariners.

At one after midnight we anchored in the port of Zante; where I landed early in the morning. Zante no longer deſerves the title of the woody. The iſland poſſeſſes no more any foreſts; its ſoil is unrequiting and barren, and the town of a ſimilar name is rather long, forms a kind of amphitheatre towards the ſea, and is commanded by high hills at the back, much reſembling thoſe which ſurround Meſſina; its buildings however, like thoſe of Corfu, bear more ſimilitude to huts than houſes; I did not go to examine the fortreſs, it being ſituated at a great elevation, and poſſeſſing nothing to recom-

* —— In ſhades, beſide no real Simois's waves
Fronting the town.

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mend it to notice. Seventeen Venetian gallies weighed anchor before us; and here we received news of the Turkiſh fleet laying at Navarin in the neighbourhood, and that the Neapolitan gallies had ſhortly before left that port.

From Zante, where we remained four days, we bent our courſe to Scio, where we arrived by ſix in the evening. On the way, the firſt object I ſaw was the Strophades, no more the habitation of the harpies, but of forty or fifty monks, called Caloyers, who profeſs the Greek faith, and live an innocent and happy life, ſequeſtered from the world. Their monaſtery built in the largeſt of the iſlets, of which I only ſaw the exterior, is handſome; and wears the appearance of a ſtrong citadel to intimidate pirates. Theſe good monks are benignant and kind to an extreme, making a practice of ſending out a boat with proviſions to every veſſel that paſſes. To us they brought out vegetables and fruit which we thought the more delicious from the engaging and affectionate manner in which they were tendered. According to them, theſe iſlands are very fertile, and repay abundantly the diligence and care uſed in their cultivation, yielding every delicacy peculiar to the climate. They informed me alſo, that they have an excellent cool ſpring, which with certainty they have aſcertained proceeds under the bed of the ſea from the Morea, not ſixty miles diſtant, articles being thrown up by it which could come from no other quarter. On taking leave, we preſented them ſome tokens of our gratitude; and quitting the Strophades on our right, we purſued our courſe towards the Morea, coaſting that part of it inhabited by a fierce and warlike nation, called now the Magorates. This is a free people, notwithſtanding it be partially ſubject to the Turks, and is frequently at war with them; retaining much of the ſpirit of its ancient inhabitants. I remarked in this country the ſites of many of its ancient cities. Sparta, which is now but an inſignificant little town; Argos, and Mycene, which ſtill exiſt, but greatly diminiſhed of their former ſplendor; and the iſland Cytherea, or Cerigo, conſecrated to Venus, and celebrated in the numerous fables related of that goddeſs. We paſſed through the narrow channel which ſeparates this iſland from the continent, and being obliged to traverſe frequently, owing to contrary wind, it afforded me the means of obſerving a number of iſlands and curious places, ſuch as Milo, Antimilo, Falconera, ſo called from the number of falcons with which it abounds, Perrapello, Maurocaravi, Hydra, ſo denominated from ſeven large rocks which ſurround it, St. Giorgio del'albero, Egine, Zia, Andro, and farther beyond theſe, Thino, Micone, and Delos, ſacred to Apollo. On the left, on *terra firma*, after paſſing the gulp of Corinth, at the extremity of which is ſituated Parnaſſus, we left Napoli di Romagna, and the illuſtrious city of Athens, which I beheld at a diſtance from the deck; and thirty miles farther the Cape of Columns, ſo named from a famous building ſuſtained by a number of pillars, poſſibly a veſtige of Athenian architecture, and from its neighbourhood, preſumptively within the dominions of Athens, but which the common people attribute to Alexander.

Still farther on we coaſted along the iſland of Negropont, ſeparated from the continent by a ſpace of no greater length than a bridge; and laſtly, that of Scio, near which, notwithſtanding we were cloſe upon it, we were obliged to remain three days before we could make the port, on account of the unſteadineſs of the wind, which conſtantly veered, and drove us to different parts of the channel which ſeparate it from the continent of Natolia; at length, we caſt anchor in a ſheltered ſituation, but eighteen miles from the town of the ſame name.

While there, Signior Vincent Juſtinian, learning that I was on board, came with horſes and boats, accompanied by Signior Bernard Grimaldi, to take me to his houſe. Accordingly, on the 18th of July I landed with them on this iſland, deſervedly called the

the delight of the Archipelago, and garden of Greece, as from our landing at a conſiderable diſtance from the town I had full room to obſerve. We travelled during the whole day through fields producing the maſtic-tree, about which the country people had already cleared the ground for gathering the gum, and in ſome places had begun making inciſions in the bark for it to exude. This tree is the common lentiſk. It is worthy of remark, that one half of the iſland, that on which this tree grows, is ſtony and almoſt barren; and the other half whereon there are no trees of this deſcription, is amazingly productive, yielding delicious grapes, trees which afford excellent ſhade, and abounding altogether in charms. One diſtrict in particular excels in beauty the whole; this furniſhes a wine of exquiſite flavour, called Homer's wine, from the ſpot of its growth being deemed either the birth, or burial-place of that poet.

We journied along at our leiſure, in order the better to notice different ſpots extremely well populated; and in the evening ſlept at a very handſome farm-houſe, called a tour, poſſibly the beſt in the iſland. It belongs to the Sultaneſs-mother, but is hired of her by Signior Juſtinian, whoſe ſon entertained us hoſpitably through the night. In the morning we departed for the town, croſſing the plain, about three or four miles in extent, and covered with ſimilar farms, and a number of the moſt delightful gardens. I learnt that the inhabitants built theſe houſes as places of refuge from the plague. We entered the town by noon. I took up my abode with M. Dupuy, the French conſul, who expected me, and wiſhed to keep me conſtantly in his houſe to avoid the danger I might incur from ſome new edicts, which prohibited any foreigner not belonging to a nation in alliance with the Porte, either entering or travelling in the countries dependent on the Grand Signor. Mindleſs of theſe, however, of which I was well aware before I left Italy, I perſiſted in my deſign of travelling, truſting to good management for ſurmounting every danger and difficulty.

I reſided nine or ten days at Scio much gratified. The town is large and handſome, that, however, on account of its charming poſition rather than its buildings. I ſpeak of the ſuburbs, where all the Chriſtians at preſent reſide, none being permitted even to enter the caſtle, which is that which, previous to its adoption for a fortreſs, was the town; the Turks living in continual miſtruſt, ſince the period that the Tuſcan gallies attempted to take it by ſurprize. The population of the citadel and ſuburbs amounts to from twenty to twenty-five thouſand ſouls. The fortreſs is peopled and guarded by native Turks alone. It is reported to be much more elegant, as well in its ſtreets as buildings, than the lower town. The iſland is reputed ninety miles in circumference. Though this country be ſubject to the Infidels, as much tranquillity and freedom exiſt here as in any place whatſoever; the inhabitants ſpending their time in ſinging, dancing, and gallanting the ladies, not only during the day but through the night, as well in the ſtreets till four or five o'clock in the morning; in ſhort, I paſſed my time here ſo gaily, that had I remained longer I ſhould have killed myſelf with exceſs of pleaſure.

Juſtly does Belon deſcribe the inhabitants of Scio as courteous and obliging; it is impoſſible to ſpeak too highly of them. Through my friends, and the knowledge I had of their language, I made numerous acquaintance, and had as much familiarity with the ladies as I could deſire: they are not only handſome but graceful, although their dreſs was not to my fancy. It conſiſts for the head-dreſs of a ſort of cap, taſtefully worked with green, blue, and red ſilk intermixed, which covers the chief part of their hair, and moſt of their forehead, in a manner certainly deſtructive of the gracefulneſs of the countenance, and their boddice is ſo ſhort that the waiſt is not where nature has marked it, but much higher, ſcarcely below their boſom, and going under the ſhoulders, which much diſguiſes the elegance of their ſhape. Their lightneſs and agility, however, are conſpi-

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cuous enough, not only in their walking but in dancing, in which they make very pleasing steps. Their shoes are pretty, and fancifully made of velvet.

While thus amused, our vessel came round to port. Looking out one evening I saw she was making ready for sail, and that it was requisite for me to hurry on board, which I did, angry with the pilot for depriving me so soon of so much entertainment, in exchange for exposure to the mercy of the waves and contrary winds, which prevailed for a week, in such a degree as to occasion much difficulty in making any good port. During all this time I only saw the island of Egnusi, where we interred one of our crew who died. Continuing our course, we left Lesbos on the right, and Lemnos and Imbros on the left, with Mount Athos, called likewise the holy mountain, in the distance. At length, on Sunday, 3d August, early in the morning we anchored under the island of Tenedos, but far from the city, at the mouth of the channel which separates it from the continent, near to Troy. Finding myself so nigh this famous spot I felt pity powerfully awakened in me, and dispatched my faithful servant Thomas to provide a boat to carry me on shore, that I might see the ruins of that famous Troy,

genus unde Latinum,
Albanique patres, atque altae mœnia Romæ *. Æn. lib. i. 10.

After my man had departed, our large vessel was enabled to get nearer to the place; and the next day I embarked in the forenoon on board an eight-oared boat, steered by a Turk, with a crew of Greeks, together with Thomas and Lawrence, two servants I brought with me from Italy. I then took my leave of my companions on board the galleon, for company's sake taking with me three Caloyers my friends, a Franciscan monk of Constantinople, and a French merchant, with his servant, each desirous as well as myself of beholding the remains of the much celebrated Troy. I had the precaution, however, to leave on board the good Tumisk, hermit Brother André, to take care of my baggage to Constantinople. He had already travelled several times to Jerusalem, and intending to go thither again was presented to me by Cardinal Crescentio at Priesi, in whose diocese he dwelt, as one who might be useful to me as a faithful and expert companion on my voyage. We reached the shore in less than an hour, which I kissed with reverence and affection, mindful of our ancestors who came thence, and collected some small pieces of these ancient ruins, which I still preserve. I traversed the country with pleasure, and found objects worthy of remark in greater abundance than I suspected, from the number of modern works constructed on the ruins of the old.

Ardently curious as I was, I slighted the caution given me by those who talked of the assemblage of banditti in these unfrequented spots, and travelled for a couple of leagues in hopes of meeting with somewhat curious. Troy from my observations was built on the sea-shore opposite to Tenedos, precisely as described by Virgil, between two capes, the one now called Cape St. Mary, the other nearer to Constantinople, the Cape of the Janissaries, which was formerly the port of Sigæum. These capes form the extremity of the country, called after its ancient name, the Troade. Some miles from it Mount Ida serves as a kind of *epaulement* to the town, and is visible from sea; I recognized it without difficulty at dawn by the words of the poet,

Jamque jugis summæ surgebat Lucifer Idæ
Ducebatque diem †.

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* —— Whence rose our Latin race
Albanian fires, and Rome's high towering walls.

† And now o'er Ida's summit, Lucifer
Rising lead on the morn.

The

The country about Troy to the mountains is full of gently ſloping eminences of no height; it is not barren, but abounds in herbs and flowers, particularly wild thyme; that it produces nothing elſe, I am ſatisfied is owing alone to want of culture. No freſh water is to be found for nearly a league from the town, for as to the rivers Hanthus and Simois, I could not diſcover them near any of the inhabited ſpots; their beds are moſt likely a league diſtant, as I ſhall hereafter notice. A little beyond Ida, about two days journey off, is another mountain, called by Belon the Olympus of Phrygia; it did not, however, appear to me as repreſented by him, ſo high as Mount Cenis; I might, however, be deceived by the diſtance.

I diſcovered a mole of ancient conſtruction on the ſea-ſhore, diſtinguiſhed as ſuch by the pillars round which the cables were faſtened to hold ſhips; theſe pillars, which are of marble, owing to the corroſive nature of the ſea air and the lapſe of time, have entirely loſt their poliſh. This mole ſerved formerly as a rampart to ſome port or dock, at preſent nearly filled with ſands; in it a little ſalt water ſtill lodges and forms a kind of marſh leaving a froth on the circumjacent borders, of which ſalt is made. I found likewiſe ſeveral traces of columns, of dimenſions not inferior to thoſe of the Rotunda at Rome. Near were two columns thrown down, one of them broken was thirty of my feet in length. In different other places I diſcovered columns laying on the ground, with large pieces of marble of different ſorts, and handſome marble tombs, the blocks ſix inches in thickneſs, poſſibly the reſting places of the brave warriors who died in defence of Troy. I ſaw likewiſe an aqueduct large enough to allow of a man walking erect. This I judged to be rather a ſewer than a conduit for pure water, it being pretty deep in the ground, and ſtretching towards the ſea, level with the waves. I noticed another alſo of ſimilar ſtructure, but of greater ſize, being large enough to allow of a coach being driven in it, and when I entered its mouth I took it for a bridge; it was, however, neither a bridge nor an aqueduct; it is ſtated to project conſiderably in land, and may poſſibly be that ſubterraneous paſſage by which Andromache paſſed, deſcribed lib. ii. 458 et ſeq. of the Æneid —

et pervius uſus
Tectorum inter ſe Priami, poſteſque relicti
A tergo; infelix qua ſe, dum regna manebant,
Sæpius Andromache ferre incomitata ſolebat,
Ad ſoceros, et avo puerum Aſtyanacta trahebat*.

The ſucceſſive ruins alſo of numerous large houſes, towers, and temples, are ſtill to be ſeen, among which I recognized ſome remarks noticed by Belon and others, which I imagine he had not ſeen, as well as two Latin inſcriptions, that I obſerved minutely, not mentioned by that author, which evidently eſtabliſh the fact of this city having been rebuilt and repeopled by the Roman Emperors. A mile and a half from this ſpot I diſcovered a palace which may be that of Ilium, or, as believed by the inhabitants of the country, of more modern ſtructure. It was, however, certainly ſome royal palace or fortreſs, the walls being all of marble, and from 25 to 30 palms in thickneſs, the porticoes and towers large, and every thing correſponding with the abode of majeſty. Belon ſpeaks of the remains of a large tower, which, as he imagined, ſerved for a light

* ——— and a gallery
Between the tents of Priam and the walls
By which, while yet the empire ſtood, ofttimes
The unfortunate Andromache was wont
Without attendants, to rejoin her friends
And lead Aſtyanax to ſee his ſire.

 houſe;

houſe; I ſaw one ſimilar, but it appeared to me too far diſtant from the ſea to ſerve for that purpoſe, and ſeemed rather the watch-tower deſcribed by Virgil, whence the city of Troy was diſcernible, as well as the Grecian fleet. I diſtinguiſhed no more than one of thoſe ciſterns built of black ſtone, ſo frequently mentioned by Belon; I taſted of the water it contained and found it good and cool. The whole of the ground on which the city ſtood, if one may judge by its remains, occupied a ſpace of ſeveral miles in circumference and muſt have contained an immenſe number of inhabitants. At the ſight of theſe ruins, on reflection that the ſpot beſtrewed with them was once covered with magnificent ſtreets and ſuperb palaces; that a frightful ſolitude now reigns, where the buſy hum of men was heard; and that in lieu of gardens and well-tilled fields one ſees but a frightful and barren wilderneſs; the mind is oppreſſed with melancholy, and contemplates with pain the vanity of human purſuits, the nullity of human grandeur.

Night now was drawing on; and ſatisfied with what I had ſeen on this ſhore we got on board our galley; and with ſome difficulty, from the wind being in our face, reached the town of Tenedos by two o'clock in the morning, where I ſlept at the houſe of a very courteous Greek lady, and in the morning examined the country about, which exactly correſponds with the deſcription given of it by Virgil, ſave that the town, and its territory, is plentifully inhabited; and that it is a place of trade and great reſort for ſhipping. One thing that appeared to me ſingular in the iſland was the dreſs of the Chriſtian women, which was ſimilar to that of the inhabitants of the Troade, differing from that of the European Greeks, and beingreputedly of great antiquity.

I departed in the evening to go to the two caſtles, but being driven back by contrary wind was detained for two days; when ſailing along the ſhore of the Troade I met a Greek, who pointed out to me between two hills a valley, through which flowed among the herbage a ſtream, which the inhabitants ſay is the Xanthus. It is not that river which paſſes through Lycia but rather the Scamander, for it has its ſource in Mount Ida, unites with the other ſtream the Simois, and diſcharges itſelf where deſcribed into the ſea, and is the only one in the whole country. It is called by the people the river of the Troade, as Ida, the mountain of the Troade. I was deſirous of ſeeing its courſe; but the wind, more reſolute than myſelf, drove me back to Tenedos, where I waited for better weather to the 9th of Auguſt, on which day I departed anew, and in about twenty hours I arrived at the Cape of Janiſſaries, the ancient port of Sigæum, famous for the burial of Hecuba, Queen of Phrygia, according to Julius Solinus, where I landed to obſerve the ruins of the caſtle or town, noticed by Belon.

This place at preſent is inhabited by a few Greeks, diſperſed over the mountain, having their dwellings contiguous to the ancient edifices. At the foot of the mountain are ſome ſprings of excellent water. After diligently obſerving every thing worthy of notice I embarked, and the ſame evening arrived at the ſpot where the Xanthus, joined by the Simois, diſembogues itſelf. Without having ſeen I could ſcarcely have credited theſe rivers being ſo ſmall; they are almoſt wholly dried up in ſummer, and in winter are not to be recognized again from their abundance of water. According to the relations of the country people, veſſels enter the mouth and proceed ten miles up the river; and I myſelf ſaw a ſhip of moderate ſize, ſaid to have come from anchoring in it. At night we laid to under the land, and in the morning entered the ſtreight which ſeparates Europe from Aſia, where there is as ſtrong a tide as at Meſſina, but differing from that in its regular flux and reflux. We had the tide againſt us, and found we could make more way by dragging our veſſel along the ſhore than by uſing our oars, reaching thus by eleven in the forenoon Abydos, the birth-place of the unfortunate Leander. Here I landed, and dined with a Turk, the vice-conſul for foreign Franks, who ſhewed me

great civility. Hence I ſaw Seſtos on the oppoſite ſide, which with Abydos, about half a league apart, are known by the denomination of the two caſtles. Here I diſmiſſed the galley, and in the evening took a boat to tranſport me to Gallipoli, where I arrived at dawn of day, repoſing myſelf for a ſhort time at the houſe of a monk of the order of St. Francis, who acted as vice-conſul for all the European nations. The monk not being at home, a Greek ſervant of his received me and prepared me a bed. I ſlept here till awakened for dinner; after which I walked about the town till duſk, and remained there the whole of the next day, that I might obſerve it at leiſure.

It is a large place, and extremely well peopled; its houſes are built low, in the Turkiſh manner, without any windows looking on the ſtreets, the materials of which they are built being only earth and wood. In the trading-ſtreets, which are numerous, the houſes have a number of ſmall windows, like thoſe in the roofs of ours in Italy, to admit light and refreſhing air, and extremely requiſite in ſo hot a climate. At Gallipoli I took another boat to reach Conſtantinople, ſtopping at various places on the way, as we coaſted along the ſhores of Thrace, to notice any thing worthy remark. We paſſed by ſeveral towns and villages, which we diſcerned without approaching them as we ſailed pleaſantly up the channel. The names of theſe were Aradiſa, Miriofito, a ſmall town, and Rodoſto, oppoſite to which we laid to during the night, diſtinguiſhing its houſes and lights. The other places at which we landed were the city of Periſtaſi Chora, an archiepiſcopal ſee, where I dined at the palace of the Archbiſhop of Heracleum. The city compriſes ruins of handſome buildings, bearing inſcriptions, which I copied; and what appears ſingular to me, in poſſeſſion of a Greek Caloyer, I was ſhewn a book upon the ancient deciſions of the Rota of Rome. Another day I dined at Siliurea or Seliurea, likewiſe an archiepiſcopal ſee, where I ſaw ſome churches and modern edifices, together with the ruins of others more ancient.

At length on the 15th of Auguſt, Aſſumption-day, I arrived at Conſtantinople, highly delighted with the whole of my voyage, notwithſtanding the fatigue I had endured, and ſuffered but trivially from ſea-ſickneſs.

The ſtrength of our veſſel diſmiſſed all apprehenſion from pirates, of which we were met with by none, although under ſuſpicion occaſionally at ſight of ſtrange ſails, when we prepared for combat, and, as I knew well the ſtrength of our ſhip, an engagement would have been to me an amuſement. I met with Signior Creſcentio Creſcentii very opportunely, juſt before his departure, and had ſome converſation with him. I am lucky alſo in arriving at a time when the city is nearly free from the plague, it prevailing infinitely leſs than laſt year, ſo little indeed that there is no danger.

We have in this part an obliging nobleman, Achilles de Harlai Baron de Sanſy, the French ambaſſador, as learned as he is polite, who inſiſts on my reſiding at his hotel, and ſhews me infinite kindneſs. The air at his abode is delightful and the ſociety charming.

You may if you pleaſe write to me under cover to Signior Franceſco Creſcentio. Remember me with friendſhip ſtill, you as well as Signior Coletta, and may you enjoy as much happineſs and content as I do. Humbly and tenderly do I ſalute you both.

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Our traveller, after reſiding ſome time at Conſtantinople, deſcribes his voyage to Egypt, touching at Co and Rhodes afterwards examining ſeveral parts of that country proceeds to Paleſtine, traverſes Syria to Aleppo, journies thence to Damaſcus, and acroſs the deſart to Bagdad; as however more recent accounts of the various countries through which he paſt have appeared, we ſhall omit this part of his work, and accompany him to Perſia; an empire little known, and of which his deſcription ſtill poſſeſſes the charm of novelty.

LETTER

## LETTER I. — FROM PERSIA.

*Hiſpahan, 17th March* 1617.

I AVAIL myſelf of the occaſion of ſending this expreſs to Italy on matters of buſineſs, to communicate to you as ſuccinctly as poſſible, a detail of my travels from Babylon to this city.

As I adviſed you of my intention in my letters from Bagdad of the 23d of December, in the laſt and of the 2d of January, in the preſent year, I departed thence on the 4th of the laſt-mentioned month, in the manner I ſhall deſcribe.

The Perſians now at war with the Turks, having made irruption into the province of Bagdad ſhortly before Chriſtmas, and entirely devaſtated the town of Mendeli, the Baſhaw in order to oppoſe them, and prevent the recurrence of ſimilar violence, diſpatched an army againſt them, of from ſeven to eight thouſand men. This ſtate of warfare acted as an interruption to trade to ſuch a degree that merchants, eſpecially if inhabitants of Bagdad, no longer dared to travel for fear of the enemy. However, as Bagdad cannot ſubſiſt without the proviſion it draws from Perſia, the Baſhaw, notwithſtanding the great loſſes he had ſuſtained, ſtill not only permitted the intercourſe of caravans, but ſolicited the departure of the traders, under aſſurance of protection, and gave them every facility in his power, particularly as the public good was not leſs concerned in this than his private intereſt; the cuſtom dues upon various articles producing him annually a conſiderable ſum. For my part deſirous of ſetting out on my journey, and fearing nothing from the Perſians, they being in friendſhip with us, I ſecretly perſuaded a captain of Perſian muleteers then at Bagdad, to obtain a paſſport from the Baſhaw for himſelf, his people, and whatever merchandize he choſe; adviſing him as abſolutely neceſſary, to hire one of the Chiaoux of the Baſhaw as an eſcort, as far as the frontiers, to act as a reſtraint on the licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiery.

The captain's application had all the ſucceſs I could wiſh; and finding myſelf by this means, ſecure in traverſing the Turkiſh territory, I made due preparation for my departure. On this occaſion, ſeveral relations and friends of Madame Maani *, my ſpouſe, viſited us and paſſed the evening at my houſe, where, as is uſual with them on ſimilar occaſions, they had fires kindled in the court, over which the children amuſed themſelves in leaping, as is practiſed in Rome on the feſtival of St. Peter and St. Paul. This ceremony was attended with a ſingularity. A number of young ladies of the party lighted each a wax candle at theſe fires, which, after carrying till they were tired, they placed in ſconces, ſuffering them to burn throughout the night, and taking eſpecial care to prevent their extinguiſhing, as ſuch an accident would be deemed ominous for her to whom the taper might belong, either foreboding her not getting a huſband, or ſome ſuch misfortune.

The next day we were on the point of departing, but, as I had deſcribed myſelf to be the ſon of a Venetian merchant well known in that country, trading to Orinus, and the Baſhaw had made ſtrict enquiries reſpecting me, indicating ſuſpicion, notwithſtanding the Franks be allowed this commerce, I was apprehenſive of meeting with ſome embarraſſment, or being detained; therefore, without ſaying any thing further of my intention, I ſuffered the muleteers and thoſe who accompanied them to leave the city without me, and, as is cuſtomary, to repair beneath the walls of the caſtle, and after

* A Babylonian lady, repreſented by Signior della Valle as a model of perfection, as well for the beauty of her perſon as her acquirements and virtues, to whom he was betrothed at Bagdad, and who accompanied him through great part of his travels.

the cavalcade had been duly inſpected by the officers of the cuſtoms, underſtanding that on the evening of the 4th of January (new ſtile) they were about to commence their journey, I diſpatched, by little at a time, in the courſe of the day, the greater part of my equipage, and in the evening filed off my people by different ſtreets of the city, leaving it myſelf after ſunſet, without changing my dreſs, under pretence of taking an airing on the banks of the Tigris. Without the gates, on a very fine plain, I ſaw from ſixty to ſeventy Turks extremely well mounted, belonging to the Baſhaw, who were amuſing themſelves, galloping, croſſing each other, darting ſticks; an entertainment common with them as well as in Spain, called in the latter country, the game of canes *; I was much pleaſed with their dexterity, ſtopping ſome time to admire them, but night drawing on they withdrew from the liſts, and I, after the city-gates were cloſed, to join my companions; when, by two o'clock in the morning, having loaded the mules with our luggage, we eſcaped from the Turks with ſuch ſecreſy, that even the Chiaoux who accompanied us knew nothing of our junction with the caravan.

We travelled all night long, mounted on mules and horſes of the country, which are very ſwift; and whoſe ſpeed we put to the proof, apprehenſive that the Baſhaw might repent of his civility towards us, and diſpatch ſome of his people to ſtay our progreſs: ſo that by day-break we arrived at the Diala, a river that empties itſelf into the Tigris, and which, owing to there being no more than one boat to waft us over, we were employed till noon in croſſing. This Diala I deem the ancient Gyndi, which Cyrus, angered at the loſs of one of his ſacred horſes, divided into three hundred and ſixty channels, according to Herodotus in his Clio, ſo that his army forded it on his expedition againſt Babylon. After paſſing the Diala we encamped on its banks, judging ourſelves ſufficiently diſtant from Bagdad, and remained there till midnight, in the neighbourhood of a village called Beherus. At that time the ſignal "to horſe" being given, we purſued our courſe as quickly as before. The country from Babylon is flat and marſhy in places, chiefly a deſart, as cultivated ſpots are unfrequent, not owing however to the barrenneſs of the ſoil, as was evident from the myriads of wild plants and herbs it produced.

The ſixth day of our march we paſſed firſt a town called Techiè; afterwards another denominated a city, on account of its extent; and again Sheravan, under which the Turks from Bagdad were encamped, and where they held council whether they ſhould advance, poſſibly fearful of inconveniencing the Perſians, but more probably from fear of being worſted. We afterwards paſſed another town called Harounie, from a certain haroun, cloſe to which we encamped for the night, but were much troubled by thieves, who came galloping up to rob us as we ſlept; many thus loſt part of their property, and ſomething of little conſequence was ſtolen from my tent. This, however, being perceived by my painter, he kept watch, and on the thieves coming a ſecond time, he fired and wounded one, which afterwards kept me free from depredation. The next day, after paying ſome duties, we continued our journey, traverſing certain mountains, entirely bare, even of the leaſt herbage, afterwards a ſimilar plain, and in the evening erected our tents under a place called Kizil-rabat, the laſt under the dominion of Turkey. This part is inhabited and commanded by one Ahmed, or Muhammed Bey; the chief of a number of Curds, and holds his poſſeſſions in perpetuity of the Grand Signior, on condition of his protecting the country from the incurſions of the Perſians.

* See a deſcription of this amuſement in the account of the diverſions of the court in Bourgoanne's Picture of Modern Spain.

Curdiſtan, or the country of the Curds, ſeparates Turkey from Perſia, and is in breadth from ten to twelve days journey, but in length is of great extent, ſtretching from the province of Babylon, or Chuſiſtan, to the Perſian Gulph towards the ſouth, and on the north above Nineveh, between Armenia and Media, almoſt to the Euxine. It is a ſtrong country and difficult of acceſs, being full of mountains, branching from Mount Taurus, which pervade Aſia, and terminate as before obſerved at the Perſian Gulph, as if nature intended it as a natural rampart between two empires; as now thoſe of Perſia and Turkey, and formerly thoſe of Rome and the Parthians. The ancient name of this country I am unable to diſcover, or whether it was in old times known under any general denomination. From its northern extremities iſſued the Carduchi, who, as related by Xenophon in his admirable book on the wars of Cyrus, annoyed him ſo much in his retreat as to oblige him to tread back his ſteps.

The idiom of the people of this country is peculiar to themſelves, differing from that of their neighbours, whether Arab, Turk, or Perſian, having, however, moſt affinity with degenerate Perſian. Many of the people live in tents, and wander from place to place with their flocks; but the chief, the beſt informed, and moſt reſpectable, dwell in towns. They are ſubject to different lords, to whom they render homage as vaſſals; ſome to the Turk and ſome to the Perſian, according to their contiguity to the one or the other; while others again of the moſt noble of different degrees of grandeur and authority maintain themſelves as independent. Among them, ſome ſuch as the Prince of Bettis, can bring into the field from ten to twelve thouſand horſe, while others again, the Bey I have cited for example, can produce ſcarcely three thouſand. The more powerful do not render homage after the manner of vaſſals to their lords with us, but merely profeſs to live under the protection of one or other of the two monarchs, and, as is common with our petty Princes of Italy, change maſters according to circumſtances. The leſs powerful are not only vaſſals, but do not poſſeſs the right of devolving on their children the governments they fill, ſatisfied with holding them during their life. Their dreſs reſembles that of the Perſians and Turks, but is coarſe. Their women go abroad freely unveiled, and converſe familiarly with foreigners as well as natives. Their religion is the Mohammedan of the ſect of Ali or Omar, according as they depend on Perſia or Turkey; in their faith however they vary from other Muſſulmen, by whom they are conſidered as heretics, retaining certain ſuperſtitions peculiar to themſelves. In ſome parts of their province, ſuch as in Gezira, a city of Meſopotamia, ſituated in an iſland of the Tigris under the government of a Curd, and in the mountains called Tor, by the Chaldeans, where to this day the Chaldee tongue is ſpoken, the Curds reign independently and with abſolute power. Among theſe people are a number of Chriſtians, Neſtorians, or Jacobites, who fight in the armies of their Princes. But let us return to Kizil-rabat. We departed thence the 8th of January at day-break, after paying ſome ſmall tribute, and quitting this territory, entered upon a country formerly fertile and inhabited by the Turks, but entirely waſted by the Perſians in their laſt wars with the Turks, and made a complete deſart: for here it is held, and with reaſon, that there can be no ſafer rampart againſt invaſion, than by making a wilderneſs of the country bordering on a kingdom, as the ſmall number of people that can traverſe it at a time, from being obliged to take proviſion with them, can effect but little injury; and the paſſage is rendered impracticable to large bodies, who would periſh in the attempt of hunger. Hence, where wide deſarts ſeparate two adjoining kingdoms, the inhabitants of the frontiers are much releaſed from apprehenſions on account of the enemy.

The ſame day we forded a river of conſiderable breadth and difficult to paſs, notwithſtanding it was near its ſource; it was the ſame river we had croſſed before, that is to

ſay, the Diala. The following night we paſſed in the country, by the ſide of a rivulet, and on the ſucceeding day came to a large place in ruins and abandoned, called Caſri Shirin, or the palace of Shirin. Shirin, in the Perſian language, ſignifies ſweet; and is alſo a proper name for either man or woman. A Princeſs of this country had that appellation, who became the wife of Choſrou, to whom poſſibly this city belonged, and whoſe amours form the ſubject of a fine poem, ſtill ſubſiſting. On leaving Caſri Shirin we diſcovered, in the evening, a large body of Perſian cavalry, commanded by one Caſûm Sultan, governor of the frontiers, who had been pillaging and ſacking Mendeli. I was delighted at ſeeing them, conſidering myſelf now delivered from the Phariſees: and the advanced guard, on the look out as I ſuppoſe, upon ſeeing approached us, and on my diſcovering myſelf as a Chriſtian, concealment now being uſeleſs, they all flocked about, and happy was he who could get neareſt me to make tamaſcia, that is to ſay, his remarks on ſomething new before his companions, the Perſians being exceedingly fond of novelties. They accompanied me for the ſpace of ſome leagues with much politeneſs, converſing in the Turkiſh language, which is as much in eſteem in Perſia as the country-tongue itſelf, and continually uſed in converſation at court, in the army, and by people of quality, although all the public acts be iſſued in the Perſian dialect; the greater part of the nation, even the women, being thus acquainted with both. This cuſtom ariſes from the kizilbaſhi, or the chief ſoldiery, which are numerous, and even moſt of the nobles in the country being originally Turks, who have preſerved their native language in its genuine purity, and being more maſculine and nervous, it is uſed even by the King, the Perſian being a ſoft and tender language, beſt fitted for the fair ſex and poetry.

Theſe Perſian cavaliers had no other arms than bows and arrows, and a curved ſcymiter, ſuch as was deemed by Xenophon, an experienced captain and good ſoldier, the beſt adapted for cavalry. By their not having any other arms, I conjectured them to be a light company, ſeeing they are not deſtitute in the main army of lances, match-firelocks, and other inſtruments of war. They, however, all fight on horſeback; their horſes are ſmall, hardy, made as well for ſwiftneſs as fatigue, and require little food. We ſhewed them, among other things, our arms, and excited much ſurprize by the celerity and eaſe with which we managed our muſkets with ſpring locks, which they much admired; confeſſing that with ſuch weapons we ſhould be a match for four times our number of them. Taking their leave at length they continued their road, while for our part, to benefit by the water, we paſſed the night on a ſpot contiguous to the ſame river we had croſſed, and ſeveral inhabited villages; whence the Curds, both men and women, reſorted to our camp, loaded with proviſion of different kinds, which we purchaſed, ſuch as milk and piſtachio nuts, with the ſhell yet green, quantities of which grow in Curdiſtan, and other ſimilar articles.

On the tenth day we had to paſs ſome ſmall mountains, in order to obtain forage for our cattle; and in the evening arrived near a ſmall ſtream called Tenghi Imaun, below a town belonging to the Curds, called Tenghi Conaghi, that is to ſay, a freſh reſting-place, where we paſſed the night. Here it was I metamorphoſed myſelf, leaving my Syrian to aſſume the Perſian coſtume; and deſirous of being deficient in nothing, I ſent for a barber from the village, who with much ceremony, curtailed me of my long and famous beard *à la Turque*, which with great inconvenience I had ſuffered to grow ever ſince I left Conſtantinople, having my face and chin clear, and preſerving my whiſkers alone on the upper lip, as worn by the King of Perſia. In ſhort, I was ſo much transfigured that ſuch as knew me in Turkey would have had difficulty in recognizing me. Madame Maani, however, who knew nothing of my intention, upon

ſeeing me, was angry in extreme, at the little regard I had for my chief ornament. I did all I could to appeaſe her, and at length ſucceeded, telling her how neceſſary it was to accommodate oneſelf to the uſages of the country through which we travelled; and that ſhe muſt be prepared to ſee me in Italy under a ſtill more fantaſtic appearance, with a beard, which properly might be termed of a goatiſh faſhion. In this garb I mean to have my likeneſs taken, which for your amuſement I will either ſend or bring back with me to Italy. In Jenghì Conaghì it ſnowed and rained during the whole of the night, for the firſt time during our progreſs; the cold however was ſupportable.

On the eleventh day it was late before we ſet off, having waited to dry our tents, which, hardened and frozen during the fall of ſnow, were difficult to fold, we notwithſtanding reached betimes the foot of a high mountain which we had to paſs, near a caſtle called Leſhiver, newly conſtructed on that ſpot for the ſecurity of the frontier in which the Caſumſultan, before noticed, reſided at the time, with about five hundred of his ſoldiers, the reſidue being diſperſed in different places on the confines. We reſted here the whole of the twelfth day, as well to give repoſe to our cattle before we croſſed the mountains, as becauſe it is a common practice for the caravans to halt here ſome time, and make a preſent to the Sultan, to whom not only many towns and villages are ſubject but likewiſe a number of Curds, who wander about the mountains. Here, for two nights, we endured much from extreme cold, accompanied by a furious wind, which rendered the tent-pegs and cords for faſtening them almoſt uſeleſs. On the ſucceeding day we croſſed the mountain, entirely covered with ſnow, by which we were much incommoded all the way to Hiſpahan, not, indeed, by that which fell from the clouds, but what had already fallen on the road. Its ſhining white much affecting the eyes, we had recourſe to an expedient adopted on a ſimilar occaſion by Xenophon, covering them with a black crape, which ſerved in ſome meaſure as a protection.

We took refuge early in the evening in a ſheltered ſpot in the mountains, where we had the good fortune of meeting with an uncovered portion of ground on which to pitch our tents, and ſleep in the day. Near this place among the precipices was a ſmall town inhabited by Curds, called Kieren, whence a number repaired to our caravan, according to cuſtom, with a quantity of proviſions. Madame Maani was curious of ſeeing their houſes; and as they appeared to be at no great diſtance, we went thither on foot, accompanied by ſome of thoſe females of the country, who had viſited us with their merchandize. We arrived there at night, and a civil man having inſtructed us that a certain Kanum Sultan, the lady of the place and ſeveral other circumjacent villages, was in the town, Madame Maani wiſhed to pay her a viſit. The ſame perſon who happened to be the ſteward of her houſe, led us thither; where we were received with the greateſt kindneſs imaginable, Madame Maani by the Kanum Sultan, and myſelf by her brother, her huſband being abſent on ſome employ, to which he had been appointed by the King. We were deſirous, as it was late, of taking our leave, but this they would not allow, ere we had previouſly ſupped; when the women by themſelves, we men in a ſeparate apartment, were regaled with different viands. The bread, as I remarked, throughout all Curdiſtan and frequently in Perſia, was light and excellent, conſiſting of flat cakes, very white and well baked: the hands ſerved, however, in lieu of either ſpoons, knives, or forks, according to the cuſtom of Perſia. The meat was not of the beſt quality; but the friendly manner in which we were treated, and the extreme urbanity of our hoſts, made it a feaſt for Sardanapalus or Heliodorus. Nor did their civility finiſh here; after receiving the handſomeſt compliments on our departure from the Kanum Sultan, on which occaſion her brother interpreted the Curd language into Turkiſh, he abſolutely inſiſted on accompanying us back, together with ſome of his ſervants.

Madame

Madame Maani by theſe ſent to the Kanum Sultan in return a baſin full of fruit and ſweetmeats of various kinds, and other little articles not to be met with in theſe countries, together with a profuſion of perfumes and ſcented powders.

On Saturday, the fourteenth day of our journey, after having ſcaled a very irkſome mountain, we encamped in a beautiful and ſpacious meadow, ſurrounded by ſeveral ſmall hills divided from each other, riſing in various quarters, and forming one of the pleaſanteſt proſpects I remember to have ever ſeen. The neareſt town, which was on the ſummit of the loweſt mountain, whence rolled a conſiderable ſtream, was called Haroun-abad, that is to ſay, the colony of Haroun, called otherwiſe by corruption Harinava. On the following Sunday we ſet off, according to cuſtom, more than three hours before dawn, and notwithſtanding the quantity of ſnow with which we were almoſt conſtantly loaded, we travelled over a conſiderable ſpace, not halting even at a ſpot where the caravans uſually do, but proceeding much farther to a ſmall rivulet near a village called Mahideſer. On the Monday, for us a very unpleaſant day, on account of the ſnow continually falling, accompanied by wind and rain, we took up our lodging in a ſmall town built on a bridge, under which a river flows, called Kara Sou, or black water: the place being called in Perſian Puly Shah, and in Turkiſh Shah-kiopreſi, words of ſimilar import, ſignifying the King's bridge. Unwilling to repoſe on this occaſion under our tents, we had an opportunity of aſcertaining the kindneſs and obliging manners of the inhabitants of Curdiſtan, being treated by our hoſt with every thing comfortable in an apartment kept pleaſantly warm by a large fire.

I noticed here one matter which I deem worthy of mention, not as regarding Curdiſtan alone, but the whole of Perſia, even in the moſt conſiderable houſes. They kindle their fires not under a chimney, as is uſual with us in fire-places, but in a kind of oven called tinnor, about two palms from the ground, formed of a vaſe of burnt clay, in which they place burning coals, charcoal, or other combuſtible matter, which quickly lights. After this, they place a plank over the oven in ſhape of a ſmall table, which they cover entirely, ſpreading over it a large cloth which extends on all ſides to the ground, over a part of the floor of the chamber. By this contrivance the heat being prevented diffuſing itſelf all at once, it is communicated inſenſibly, and ſo pleaſantly throughout the whole apartment, that it cannot be better compared than to the effect of a ſtove. Perſons at their meals, or in converſation, and ſome even ſleeping lay on the carpets round this ſmall table, ſupporting themſelves againſt the walls of the apartment on cuſhions kept for the purpoſe, which likewiſe ſerve for ſeats in this country, the tinnor being ſo placed as to be equally diſtant from the ſides of the room; by this means, thoſe to whom the cold is not unpleaſant put their legs only under the cloth, others who feel it more ſenſibly their hands and the reſt of their body; ſo that a mild and penetrating warmth diffuſes itſelf agreeably over the whole body without any injury to the head, as I have repeatedly experienced. Of the excellence of this contrivance I am ſo fully perſuaded, that I am reſolved on adopting it when I ſhall return to Italy. Thoſe who feel no neceſſity for additional warmth, or who are ſufficiently warmed, by throwing aſide the cloth, feel no other temperature than that of the apartment itſelf, which is heated to a pleaſant degree. The ſmoak from the coals is conveyed by means of a pipe from the oven under ground, and by means of another communicating with the grated bottom of the fire, it is ſupplied with air. In certain parts where nicety is leſs regarded than in great houſes, ſuch as the villages of Curdiſtan, they cook their meat at and bake their cakes on a flat ſheet of iron laid over the tennor in little more than an inſtant of time. In other parts, where the bread is made thicker, they uſe ovens.

On

On Tuesday the 17th of January, as is usual at this period, we were much incommoded by extremely cold winds, accompanied by frost and snow. We hoped to pass the night of this day at a caravanserai, that is to say, the palace of the caravan, answering to a khase in Arabic, situated a long day's journey before us, and about it a number of small houses have latterly been constructed; this place is called Sker-neu, or New Town. We reckoned, I say, on sleeping at this caravanserai, but on arrival found not only the whole place, but likewise all the surrounding villages occupied by a caravan, consisting of two thousand six hundred camels; the number of people travelling with it was so prodigious, that notwithstanding every house was filled, many were constrained to lodge beneath their tents. Seeing this, we no longer lost any time, but encamped on a spot where there was least snow, and that most trodden. We lighted fires, but found it impossible to sleep, owing to the cold and the wind, which threatened not only to blow down our tents, but even to carry away our beds and bedding. Nest icò dur, however, as the Turks say, *this is a trifle;* inconvenience past is forgot. Our sufferings were great, but, whether owing to the excellence of the air, or other causes, notwithstanding I was frequently exposed without covering to a humid atmosphere, the cold and the snow, for a length of time together, I felt not the least injury in consequence; being even less subject to colds than I was wont in Italy, where a similar exposure would assuredly have brought me to death's door. Yet why do I speak of myself; a man who, although of weak habit, am inured to hardships; even my Maani, a young and delicate lady, brought up in a warm country, with such tenderness that the wind was never suffered to "visit her face too roughly;" my Maani bore with the cold, bore with the comfortless damps, and was not ill in consequence. Here, however, I must make a remark. Generally, notwithstanding my head has been shaved, I have been accustomed to sleep without any cap; in consequence of the cold I was induced to wear a napkin fastened round my head, by which I became afflicted with a catarrh that lasted until I laid aside my napkin. This I deem the more singular, from my constantly wearing a turban during the day, and my sleeping booted and in my clothes, well covered, at night.

We quitted Sker-neu on Wednesday, having as long a journey to make as on the preceding day, but with more favourable weather, it ceasing to snow. We reached Sēhēnay, or Sahanay, in the evening, a large town inhabited promiscuously by Persians and Curds; where, it being of extent, we found accommodation in the house of some Persian ladies who spoke the Turkish language; and, in order to rest our horses, extremely fatigued by their marching through the snow, we halted here the whole of Thursday. This place is the extremity of Curdistan and the beginning of Persia, at least, if the general use of the Persian language be the criterion; any other I could not discover, finding none capable of pointing out to me distinctly the borders; for here the people are used to call each province by the name of the actual governor; as in Turkey, on the contrary, a nobleman is called by the name of the city over which he presides.

The Friday following we took up our abode at a large town called Kienghievèr. Here I began to observe the great superiority of Persia over Turkey, as well in the good disposition as the number of its inhabitants; the excellent culture of the lands; and numerous other circumstances, in which Persia is little inferior to Christendom. We no longer now had any occasion to pitch our tents, finding every where caravanserai, built either by different Kings or individuals. The accommodation they afford is gratuitous; it is only shelter: some of these inns have apartments, while others have only piazzas, with which the people of the country are satisfied. For my part, desirous of

comfort and neatneſs, I always avoided them, lodging when poſſible in private houſes, in which I was more at my eaſe, for a trifle of extra expence. In Kienghievèr we found a very neat and handſome houſe, and were provided with many different ſorts of fruit, ſuch as pomegranates, apples, and freſh grapes; a matter which exceedingly ſurpriſed me in ſo cold a country, then almoſt wholly buried in ſnow. Saturday we travelled a great way, commencing our journey at midnight; and, after paſſing through numerous villages, halted at a large town called Saad-abad, or the colony of Saad. This was the native place of our muleteers, to pleaſe whom, notwithſtanding we were impatient to be gone, we were obliged to remain for three days, lodging in their houſes. On Wedneſday the 25th of January, we aſcended a very high mountain, deſcending with great facility owing to the excellence of the road, notwithſtanding it was covered with a quantity of ſnow. We afterwards paſſed ſeveral other villages, arriving at night at a town called Zaga, or Zagan, and the next day by noon reached Hamadàn, where our caravan finiſhed its courſe, the muleteers being engaged to conduct us no farther. Here I hired a houſe, and remained for ſeveral days, as well to make my obſervations on the city, as to lay in neceſſaries for the remainder of our journey.

Hamadàn is a very large and well populated city, and one the moſt frequented of any in Perſia. Its buildings are ruſtic, as well as the dreſs of its inhabitants. Its gardens, however, of which there are a number interſperſed among the houſes and in the public ſquares, are ornamental, nor is the vine a ſtranger; the Perſians, notwithſtanding they be Mahommedans, drinking freely and without ſcruple of its exhilirating juice. In this city merchandize of every deſcription is to be found, whether of proviſion or for cloathing, and all the ſtreets in which theſe are ſold, called bazars, are arched over, a common practice throughout Perſia. We met with great quantities of fruit here, with many kinds of which we regaled ourſelves, ſuch as apples, pomegranates, grapes, and the like; this to me was ſurpriſing, ſeeing the cold was ſo intenſe that liquors froze even in our chambers. Hamadàn is the reſidence of a Khan, to whom ſeveral Sultans are ſubordinate, as well as a number of circumjacent villages: the nature of theſe diſtinctions I ſhall explain as I proceed. We met with great civilities in this city, and were waited upon on the very evening of our arrival by the Daroga, or governor, who commands in the abſence of the Khan, the latter being with the army. Thinking to entertain me, he brought with him ſome women-ſingers, but as I was extremely fatigued, and had already retired to the ladies, more diſpoſed for ſleep than diverſion, I deputed one of my people to repreſent me, and ſtate that I was indiſpoſed; he doing the honours at a collation preſented according to the cuſtom of the country.

This was not, however, the only inſtance of politeneſs: ſtraw and oats being ſo ſcarce here as ſometimes not to be had for money, Scheich Ahmed Bey, one of the principal inhabitants, a perſon I had even never heard of, ſent me a preſent of theſe articles for my horſes. On another occaſion he invited me, with Madame Maani and her ladies, to dine with him. Here, however, it is fit I ſhould make a remark.

The Perſians, who are extremely liberal of preſents, expect a return of at leaſt an equivalent value. I am told even that where their courteſy has not been followed by ſuch an acknowlegement, they have been hurt even to tears, and required reſtoration.

I ſhall give you a deſcription of the entertainment afforded us, which, as all are conducted with the ſame ceremony, even thoſe given by the King, will ſerve as a general picture of their cuſtoms and forms on ſuch occaſions. In the firſt place, Ahmed Bey ſent a horſe elegantly capariſoned for Madame Maani, which ſhe mounted after the faſhion of the country, ſitting aſtride, but in her Babylonian dreſs; the ſervant who brought leading the horſe, (ſuch being the mode in this city) and ſome of her waiting-

women

women in her ſuite on foot. We followed her ſhortly after, and, on our arrival, were met in the court by the maſter of the houſe, who introduced us into an apartment on the ground-floor, their houſes being built wholly of one ſtory to prevent the labour of an aſcent. The apartments, however, do not as with us communicate one with another, but each has a ſeparate entrance. Each houſe has a diſtinct room for each purpoſe; a hall for reception of viſitors, a ſleeping room, another for ſtoring proviſions, and ſeveral for the maſter and women, thoſe of the miſtreſſes apart from the ſervants'. The apartment into which we were introduced was ſquare and ſmall, covered with a carpet, the walls white and unadorned, the roof a dome of a capricious fancy, ornamented with Arabeſk paintings. It was heated not by an oven, after the manner of the Curds, but by a fire-place, around which, cloſe to the walls, thoſe were ſeated who had been invited, and had arrived before me. Of the number was the Daroga, whoſe name was Nazar Bey, near to whom, as the moſt honourable place, I was ſeated with two of my people, that is to ſay, Alexander and the painter. There were there three female muſicians with inſtruments. One of theſe had ſeveral ſtrings, but bore no reſemblance to our lutes or guitars; others were tambourines of a larger ſize, more melodious, and better made than thoſe which are uſed by young ladies in Italy. Theſe ſinging-women are very amuſing, and on ſimilar occaſions are hired to divert company; one of them, called Filfil, (an Arabic word ſignifying pepper,) was much careſſed and treated with great civility, notwithſtanding ſhe was both old and ugly, merely on account of her being one of thoſe who occaſionally appeared before the King. The floor of the room was covered in many parts with fruit, ſuch as pomegranates, pears, grapes, chick-peas ſalted, of which they keep good ſtores, piſtachio-nuts, and the like, of which the gueſts ate when they pleaſed. They were ſeated on their legs in the middle of the chamber between the various diſhes, while two young pages, apparently ſlaves, ſurrounded by bottles of wine, were employed in filling certain ſilver cups, in the ſhape of thoſe ſpoons with which one eats ſoup, but ſmaller, and preſenting them round to the company without any ſalver. The two cups, one on each ſide, changed hands inceſſantly, but in regular order going about, ſo that the laſt having finiſhed, the firſt received it again. Yet, notwithſtanding the number of theſe Sipo, I doubt if the quantity drank was ſo much as is taken by a Fleming or a German at a ſingle meal, particularly as I noticed none ſurpriſed with wine.

As for me, who drink none, as they knew, I was excuſed, only once taking coffee, to which I am very partial, particularly when very warm. According to the religious cuſtom of the Perſians, which perfectly agrees with the deſcription in holy writ of the freedom enjoyed at the banquets of Ahaſuerus, none were entreated to drink againſt their inclination, as is uſual in northern countries, but when ſatiated, each paſſes the cup. This batch of drinking and eating fruit continually was very irkſome to me, but much more ſo the cuſtom of ſitting croſs-legged upon our heels, which, however, is indiſpenſible, extending the legs being conſidered an intolerable mark of incivility; add to this, the ſilence maintained was far from agreeable to me; no other converſation paſſing at theſe feaſts than in whiſpers with thoſe immediately near to you. The female muſicians, however, conſoled me in a degree; theſe ſung various airs in the Perſian language, as well ſitting as dancing, and accompanying their voice with their inſtruments in a very pleaſing manner. Their dances, which are voluptuous, leſs ſo, indeed, than thoſe of the Egyptians, much reſemble the voleros of the Spaniards, but their geſticulations with the arms appeared to me void of grace; and their uncouth dreſs, which is very tight and faſtened by a band which goes under their haunches, was ill adapted for the diſplay of their harlequiniſm. I did not comprehend their ſongs, as I am yet a novice in the Perſian, the language in which they ſung. I diſtinguiſhed, how-

ever, the frequent occurrence of Shah Abbas, the name of the King, and conceived thence that they were eulogies of that Prince, who, indeed, is held in ſuch veneration by his ſubjects that they ſwear by his name; and when they wiſh you well, frequently exclaim in Turkiſh, *Shah Abbas murandi vir sùn*; "May Abbas the King be kind to you;" anſwering to our God bleſs you.

Theſe diverſions, and the collation, laſted till the beginning of night, when, inſtead of ſweetmeats being handed round, as is cuſtomary at a royal or princely entertainment, the wine and fruit was diſplaced. A ſofa was then ſpread on the ground, that is to ſay, a large painted cloth, which covered the whole of the floor. On this two ſervants kneeling, handed round in order to the different gueſts ſeated near the walls of the room eight large diſhes of piläò, made of rice and meat, each of different flavour and variouſly ſeaſoned. Upon the cloth, in different places, ſeveral large flat cakes are laid pyramidically between the diſhes, the ſervants waiting on the gueſts, who were ſo ſeated in the midſt of the diſhes, as that without change of place three or four could commodiouſly help himſelf from each diſh. They uſe no napkins, but in lieu wipe their hands on large handkerchiefs of painted linen, embroidered with ſilk or gold, ſuſpended from the waiſt. In this inſtance the Perſians are leſs nice than the Turks, but ſo prevalent is this cuſtom, that it is followed even by the King. Some wooden ſpoons were placed, however none but we Europeans uſed them, the Perſians always uſing their fingers and hand alone in eating, curving their fingers dexterouſly to ſerve as ſpoons; a practice which to us ſeemed indelicate and coarſe.

After the piläò was removed, water was ſerved for waſhing the hands, which they uſe warm in ſummer as well as winter, to clean the hands the better; they ſent likewiſe to our ſervants who were at home ſome diſhes of the piläò, which had not been touched, ſaying it was but right they ſhould participate in the feaſt.

While thus regaled the ladies were entertained in a ſeparate apartment, and the ſinging-women who ate with us repaired to them at intervals to divert them; for, notwithſtanding theſe females be of very looſe morals, they yet are admitted as actreſſes into the ſociety of ladies for their diverſion. The feaſt being ended, the gueſts retired. I was one of the laſt to depart. It was late, and night had ſet in; and, when about to leave, the maſter of the houſe not only offered to conduct me home with all his ſervants, but even wiſhed to preſent me with ſeveral very handſome horſes, and many other things, which, however, with much gratitude I declined. I omitted to ſtate to you, that in the morning before I paid him a viſit, not being ignorant of the uſage of Perſia, as an acknowledgment for his preſent to me, I ſent him a packet of nick-nacks from Italy, partly eatables, and part ornaments; neither did I forget the Daroga.

Perſia is every where inhabited, and on its roads travelling is unaccompanied with any danger; this kingdom, unlike Turkey, being entirely free from highway robberies, the diſtricts being made reſponſible for the ſecurity of travellers paſſing through them. On this account, being tired of the caravans, I reſolved on travelling by myſelf. However, before my departure, as it got wind, ſeveral perſons determined on accompanying me, but each travelled as he liſted. For me, I gave orders not to hurry away ſo ſoon in the morning, deſirous of enjoying ſleep till ſun-riſe.

After paſſing the whole of the day in packing and weighing my baggage, the charge for its tranſport being according to weight; ſatisfied with having begun our journey, after travelling for an hour, I ſtopt at a town or village called Gaurſin, or the land of Guebres, where I paſſed the night in the apartments of a very large ſpacious caravanſerai. Orientals, whether they travel, or are on their way to join the army under a chief, never make much progreſs the firſt day; in order that every one may commodiouſly join the body at the appointed place, as well as that if any thing ſhould have been

been forgot, or be wanted, time may be afforded to obtain it; an ancient cuſtom practiſed by Cyrus, as related by Xenophon.

On Saturday I lodged at the caravanſerai of a ſmall village, and on Sunday noticed an immenſe number of farms; on one of which was a royal ſtud conſiſting of five thouſand horſes. We took up our abode at night in the houſe of a nobleman, in a large town called Dizava, but ſpelled Diz-abad, ſignifying the colony of Diz. On Monday I reached Saru, a large town, ſtopping at a private houſe. I obſerved here, as well as in other towns of Perſia, that the doors of the houſes were very ſmall, and of marble, which open and cloſe in the ſame manner as thoſe of the ſepulchres of the Kings of Jeruſalem: they are, however, of rather clumſy conſtruction. Tueſday I remained all day at Saru, to ſuffer thoſe who accompanied me to go before, on account of the inconvenience I experienced from their arriving at the various places before me, owing to their monopolizing the oats for their cattle. Wedneſday I made a very ſhort journey, ſtopping at a ſmall village called Eibeig-abad, where the hoſteſs, in ſpite of my inclination for ſleep, was abſolutely reſolved on diverting me till midnight with muſic, ſongs, and dances, by a woman with little to recommend her, being dirty in herſelf and her voice cracked and hoarſe, and ſome little boys who diſplayed much taſte and gracefulneſs. One of them among the reſt, dreſt to ſuit the ſubject, danced and ſung in character of a woman in labour, and was ſo diverting as almoſt to kill us with laughter. On Thurſday we arrived in the evening at a capital houſe, in a large town, called Shehrackird. On Friday at Enghevùn, a word ſignifying, a place for carpets, there being here a conſiderable manufactory of that article. We received repeated viſits here, and were continually amuſed with the converſation of very handſome women, but in particular that of a Kanum aga, ſo civil and ſo agreeable, that at her inſtances we were induced to remain here the whole of the next day, ſhe inviting Mad. Maani to take a bath, and ſhewing her every kindneſs imaginable. In the mean time there was no want of muſic, *ſinging, and dancing, in the houſe.*

On Sunday we croſſed a mountain very tireſome to paſs, owing to the rapidity of the acclivity, and the depth of ſnow, and in the evening reached Charavend, a large town, in which we met with pleaſant ſociety, and were viſited by ladies of great beauty. On Monday, after a long and tedious journey, we halted at Gûl-pāigan, where we arrived late in the evening. This city reſembles Hamadàn, but is ſmaller; its name ſignifies a ſheath for the roots of roſes: we paſſed entirely through the middle of the city, from one extremity to the other, night not having yet ſet in, and took up our lodging in a caravanſerai, not yet entirely complete, but of elegant ſtructure. We were but ill-accommodated here; however, not finding any proviſion in the place, and being without means of obtaining any from without on account of the lateneſs of the hour. Tueſday we arrived at Oniſcion, where we paſſed the night at the houſe of ſome very civil, beautiful, and gallant ladies, one of whom called Aga bibicè, bitterly bewailed her hard fortune in being united to a huſband, too far advanced in years, and was ſo melancholy as much to excite my compaſſion. Our muleteers, who now were near their home, in order that they might pay it a viſit, pretending their cattle were fatigued and required changing, left us, with a promiſe of returning ſhortly. They delayed their return, however, till Friday afternoon: in conſequence, notwithſtanding it was late, I ordered the mules to be laden, and to puniſh them, took up abode in a wretched caravanſerai at the extremity of the village, but at ſome diſtance from where we were. On Saturday by night we reached a caſtle, ſituated on a high and rugged rock, of very difficult acceſs. It has, I learnt, two different names, Rahmetabad and Khiuneiràn: but finding a more convenient lodging, we reſted at a bath in a room

room under a ſmall dome, where ſuch as choſe to bathe undreſs and dreſs themſelves.

In the evening at leaſt five-and-twenty females, led by the lady of the governor of the caſtle, came to make tamaſcia. The curioſity of the Perſians is indeed ſurprizing, yet not leſs ſo their hoſpitality, which is ſtill the ſame as related by Philoſtratus, in his life of Apollonius. Even with the King it is enough you ſhould declare yourſelf a foreign traveller. A certain Auguſtin monk, reſident at this court for the court of Spain, related to me, that the King one day giving an entertainment to a Prince of Tartary, who had lately arrived there, and cuſtom making requiſite he ſhould pull off the boots he wore, on walking on the carpets with which the floors are covered, the ſervants were directed to pull off his boots; but as he could not eaſily ſupport himſelf on one leg, while they pulled the boot from the other, the King himſelf held him up on the occaſion; and noticing the Portugueze monk, who was preſent, to appear ſurprized at his condeſcenſion, as well as others, who were by, he looked at him with a ſmile, and being of extreme ready wit, made uſe of a proverb of the country, which, however, is taken from Homer: Metrimanez choda: — a gueſt, a man from God.

To return to my travels. On Sunday the 19th of February, we arrived in the evening at a ſpot ſo well peopled as to deſerve rather the name of a city than a town or village, called Dehhè, or Dehà, and paſſed the night in a very neat, nay, elegant apartment. On Monday we ſlept at an old caravanſerai almoſt in ruins, in midſt of a country deſerted on account of the unwholeſomeneſs of its water; the name of this canton is Alei. On Tueſday we made a long day's journey through a ſimilar country, repoſing at a caravanſerai as miſerable as that of the preceding evening, at a place called Chialiſiah. Here I found a ſervant diſpatched to me by the Carmelite friars, who had waited for me there for three days. Theſe friars reſide at Hiſpahan on the part of His Holineſs, and, in conſequence, are highly reſpected by the King; and, as I had adviſed them by letter of my intention of ſeeing them ſhortly, they informed me by this expreſs of what had taken place between them and one of the King's miniſters, reſident in Hiſpahan as Vizier. They, as well as ſeveral others, had informed him of my arrival; and knowing that I came in quality of the King's viſitor, being ſo perſuaded by the friars, and, moreover, that I was a Roman, and Beigzade or noble, he determined on ſetting out to meet me, and paying me the firſt viſit at my houſe, in which he would not fail to be copied by the principal perſons of the city; but he was diſſuaded from his intention by the good fathers, at my requeſt, who repreſented to him that I conſidered I ſhould be wanting in the reſpect due to ſo great a King, in making parade in a city dependent on him, before I had had the honour of being preſented, and that I ſhould be entirely ſatisfied by his doing me the favor of appointing apartments for me. My anſwer gratified the Vizier, who informed me he ſhould have to dread His Majeſty's diſpleaſure, had he been deficient of ſhewing me every attention. He accordingly aſſigned me a houſe of honour, belonging to the King, and deſtined for the reception of foreigners; which being communicated to me on Wedneſday, 22d February, after diſpatching ſome of my people before me, to acquaint the fathers of my arrival, I entered Spauhawn, as the city is called, although it be ſpelt Hiſpahan; the initial vowel being left out before the *S*, as we are accuſtomed with thoſe of the Spaniſh words, with an *S* preceded by *E*.

On arriving at Hiſpahan I dedicated the firſt days to paying my devoirs to the Carmelite friars, as ſubmiſſive and obedient to the Pope as they are to the King, reſpectable men, of great liberality, in whoſe ſociety I felt myſelf extremely happy. Living yet incognito, I had to reſolve on what plan to follow. At firſt I thought of ſetting out

immediately to join the King, then from thirty to forty days' journey diſtant, on the frontiers of the Turks and Georgians, with whom he was at war; but receiving intelligence, that if the difference with the Turks were not altogether adjuſted, a ceſſation of hoſtilities had taken place; and that the King, after viſiting the frontier towns, would certainly arrive in a little time, to receive certain embaſſadors from the King of Lahòr, or, as he is called, the Grand Mogul, I have changed my intention, and await his return in Hiſpahan. By this expreſs I forward to my friends in Rome and Conſtantinople, directions to remit me wherewithal to bear my expences, here as well as on the reſt of the travels I project: their anſwers, if not from Italy at leaſt from Conſtantinople, I expect will find me in this city; and intend, whatever be my reception on the part of the King, to remain here till after the month of Auguſt, and amuſe myſelf with the enjoyments which Hiſpahan affords.

This city is very large, handſome, and well peopled, ſo much ſo that in all the Eaſt I have met with none which excel it; for notwithſtanding in point of ſituation Conſtantinople certainly ſurpaſſes, in many other points it falls ſhort of Hiſpahan. Hiſpahan itſelf, that is to ſay, the ſpace contained within its walls, is nearly as large as Naples, but three other quarters adjoining it, have lately been begun under direction of the King; one is the New Tauris, inhabited already by the colony tranſported from that place; the King however has given this quarter the name of Abbas-abad: another is the New Chiolfà, peopled wholly with very rich Armenian merchants, brought from various parts on the frontiers, that they might not be expoſed to the riſk of his loſing them as ſubjects by any future wars, for the better defence of his kingdom devaſtating the borders, and bringing their inhabitants to cultivate lands aſſigned them in the heart of Perſia; thus ſecuring theſe people, who contribute not only to the grandeur, but alſo to the opulence and beauty, of the city of Hiſpahan, the principal abode of His Majeſty, and a city in which, if we may judge from the multiplicity of ſtructures continually erecting, and the great expence laviſhed upon it, the King exceedingly delights. The third quarter is that in which dwell the Guebres, or idolaters and infidels; and by the place it is apparent that Shah Abbas means to connect the whole of theſe with Hiſpahan, the works for the purpoſe being carried on with incredible energy. When complete I conceive that the circuit of the whole will be ſuperior to that of Conſtantinople or Rome.

The buildings, generally ſpeaking, are ſuperior to thoſe of Conſtantinople, but not ſo lofty. On the eaſtern part of the city the houſes are handſome and well conſtructed, but particularly the bazars; theſe are elegant, ſymmetrical, very large, with piazzas, and built according to the niceſt rules of architecture. In theſe all kinds of merchandize are to be found conveniently diſpoſed for ſuch as wiſh to buy or barter. There are alſo a number of caravanſerai for the accommodation of ſtrangers, well built, ſtill better furniſhed, and ſpacious; and as the revenue from them is conſiderable and lucrative to the King and individuals to whom they belong, they take eſpecial care to have them ſolidly conſtructed, and kept in good repair.

They have no moſques in this city comparable to the five or ſix in Conſtantinople; but to make amends, they have two curioſities not to be equalled either in Conſtantinople or any city in Chriſtendom.

The one is the Meidān or the grand ſquare that fronts the Royal Palace. It is ſix hundred and ninety of my paces in length, and two hundred and thirty broad, ornamented entirely round with moſt elegant arched porticoes, of the niceſt ſymmetry, their ureglarity not being interrupted by any ſtreet. Theſe porticoes, over which balconies

are

are conſtructed with large windows, are ſo many ſhops in which different articles of merchandize are expoſed. I can aſſure you that this grand ſucceſſion of ſymmetrical buildings has ſuch a fine effect, and delights the eye ſo much, that notwithſtanding the houſes of the ſquare of Navona be more lofty and magnificent, from its want of ſimilarity, and other recommendations poſſeſſed by the Meidān, even that ſquare muſt yield it the palm. A large rivulet, or rather a ſmall river, running in a direct line with the quays which border it on each ſide, flows inceſſantly round the Meidān near to the porticoes, watering in a very agreeable manner each quarter of the ſquare: juſt above the level of the water of the ſtream a handſome pavement of ſtone is laid on one ſide for the convenience of people on foot, while on the other, next to the piazzas, are a number of fine trees, planted in a line at regular diſtances from each other, and of equal height, whence I conclude that, when in a few days they ſhall put on the dreſs of ſpring, nothing can be more delightful than the proſpect they muſt afford. The middle of the ſquare conſiſts of ſand: it is conſequently always dry, and extremely ſuitable for exhibitions of horſemanſhip.

The gate of the King's palace is on one of theſe noble fronts, about two-thirds down its length. It is rather pretty than magnificent or ſuperb. A little below is the Lady's Gate, not yet finiſhed. Oppoſite to that of the King, on the other ſide, is a moſque, with a beautiful portal and dome of a kind of porcelain, fancifully painted. On one ſide the foundations of a new moſque have been begun, on which the workmen are barely employed; and from the other, towards the bazars, you have a charming perſpective, correſponding with the moſque, with two galleries raiſed on porticoes. Hither, every night, muſicians repair, who play on martial inſtruments; ſome after the Turkiſh, others in the Perſian manner: the muſic of them is highly grateful to the ear, and yet ſo powerful, that it is diſtinctly heard over all the ſquare, notwithſtanding its vaſt ſize.

The other curioſity is an immenſe ſtreet, at preſent out of the city, but which, when the four quarters become connected, will join them exactly in the middle; it is from two to three miles in length, and twice the breadth of that of Ponte Molle at Rome. At the head of this ſtreet, on the ſide of Hiſpahan, a ſmall ſquare houſe is built, in form of a pavilion, ſurrounded by balconies and windows, enriched with paintings and numerous ornaments, expreſsly for affording from its high ſite a proſpect of the whole length of the ſtreet. There is a communication between this place and the Royal Palace by means of a corridor. Two walls of equal height form the two ſides of this ſtreet: and within the walls are the King's gardens, which every one is allowed to enter, and eat of the fruit of infinite ſorts which they contain, by making a trifling preſent to the gardener. On each ſide the ſtreet, at regular intervals, and oppoſite to each other, are entrances into the gardens, with ſmall lodges for the convenience of ſuch as chuſe to reſt and refreſh themſelves with fruit. The number of theſe gates, with taſteful frontiſpieces, is conſiderable, and gratify the eye exceedingly by the exactitude of their properties and ſymmetry. Without as well as within the walls trees are planted the whole length, of equal height, in a direct line and at equal diſtances, the verdure of which relieves while it charms the ſight. In addition to this, in the courts of the largeſt and handſomeſt houſes, are proportionate canals, without parapets, of different forms: the water which ſupplies theſe flowing nearly level the length of the ſtreet, in a bed of ſtone, leaving on each ſide ſufficient ſpace for horſe and foot paſſengers. In many of theſe reſervoirs are ſpouting fountains, and where there are acclivities, caſcades, which delight the ear with their murmur. The ſtreet itſelf is paved in the middle, and next the walls with ſmall ſtones, not inconvenient for the paſſenger either on foot or

on horſeback, and the interval between the pavements on each ſide is planted with flowers and ſhrubs, which in ſpring muſt needs be incomparably grateful, as well from their beauty as their fragrance.

The river which flows along the middle of the ſtreet is very broad but not deep; it is formed by a number of ſmall ſtreams, which fall from the neighbouring mountains, and afterwards again it divides into many rivulets, which loſe themſelves without proceeding to the ſea, or diſemboguing any where. Over this river is a bridge built of brick, broader than that at Rome, and three or four times as long. It is of ſingular form, with porticos and galleries on the ſides in lieu of parapets, which ſerve as a promenade both above and below, the latter under cover, the upper not: but what pleaſe me moſt, are the walks on level with the water, built on large piers of ſtone, which traverſe the double rows of arcades, and which in ſummer muſt be delightful, at once ſhady and cool, while the ear is charmed by the murmur of the waters falling from a caſcade conſtructed on purpoſe in this ſpot, and forming a very agreeable proſpect. Beyond the bridge the ſtreet continues the ſame, lined with walls, trees, houſes, gardens and reſervoirs; the houſes and gardens, however, no more belong to the King, but individuals of quality, who, to enjoy the beauty of the ſite, have conſtructed them here, each emulous of excelling his neighbour in the elegance of them.

This ſtreet terminates in a large garden called Hazar-gerib, ſignifying it to contain a thouſand gerib, a certain meaſure of land; the garden and the ſtreet itſelf, however, is otherwiſe called Chiahàr-bagh, or four gardens; that being the number here formerly, now reduced to the one I mention. You aſcend to this garden by ſteps, but of ſo little height and ſo broad, that you may go up them on horſeback. This garden contains nothing but fruit-trees planted in lines, and ſo low that perſons on horſeback, and even thoſe on foot, may readily gather them as they go along. This garden belongs to the King, but is open to all, and produces ſuch abundance of fruit as to enable all the inhabitants of the town, who frequently reſort hither, to lay in ſtore. Each kind of fruit grows in ſeparate ſquares by itſelf; figs in one ſpace, peaches in another, pears in a third, and ſo on. In it are alleys as long as the eye can reach, croſſing each other; others of the length of the ſtreet bordered with cypreſs. At the extremity, on the moſt eminent ſpot, is a large ſtream, beyond which is a wall, which encloſes the whole. A number of large ſtreets, ſcarcely ſecond to this in beauty, croſs the city in different parts; theſe it will be needleſs to deſcribe, what I have mentioned being ſufficient to give an idea of the Chiahàr-bagh, and ſhew it truly royal and magnificent; and placing it much before the Del popolo at Rome, or the Poggio Reale at Naples, the ſtreet out of Genoa, or the Monreale at Palermo.

This city poſſeſſes other curioſities which are not marvellous, but for their ſingularity deſerve notice. Among theſe a minar, or tower, whence the hour is proclaimed to the people at the King's ſtables, to call to prayers. This minar is built entirely of the heads of wild goats and other animals killed in one general hunting-match, given either by the preſent King or ſome of his family, and exhibits a remarkable ſpecimen of the whimſical fancy of the Perſians, in which characteriſtic, I underſtand, none excel His Majeſty himſelf, the number of inſtances he has afforded in proof of this being ſufficient to fill a volume; ſome of them on a future occaſion I ſhall communicate. In addition to this, the firſt hall of the royal palace, where the King uſually receives ambaſſadors or gueſts, and in which he entertains and holds conference with them; I ſay the firſt hall, becauſe the palace where the King reſides is diſtant at the bottom of the garden; and into this, according to the cuſtom of the Princes of the Eaſt, very rarely is any one admitted; but in the grand ſquare, the Meidan, over the gate of the firſt entrance, there is a pavilion,

which, as I before have noticed, is rather pretty or handſome than magnificent. This is the building deſtined for the purpoſes I have obſerved. When the King comes hither it is always on horſeback, through a wide alley between two rows of very high walls, reaching from the gate of entrance to the palace where he reſides. The utmoſt reverence is ſhewn to the gate of entrance, ſo much ſo, that no one preſumes to tread on a certain ſtep of wood in it ſomewhat elevated, but, on the contrary, people kiſs it occaſionally as a precious and holy thing. To the apartments over the entrance you aſcend by a narrow ſtaircaſe, which does not pleaſe my fancy. Theſe conſiſt of a ſmall room in the middle on each ſtory, of which there are ſeveral, ſurrounded by ſmall anti-chambers: on the ſide fronting the Meidan, and that oppoſite to it, are ſmall balconies after their manner, to allow, while ſeated on the floor, a proſpect of the neighbourhood. There are in this place ſo many apartments, cabinets, and paſſages conducting to them, that I was aſſured by the parties, there were no leſs than five hundred doors in the houſe, although ſmall, in this particular reſembling the rooms themſelves.

The beauty of this houſe conſiſts in its walls, which are enriched with gilding from the ceiling to the floor, with excellent miniature paintings in various colours, with dark ornaments, which have a very fine effect, and the more ſo, the walls being of a ſhining white, reſembling ſatin. The domes likewiſe are loaded with decorations, gilding, rich colours, ſculpture, and alti-relievi, in different compartments, and without confuſion; and are well worthy our imitation in Italy.

On the walls of the different apartments are pannels at intervals, on which various figures are painted, but as they are unacquainted with hiſtory or mythology, all their pictures are repreſentations of men and women, either ſingle or together, in laſcivious poſtures ſtanding, drinking with bottles and cups in their hands; ſome overcome with wine and ſleeping, others reeling, in ſhort, diſplays of the votaries of Venus and Bacchus. Among theſe, moſtly dreſt in the coſtume of the country, are ſome with hats, intended to repreſent Europeans, apparently deſigned to intimate that Perſians are not the only ones addicted to wine. Theſe figures, notwithſtanding they be painted in extremely rich colours, are badly drawn, the painters of the country being far behind ours; I was in conſequence apprehenſive of loſing mine, if the King ſhould chance to learn his merit.

I had yet to ſee the Gul-i-ſtaun, or garden of roſes, but defer viſiting it until in perfection. No one when the King is preſent is ſuffered to view the apartments of the palace; now, however, that he is away, individuals ſuch as ourſelves are ſecretly admitted. In it I noticed the workmen very buſy, altering and completing the works not yet finiſhed. On days of ceremony alone certain perſons are admitted to converſe on buſineſs with the Shah. Others who do not enter ride on horſeback before the palace, waiting for the King's appearance, who every day rides out alſo on horſeback into the middle of the Meidan, when ſometimes he amuſes himſelf in converſing with each individual; at others exerciſes his horſe backwards and forwards on the ſquare; at others again, liſtens to any one who wiſhes to addreſs him. Occaſionally he has refreſhments brought him into the middle of the ſquare. Now he takes an airing in a different part, accompanied by his courtiers; at other times, and moſt frequently, he rides by himſelf among the bazars, to ſee what is paſſing.

In Hiſpahan, beſides lions, tigers, and other ſimilar animals which are common, I ſaw three elephants, a preſent to the King from India; they were but ſmall. The manner of their guiding and puniſhing them is extraordinary. They uſe for this purpoſe a ſtick pointed with iron at one end, with which the keeper pricks them, and at the other with a crooked piece of iron, with which he tickles the inſide of the ear, or ſcratches them be-

tween the ears, without ſparing the fleſh. I ſhall now proceed to deſcribe the country of Perſia; its inhabitants, manners; its military, and officers.

The country in the neighbourhood of Hiſpahan is fertile and the air temperate, notwithſtanding its inequality, it being a mixture of vales and mountains, not connected but ſtanding ſeparate; ſo that frequently a very lofty and rocky mountain riſes in midſt of a beautiful and extenſive meadow.

The inhabitants of Perſia are of ſeveral deſcriptions. They conſiſt, firſtly, of ſtrangers of various countries, who reſort thither to traffic, of whom the Indians are the moſt numerous; among theſe ſome Banyans, chiefly from the Guzurat, which formerly belonged to the King, but is now dependent on the Grand Mogul; of theſe a part profeſs Iſlamiſm, the religion of the King of Lahòr, ſovereign at this time of the greateſt part of India; while the others are Gentiles adoring numerous idols. The religion of the Perſians is alſo various. Some are Gaurs, or Guebres, and are ſaid, on account of the extraordinary care with which they preſerve it, to adore fire; however, as I proceed I ſhall be more diffuſe on their head. I ſhall only juſt remark, that theſe are the deſcendants of the ancient Perſians who lived in the time of Alexander; but having ſuffered materially by the wars waged by different ſovereigns againſt them, they are now reduced to a handful of people, diſperſed through three or four of the cities of Perſia, of which Hiſpahan is one, where they live ſeparate in one of the quarters I have deſcribed, which is to be united to Hiſpahan, and render it a capital city comprized of four ſo near to each other as only to be ſeparated by the breadth of the beautiful ſtreet, the Chiahàr-bagh, and the river which croſſes it. The diſpoſition of them is as follows: Hiſpahan lays north of the river and eaſt of the ſtreet; on the oppoſite ſide of the ſtreet, on the weſt, is Abbas-abad. On the ſouth ſide of the river, in the angle oppoſite to Abbas-abad, is Chiòlfa, and adjoining this and oppoſite to Hiſpahan is Gabr-abad, inhabited by the Guebres, the Gentiles I have juſt mentioned.

There are, moreover, Chriſtians of different ſects; Syrians, Georgians in much greater abundance, and an infinite number of Armenians. Theſe latter are extremely rich, carrying on moſt of the commerce of the country, particularly that with Turkey: beſides theſe the Mahometans, who may be ranked in two different claſſes, the one common and general, called properly Agemi, or Agiami: theſe are Mahometans deſcended from the ancient Perſians, who changed their religion with their government, and are likewiſe called Tat, that is, a vaſſal and cowardly race; the other Kizilbaſhi, compriſing the ſoldiery and the nobility, who are now in high eſteem. Agem is the general name for the empire of Perſia; Farſiſtaun, or Parſiſtaun, whence Perſia is derived, denoting regularly no more than a province, although by acceptation it be uſed in common with Agem for the whole. The Kizilbaſhi come originally from Turkey, and ſubdued and governed the country for a long time with abſolute ſway, until the aſſumption of the empire by an anceſtor of His preſent Majeſty. This perſonage, the forefather of Shah Abbas, was by origin an Arab of the race of Mahomet, who becoming powerful by means of the Turkiſh ſoldiery, and tired of ſubmiſſion to their ſovereigns, by acquiring the reputation of a ſaint, and, laſtly, by confirming himſelf in the eſteem of all by new opinions which he introduced into the law, he deprived the Turks of their ſway, but did not diſqualify them from the uſe of arms, or the management of affairs under the will of the Kings who have ſince ruled.

Iſmael Sofi, which was the name of the firſt King of this dynaſty, having a number of followers among the Turcomans, who adopted the tenets of this diſciple of Ali, in order to diſtinguiſh his ſectaries, gave the Turks who fought under his banners a red cap to wear under their turban, ſurmounted by a knot with twelve ſmall plaits about it, in

remembrance of the twelve deſcendants of Ali, whom they revere as their apoſtles, and the chiefs of their ſect. Theſe deſcendants are called by the title of Imami, ſignifying ſovereign pontiff of the faith. This ſect was called Sounites, and reigned under the ſpecious and ſuperb name of Califs, that is to ſay, ſucceſſors of Mahomet in ſpiritual as well as temporal affairs; preſerving their empire for a long time, firſt in Damaſcus and afterwards in Bagdad.

To his Turkiſh followers Iſmael gave the name of Kizilbaſhi, that is to ſay, red heads, on account of the cap in which he dreſt them; and entered Perſia, then much divided. As at this time it was parted into many ſigniories, whoſe chiefs were perpetually at war, he found it no difficult taſk to make himſelf maſter of the whole. From this Iſmael the reigning Prince deſcends in a direct line, and among his other titles is called Sheich zadi, or ſon of the Scheich, that is to ſay, of that man ſo much renowned for ſanctity. On ſome ſolemn occaſions, I underſtand it is uſual for the King himſelf to wear this red cap, called tag, or crown, which is a mark of the wearer belonging to the army, and of nobility.

The Kizilbaſhi are likewiſe of two ſorts. The one the heirs of their predeceſſors, who inherit from father to ſon the dignity and rank of their ſires in the army, the other occaſionally appointed by the King, whoſe ſubjects or ſlaves of whatſoever nation they may be, if eſtabliſhed in the country and enrolled among the Kizilbaſhi, become thereby naturalized and ennobled, they and their poſterity. Sometimes alſo His Majeſty, as a token of his eſteem for a foreigner, makes him a Kizilbaſhi, by beſtowing on him the tag, this, however, is rarely the caſe: in fifteen years, that a gentleman ſpeaking to me on the ſubject had reſided in the country, he had known but once of ſuch an occurrence, in the inſtance of Sir Robert Shirley, who received this honour upon his going as ambaſſador from the court of Perſia to Rome.

All the Kizilbaſhi bear the title of Bey, or lord, but their captains, commanding moſtly a hundred men, are called Luzbaſhi, or chief of a hundred. Theſe Luzbaſhi are inferior to Sultans. In Turkey this title ſignifies King, but in Perſia a general of an army, or commandant of a city, or ſome ſtrong place. A Khan is lord over ſeveral of theſe Sultans; this name is alſo that which Kings aſſume among the Turks, but with the Perſians it anſwers to Viceroy, or governor of a province, poſſeſſing, however, abſolute authority, and nominating at pleaſure all the officers under him as well civil as military, ſubject to no other orders of the King in his province than what regard the number of his people to be drafted for war, or matters relative to the ſtate. Among the Sultans there are likewiſe ſome of the moſt powerful, although the number of theſe be ſmall, who, acknowleging no ſuperior juriſdiction of a Khan, depend immediately on the King. All theſe officers hold their appointments at the will of the King; in Perſia, however, according to ancient cuſtom, they are ſeldom diſplaced from caprice when they do their duty, but when removed it is uſually to aſſume ſome higher ſtation as a reward for their ſervices.

The King in general grants the dignity of Khan to a ſubject not for his life alone, the children moſt frequently inheriting, ſo that there are families in which this dignity has deſcended for two hundred years, whence their ſubjects look on them rather as their true and legitimate lords than as officers of the King, or miniſters of the ſtate. I underſtand, however, that the preſent King is diſpoſed to annihilate this cuſtom, on account of theſe gentlemen being too abſolute in their diſtricts, as he experienced at the beginning of his reign. Except, however, the government of provinces, cities, and large towns, the children inherit from their parents whatever they poſſeſſed; but as a token of ſubmiſſion and dependence, the ſon, on the death of his father, gives a declaration to

the King of what the deceaſed died worth, as well in moveables as immoveables, when, in caſe of any thing pleaſing His Majeſty, he takes it, and leaves the reſt. If, on the contrary, the conduct of the defunct ſhould have been defective and treacherous to the ſtate, confiſcation then enſues, and the King takes all.

Perſia has a number of theſe Khans, ſome more powerful than others. The moſt eminent is that of Shiras, the metropolis of Perſia Proper, ſituated about twelve leagues from the ſpot where ſtood the famous city of Perſepolis, demoliſhed in a drunken bout by Alexander, and the reſidence of the Magi, who followed the ſtar to Bethlehem, in order to adore Chriſt, capital of the province of Fars; its peculiar government is very large, extending to the ſea of Hormouz, ſome days' journey from Hiſpahan.

The Khan can ſend twenty-five thouſand horſe into the field; and his province, as I am aſſured by people converſant in the matter, is of much greater extent than Portugal. In Hiſpahan, the capital of Irak, Caſbin, a principal city alſo of Irak, and in ſome other conſiderable cities there is no Khan, theſe places being royal cities. In theſe the King has his palaces, furniſhed with ſlaves, women, and every requiſite; this, on account of his reſiding rarely for any length of time at one place, and the inconvenience attendant on journeying with a large train. He takes pleaſure in travelling occaſionally with only two or three attendants, excellently mounted; their horſes journeying with ſuch ſpeed as to perform in the ſpace of five or ſix nearly thirty days' journey. On this account, he has conſtantly ſome of theſe horſes ready ſaddled and bridled in his ſtables, the hour or even minute of his departure being ever uncertain.

It is now, however, time to turn from public matters to my own concerns. On Sunday 12th of March, Father John, the vicar-general of the Carmelites, availed himſelf of the departure of a courier, who left this place for the camp where the King is, to inform the King's ſteward of the houſehold, or Mehimàndar, of my arrival, and that I remained at Hiſpahan, waiting for intelligence whether His Majeſty was on his return, or, if not, where I might join him. We ſhall, no doubt, have an anſwer to this letter, which will determine my ſtay or departure hence.

On the ſame day I was viſited by two ladies of quality, Chriſtians of the Georgian church, reſident in Hiſpahan. They poſſeſſed conſiderable property in their own country, but owing to the ſuddenneſs with which the army of Abbas, conſiſting of one hundred thouſand men, fell upon their eſtates, they had no time to eſcape, as did Trimuraz Khan; but following the example of a relation of theirs, a governor, they ſurrendered themſelves to the King. Preſerving themſelves ſtedfaſt in their faith, they ſhut themſelves out from the bounty of the King, and, having ſold all their ſlaves and property for ſubſiſtence, are reduced to accept of the eleemoſynary aid of the monks who reſide here. Touched by their misfortunes and noble demeanor, we became much attached to them. The natives of the country whence they come have ever been famous as good ſoldiers; the country itſelf, I underſtand is beautiful, and much reſembles the fineſt parts of Lombardy.

I find an inconvenience in keeping Lent here, owing to the want of fiſh in the few and very ſmall rivers which Perſia can boaſt, and the diſtance of the ſea in any part from Hiſpahan. The Mediterranean being ſixty, the Perſian Gulph thirty, and the Caſpian Sea twenty days' journey diſtant. The fiſh we eat at preſent comes from the Caſpian, and (perhaps on account of there being no other) appears to me excellent; when, however, we may without ſcruple eat meat, we ſhall fare extremely well, there being here of all deſcriptions in abundance. In Hiſpahan, where living is dear, for a piaſtre of Spain (the money moſt in eſteem throughout all the Eaſt) you have five or ſix fat pullets; but on the road when travelling, in ſeveral places the ſame ſum paid for

for provender for the mules and horſes, and food for four-and-twenty perſons we had with us. As for fruits, it may ſuffice to tell you that we are now living on moſt excellent melons, and have been for this month paſt, whether owing to the care with which they are preſerved, their being ſown late, or of a different ſpecies I know not; yet from the excellence and purity of the air or the dryneſs of the earth ſuiting and preſerving them, they are eaten here all the winter, and at that period are of a moſt delicious flavour.

At the drug ſhops, I have found a matter ſold here under the name of Hamama, of which I ſend you a ſpecimen, I do not however conceive it to be the amomum we look for; of the larger cardamom alſo, which I was ſolicitous of meeting with, underſtanding it much reſembled the amomum, I ſend you a parcel. Whether it be the amomum as I conceived or another ſpecies of cardamom unknown to us, I am ſatisfied there is none of the ſort in Italy, as it is not to be procured in Turkey, and is very rare here. It poſſibly may be dear; I ſhall however obtain as much of it as poſſible. There are here a thouſand other drugs from India, Cathay, and other places; as, however, I am not a connoiſſeur in this article, and have nobody who can give me information on the matter, I know not how to make a collection.

In the packet, you will likewiſe find a ſmall branch of a ſhrub, which inſtead of leaves or flowers, as you will diſtinguiſh, produces filaments of a lightiſh green colour, which yields a very refreſhing liquor held as a ſovereign remedy for alleviating the heat of fevers; in addition it is of a very grateful ſmell. It is called bidmiſk or the muſk ſallow, owing to its reſemblance in fragrance to muſk and its being deemed a ſpecies of willow.

The day of the vernal equinox, called here Neu rouz, or new day, is one of great feſtivity in Perſia. On this day, mutual preſents are made, and gifts are tendered on the part of dependants to their ſuperiors, and of the whole kingdom, and the miniſters to the King; every one appears in new dreſſes, feaſts are given, and greater freedom and more diverſions reign than on other occaſions, the country about the town being all alive from the number of parties enjoying themſelves. Theſe entertainments continue for ſeveral days; and in theſe the Indians participate, erecting tents in the courts of the caravanſerai, where they paſs the night in ſinging and dancing. The aſtronomers here, if I miſtake not, differ from us in the aſcertainment of the day of the equinox, but as it is not yet come, I ſhall be better able to ſpeak of this hereafter. Aſtronomy is ſo well known in Perſia, that there is not a ſoldier in the army, however ignorant he may be, but without conſulting the tacuim, or almanac, he wears at his breaſt, can readily tell what conjunction or oppoſition of planets occur on any particular day, and is equally prompt at other matters. The King is conſtantly attended by a judicial aſtrologer, and undertakes nothing ere he has firſt conſulted him. Thoſe among this people alſo who prefer the peaceful muſes to the noiſy god of war poſſeſs much genius, and produce enchanting compoſitions. Among theſe are many of great nobility, and even of Royal blood, who are ſtyled Mirza, that is to ſay, ſons of Princes; and theſe are the real nobility of Perſia, although degraded for policy's ſake, and neither ſoldiers or Kizilbaſhi. They delight much in ſtudy, and compared with the reſt of orientals are very learned, yet not equally ſo with our men of intelligence.

Methinks I have ſaid and written a great deal, the ſhort time of my reſidence here conſidered, and the little knowlege of the country I have hitherto acquired. I ſhall conclude, therefore, begging you not to wonder at the confuſion of my letter, as I have written precipitately as the matter flowed; I hope nevertheleſs that the information

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it affords may be ſerviceable, as from the evidence I have had of your genius, I am aware that it will not be difficult for you to extract order from the chaos of my writing, and give it a new and more regular form.

*Hiſpahan, March* 17, 1617.

It eſcaped my memory to mention two things, with which it is fit you ſhould be made acquainted, the one, that the title of Kizilbaſhi is common not only to the ſoldiers and nobles, but, in common with Fars and Ajem, to the country itſelf; it is however more in uſe among the Turks and foreigners than the natives themſelves; the other, that in Perſia, by a particular and very ancient privilege, liberty of opinion is allowed to all, each following the religion his conſcience dictates, and living as he pleaſes under protection of the law. Hence each nation has a diſtinct quarter of reſidence as I have deſcribed of Hiſpahan. Moreover they are allowed to adminiſter juſtice according to their own laws in civil as well as criminal caſes, the courts of His Majeſty having ſcarcely any juriſdiction over them. This right indeed is ſo prevalent at preſent, that not only diſtinct nations but even ambaſſadors of Princes, the King's gueſts, and others of ſimilar deſcription, exerciſe a ſimilar authority, not only over their own ſervants, but alſo over thoſe who may be ſubject to them only for a time. The priors of convents enjoy the ſame privilege.

I muſt further remark that whatever be the crime of an individual who flies for refuge from juſtice to the palace of the King, it is a ſacred aſylum. At preſent there is a man of quality whom the King was deſirous of putting to death for ſome ſtate treaſon; but being quick enough to enter the palace (although if he made but a ſtep without the gate, he would inſtantly be put to death without further proceſs) he is ſecure from every violence. None is refuſed admittance to the palace, but on paſſing the threſhold, which he kiſſes, as I have before remarked, he has claim of protection. This threſhold in ſhort is in ſuch veneration, that its name of *Aſtanè* is the denomination for the court and the Royal palace itſelf. Thus by adding the term doulet, or proſperity, *Aſtanè y doulet* means the court of proſperity. The palace is alſo called Doulet chanè, the houſe of proſperity.

Here, likewiſe, it may be proper I ſhould mention that the preſent King has inſtituted corps of infantry called fuſileers, as better adapted than cavalry for beſieging and defending fortreſſes: theſe, however, have no red knot, and are not Kizilbaſhi or gentlemen, and are commanded by captains. Of theſe, at preſent, there are ſome in all his dominions, and in every province. They do not however follow the army, as its march is too rapid for their accompaniment.

Letter the ſecond of Pietro delle Valle combats the objections raiſed by Signor Schipuno againſt compiling an account of his travels; and a diſcourſe intended to be delivered by him to the Academy of Humouriſts, not being material to the deſcription of Perſia, it has been omitted.

## LETTER III.

*Hiſpahan, December* 8, 1617.

IN my preceding letters from this city of the month of March laſt, I deſcribed to you my journey hither from Bagdad, and ſo much of the curioſities of Hiſpahan, and matters in general reſpecting Perſia, that at preſent I have little information to afford you. I promiſed in one of theſe to give you on ſome future occaſion more particulars reſpecting the Guebres. A few days ago I viſited their new city, the poſition of which I have

I have before deſcribed. It is called the Guebriſtun; or the place of the infidels. It is well built, the ſtreets very wide, ſtraight, and much handſomer than thoſe of Chiòlfa, having been conſtructed ſince them with more experience and attention: none of the houſes however have more than a ground floor, and all are deſtitute of ornament, correſponding with the poverty of their inhabitants, and differing from thoſe of Chiòlfa, which are magnificent. The Guebres follow no trade, but earn their livelihood by ruſtic occupations with much labour and fatigue. They wear all the ſame kind of dreſs, and of the ſame colour, that of cement made of brick-duſt.

Theſe people bear great reſemblance to the Perſians of the preſent day, but are coarſely built; they wear a round cap generally white, without any mixture of colours, of a fanciful ſhape like that of the modern Perſians: they do not however like theſe ſhave the cheeks and chin, but ſuffer their beard to grow like the Turks, and wear their hair long like women, preciſely in the ſame manner as their anceſtors are repreſented to have done by Herodotus. The women likewiſe dreſs all alike; their coſtume however more reſembles that of the Arabs or Chaldeans than the Perſian; it much reſembles the frock uſually worn with us by pilgrims, but without any girdle or collar. Their dreſs is improved by a veil which they wear over the head, of a greeniſh yellow. This is very long and wide, of the ſame faſhion as thoſe worn by the Arabian and Chaldee women, which, covering the face, they ſuffer to float in the wind, as low as the waiſt, and hang down to the ground behind. In the ſtreets they go with their face uncovered, differing in this reſpect from the Mahometans.

According to what I gathered from one of their ſect, a ſimple and uninformed being, they have a diſtinct language, varying, as well as the characters, from the Perſian of the preſent day; I was however unable to learn from him whether or no like the Latins they write from left to right, nor any particulars concerning their ſacred fire. He told me, however, that they pray three times a day, at ſun-riſe, noon, and ſun-ſet; that they adore one Supreme Being, creator of all things viſible and inviſible; and on my ſtating that we had a direct contrary opinion of their belief, "How?" ſaid his wife, who was ſtanding by: "Gracious God! we not know thee. Make me thy ſacrifice! (a common expreſſion with them) Who ever ſaw thee, or knows how thou exiſteth?" Whence I conceive them not to be idolaters as they are repreſented. They acknowledged indeed that they revered the ſun and moon as angels, but of inferior degree. They deteſt Mahomet, looking on him as an impoſtor, and his followers as infidels; nor call themſelves Guebres, as termed by the Mahometans, but Behen-din (of the true faith). They have great abhorrence of frogs, tortoiſes, crabs, and other ſimilar animals, which they ſay infect water, and kill them whenever they find them; probably land-inſects alſo and vermin, ſuch as ſerpents, ants, and the like; in this conforming with the practice of the Magi, as related by Herodotus. They do not burn their dead, but place them upright with their eyes open, in which poſture they leave them to decay, or be devoured by crows. I ſhall endeavour, on ſome other occaſion, to obtain more ample information reſpecting this people.

Four things curious enough in themſelves I have remarked while in Hiſpahan. The firſt, the practice of the people here on the occaſion of the total eclipſe of the moon on the 16th of Auguſt laſt. Upon this event, the whole population got on the flat roofs of the houſes, rending the air with their noiſe and ſongs, and the ſound of braſs pans, either to frighten the animal about to devour the moon, or to ſtrengthen her in her ſufferings in paſſing through a door or very narrow paſſage. Similar ſuperſtition exiſts in Turkey, but here I was ſurprized at finding the people ſo ignorant, learning prevailing here much more than in Turkey.

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The ſecond, I noticed in viſiting Huſſein culi Mirza, a near relation of the King, and deſcended according to report in even a more direct line from Ali and Mahomet than even His Majeſty himſelf. In his Divan-Chanè, that is to ſay, the hall that ſerves for an audience-chamber and eating-room when ſtrangers are invited, was a receſs as is common in all grand houſes, the palaces of the King not excepted; the Divan Chanè is generally in ſome low ſtory, yet commanding a view either of gardens or courts, and is open in front like our galleries or porticos: in the receſs I ſpeak of, their victuals is cooked in the preſence of the gueſts, with the greateſt nicety and cleanlineſs imaginable, without any fire, ſmoak, or dirt of any deſcription common to kitchens, diſguſting the eye. Oppoſite to the entrance is this receſs, which is a broad and long niche, reſembling a ſmall tribunal in our churches, lined all round from top to bottom, and the floor entirely covered with varniſhed ſhining tiles of different colours, on which are repreſented with much taſte either figures or very handſome and well-painted flowers; the walls of the hall are alſo covered with tiles of ſimilar deſcription, but only to the height of about three feet, for gueſts to lean againſt ſitting on carpets. The walls in the Eaſt being bare of furniture, on the floor of the receſs are ſmall openings, purpoſely left for large diſhes or other ſuitable veſſels to be placed upon, in which the victuals is cooked; the fire to heat them is under ground, but ſo diſpoſed as to allow a vent for the ſmoak as well as the flame, which is inviſible in the apartment; and notwithſtanding this, over theſe holes their meat is extremely well cooked, and even roaſted, or rather baked. Amid theſe holes riſes a ſmall fountain of pure water, which ſerves for cleanſing the meat, and afterwards runs off by two canals which are concealed, and takes away every ſpecies of filth, ſo that the moſt delicate eye can receive no offence.

This mode of cooking in preſence of the party invited is leſs, I believe, for the convenience itſelf, than a precaution againſt poiſon. Owing to an apprehenſion of attempts of this kind, is it, in my opinion, that the King does ſo many things which ignorant people tax as whimſical and unworthy of Majeſty; ſuch for example as cooking for himſelf, which is common with him, particularly the fiſh or game he has himſelf caught or killed. On ſuch occaſions, he will diſſect the animal he has deſtroyed with the greateſt nicety, ſeparating with ſo much epicuriſm the daintieſt morſels, as to collect no more from the carcaſe than a pound in ſmall ſlices, which he ſeaſons with different ingredients that are grateful to his palate, and makes of it when cooked a moſt hearty regale. At other times he will dine in the ſtreets from cooks' ſhops wherever any grateful odour ſalutes him from the ſteaming kitchens. In this he is not particular, many individuals, on account of the ſuperior cooking at theſe ſhops, being ſerved from them with their meals. Again, in riding along His Majeſty will enter a houſe, and dine on whatever the family may have provided for itſelf.

The third matter worthy of remark is an annual ſolemnity in memory of the death of Ali, which is celebrated on the 21ſt of the month Ramadhan, on which occaſion there are two proceſſions by two of their congregations, each of them accompanied by a great part of the city, and a number of the nobles of the kingdom; when in the city, the King even follows in either the one or other of them. The firſt rank in the proceſſion is filled by a number of horſes covered with ornaments peculiar to the country; on their ſaddles are trophies of bows and arrows, ſwords, and ſhields; and on the pummel of the ſaddle, a turban repreſenting the arms of Ali. Theſe are followed by a number of colours, pikes and lances of extraordinary length, with bandroles, ſupported with difficulty by the men who carry them on foot; theſe, ſo long that the weight of the end cauſes them to bend, are poſſibly meant to repreſent part of the arms

of Ali, and designate his immense bulk. Afterwards follows a bier, and sometimes a number of biers, of black velvet, and covered with trophies of various arms, offensive and defensive, raised very high and surmounted with tufts of feathers and other similar decorations. These biers are accompanied by a number of singers, with cymbals, gongs, and fifes, with which they make the air resound, leaping about incessantly, and roaring out with all their might in a most hideous manner. People of quality go on horseback in the procession, the mob, which is extremely numerous, on foot.

This procession marches round the Meidan or great square, which I have before described and stops for a while before the Royal palace, and again before the principal mosque opposite, whence after certain prayers each repairs to his home. The Vizier of Hispahan on the one part, and the King's treasurer on the other, appear on the square, each attended by a number of cavaliers, who clear the way of the crowd. It is their special care also to prevent quarrels between the two processions on account of precedence, which sometimes happen, and terminate in the loss of lives.

The fourth object I have to notice is the Feast of Roses, which lasts the whole time of their remaining in bloom. During this period you see nothing but dancing to the sound of various instruments in all the public places, by night as well as by day, and people regaling themselves with coffee. A number of young children also in the coffee-houses display their agility in a loose and lascivious manner, and run about the streets in the neighbourhood of the Meidan, attended by others carrying flambeaux and chandeliers full of lights, who scatter roses on all they meet, receiving money in return. In other parts men and women repair without the city, where they take refreshments, and amuse themselves with throwing roses at each other. This feast of roses appears to me a remnant of the ancient festivities held in honour of Flora, in the same season of the year.

As for the temperature of the air in this country, both the heat and cold are very tolerable, notwithstanding, in the open sunshine, the warmth far surpasses that of Italy. The cold is never very intense, although in the months of January and February, the only ones of winter, there falls a quantity of snow. It rains so seldom, that, from the time of my arrival up to December, I have never remarked more than once a few drops in the beginning of autumn. Owing to this dryness, and the mild and refreshing breezes which frequently prevail, the air is incomparably pure and salubrious; whence nobody retires to close apartments to sleep in the summer, (that is from May to September,) but take repose on the floor of their houses, without any counterpane of mats, as is usual in the rest of Asia, and several parts of the Archipelago, or any other covering whatsoever, but wholly exposed to the open air. Others, however, not inclined to rise with the lark, retire to the Divan-chanè, fronting their courts or gardens.

The dryness and natural sterility of the earth, which contains a quantity of nitre, exacts of the husbandman considerable care and abundance of manure. In this country they use indifferently the dung of cattle and men, and such is the demand for the latter, that instead of its costing any thing to have privies emptied, the servants receive a handsome compensation from those who take away the soil. From the drought and requisiteness of water, great pains are taken to obtain it, and bring it from considerable distance for irrigating the lands; by which means, and by the addition of compost, the fructifying influence of the sun produces almost every thing in this climate. If any thing be wanting produced in other countries, it is less owing to the ignorance of the inhabitants, or the want of value for such articles on their part, than the incapacity of the amended soil or the climate to yield them. Above all the delicate or delicious

fruits which grow in this country, that which in my eſteem excels the reſt is a kind of apricot, called by the Perſians, to diſtinguiſh it from other ſpecies, by a mixed word half Arabic half Perſian, tokhm eſk-ſhems, ſignifying ſun's ſeed.

Melons here are eaten nine months out of the twelve, and are of an exquiſite flavour; grapes all the year round; of theſe there is a ſpecies called chiſkmiſk, of a greeniſh colour, oblong, and without ſtones. This, either freſh or dry, is delicious, either by itſelf or mixed with their different diſhes, particularly piläo. Here is likewiſe found a certain ſort of pulſe called maſk, unknown in Italy, and excellent: it is of a greeniſh colour, not much larger than lentils, not ſo flat, more reſembling a pea in ſhape, but not of equal ſize.

As I have nothing further to write to you of matters relative to Perſia in general, I ſhall give ſome account of my individual affairs, knowing as I do that they will not be indifferent to you. Firſt, then, I enjoy good health, am ſomewhat leaner than formerly, of which I know not the cauſe; it is not occaſioned by the heat, for it agrees with me, not to over exerciſe; for I have been almoſt idle for ten months back. Is it owing to my being married? I cannot think ſo; for when much more plump than at preſent, I was not leſs the ſervant of the ladies. Poſſibly it may be owing to the different food. Hiſpahan becomes weariſome to me in the abſence of the court and all the nobility, notwithſtanding its beauties and population; and were it not for the converſation of ſome among the good fathers which has kept me alive, I ſhould ſurely have died of the ſpleen.

However, thank God, I am on the eve of leaving it to join the King, wherever he may be, and for the purpoſe have already provided myſelf with tents, horſes, camels, carriages, and other requiſites; ſince I as ſhall have to follow the army, I muſt carry my houſe with me *à la Scythe*, and be provided with horſes to harneſs to the carriages at an inſtant's notice, either by night or day. I have therefore a chain of camels, (a chain conſiſts of ſeven) but am fearful as my baggage is weighty theſe will ſcarcely ſuffice. I have choſen them of a Perſian race, on account of their being beſt fitted for fatigue; hardy, and capable of enduring the winters of Armenia, where uſually the army encamps. The camels of Perſia differ from thoſe of Egypt, Arabia, Turkey, or any other country; are ſtronger, larger, and have more hair on the neck and legs. I take but four ſaddle-horſes with me, which will be ſufficient for myſelf and thoſe I moſt regard; as for war-horſes and horſes of parade, I ſhall meet with them on the ſpot, ſuperior and cheaper than any I can purchaſe here. All that I wait for now is the making of certain dreſſes, and horſe accoutrements, which I muſt take with me hence. All my liveries are complete; they are red and yellow, and will I truſt appear novel and extraordinary at court, as it is not uſual to dreſs ſervants in this manner; I may thus ſet a faſhion eventually, as the Perſians are great imitators. The King, as I have before noticed, has long been apprized of my arrival, and I underſtand from the Auguſtin monk and the Engliſh reſident returned from court, (whither the latter had gone for the Royal deciſion on a difference between himſelf and the Portugueſe reſident,) that His Majeſty made many enquiries reſpecting me and ſignified that he was impatient to ſee me.

Enough of my preparations; I muſt now proceed to give you a deſcription of the ſolemn ſacrifice of the camel, at which I was preſent out of curioſity a ſhort time ago. The firſt day of the Little Bairane or Mahometan Eaſter, called likewiſe the Bairane del Curban, or of the ſacrifice in commemoration of the ſacrifice of Abraham. It fell this year on the 9th of December. The Mahometans are accuſtomed to make ſacrifice of a number of victims on this occaſion, on the 10th day of the moon in their

twelfth month, called by them Di'l hadjè and kill ſeveral lambs in their own houſes, part of which they eat, and give the reſt to the poor; but in the principal cities, or wherever the King happens to be, a camel is ſacrificed, the Perſians reputing the animal ſlain by Abraham in lieu of his ſon, whom they ſay was Iſhmael and not Iſaac, to have been a camel, and not a ram as ſtated in ſcripture. The Turks, however, read the text after our manner, and ridicule the ſacrifice of the camel.

The ceremony of the ſacrifice of the camel is as follows. Three days previouſly, a female camel is led all over the city crowned with flowers, ſuch as violets, and many ſimilar ſtill in bloom, together with different herbs, among which I noticed a branch of the pine, accompanied by a great concourſe playing on cymbals and fifes. A mulla, or doctor of the law, follows, who at intervals chants their confeſſion of faith and certain prayers. The people as ſhe paſſes by pull off hair from her, which they preſerve as a relic.

On the third day, which is uſhered in with the ſound of trumpets, cymbals, and other inſtruments, particular prayers, and where poſſible, by diſcharges of artillery; after prayers, all the nobility, and the King, if he be on the ſpot, together with the people, a mingled maſs of all deſcriptions, ſome on foot and others on horſeback, repair without the city. In Hiſpahan, the place where the ceremony is performed, is a large ſquare or eſplanade, full two miles from the gates. Here a large circle is formed, the inner rows of which are occupied by the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons, in their richeſt and moſt ſuperb dreſſes; all the people being habited in their beſt. Here they wait the arrival of the victim, which is firſt conducted round the town again in the manner before deſcribed. Before the camel a lance is carried, or rather a zagay, handſomely mounted with ſteel at the end, with which ſhe is to be ſlain. As ſoon as ſhe arrives at the deſtined ſpot, ſhe is driven into the circle, and ſurrounded by a number of the people reſident about Hiſpahan, as well as others. After placing her in the poſture requiſite, one of the moſt conſiderable perſonages preſent, (this year Haider Sultan, captain of the gate of the King's haram,) magnificently dreſſed and covered with ornaments, takes the lance, and, as ſhe lays on the right ſide, back-handedly pierces her through the heart. Immediately the people about throw themſelves upon the victim, and with ſwords, knives, hatchets, or any other cutlery they may have, ſeparate it into a thouſand pieces; the mob, armed with bludgeons, diſputing for participation. After the diviſion, in determining which cudgel-logic is of much more efficacy than oratory, the mob tumultuouſly return to their various homes.

Part of the fleſh of this animal is cooked and eaten with great devotion, the reſt ſalted and preſerved throughout the year, is regarded as a remedy for all kinds of infirmities. The head was ſent to the King, the quarters are diſtributed all over the city and the various villages adjoining, the number of which within a circle round Hiſpahan of from twelve to fifteen miles is more than a thouſand.

On account of the abſence of the court, few people of high rank were preſent; the number was confined to the Vizier of Hiſpahan the prime miniſter, Haider Sultan before-mentioned, and Melek Bey, who likewiſe is Melek Ettùgiar, or king of the merchants.

Lala Bey the great treaſurer was to have been preſent, but receiving orders from the King, he departed from Hiſpahan ſome days before. He invited me to accompany him, but as my doing ſo would have ſubjected me to many ceremonial inconveniencies, I excuſed myſelf on account of not having every thing ready, which was actually the fact. I begged of him, however, to leave one of his ſervants with me to eſcort me on the road, whoſe preſence may do me credit, and be of ſervice to me.

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The Vizier likewiſe has promiſed to furniſh me with a letter of credit, and engages for my being well received by the governors and officers of the cities and towns through which I ſhall have to paſs. From appearance, therefore, no more than one thing will be wanting to me, and that a companion of my own country, to take part in my adventures, and ſhare my pleaſures. You muſt know I have no one any longer about me from Italy, or even from Europe, having been obliged to rid myſelf of the only two I had, the one a Venetian whom I engaged at Aleppo, the other a Flemiſh painter. My preſent houſehold conſiſts of Aſiatics entirely, among which one old man as major domo, and haram kie kaiſi, or keeper of the women; one Armenian Chriſtian as a harbinger, and three Chaldeans, one a cook, another a running footman, and the third as yet without an office.

The King has already taken up his winter-quarters, and although yet uninformed of where, I expect to find him in Mazanderan, a province which makes a part of Hircania, or rather Media, in a certain city on the Caſpian Sea, which he has lately cauſed to be built, called Ferhabad, a word compoſed of Arabic and Perſian, and ſignifying colony of gladneſs. The King is much delighted with this city, and takes a pleaſure in augmenting and giving it every poſſible embelliſhment. It already is conſidered as the metropolis of that province; ſurpaſſing by much every other in reputation and grandeur.

We ſhall, therefore, direct our courſe to Hircania, and viſit the Caſpian Sea, whence I ſhall not fail to write to you. I kiſs your hands.

In the third letter, of which the preceding is an extract, much extraneous matter occurring, either relative to India, gathered from the accounts of others, hiſtorical relations generally known, or communications of a perſonal nature not intereſting to the reader, they, as well as many repetitions, are omitted in the tranſlation.

## LETTER IV.

*From Ferhabad the beginning of May* 1618, *and Cazvin the 25th July following.*

SHORTLY before my departure from Hiſpahan, I addreſſed a letter to you, in which I gave an exact account of my travels up to that time. As I am conſtantly mindful of the promiſe I made you, I ſhall continue to relate occurrences as they happen, detail my progreſs through the countries I viſit, and the curioſities I meet with. With this view I have to inform you, that on the 30th of December laſt, while yet at Hiſpahan, the Mahometans perceiving the new moon on the previous evening (the beginning of their day, after the manner of the Jews) began to celebrate the firſt day of the month Muharrem, the beginning of their new year, the 1027th of the Hegira, that is to ſay, the flight of Mahomet from Mecca to Medina, on account of his being ignominiouſly driven thence for introducing his new opinions and falſe religion. In conſequence, this day was the firſt of the Aſhur, or the ten, during which the Perſians give public and authentic demonſtrations of their regret for the death of the unfortunate Huſſein, the ſon of Ali and Fatima the daughter of the Prophet.

This Huſſein, canonized by the Mahometans and acknowleged by the Perſians as the true Iman and ſovereign chief of their ſect, and from whom the preſent Kings of Perſia boaſt of being deſcended, was attacked on his way by thoſe of the oppoſite fac-

tion, and, together with from ſeventy to eighty of his followers, was maſſacred in the deſarts of Arabia at a place called Kirbulæ, where he is interred. His ſepulchre is ſtill in high veneration, and his death bewailed with certain ceremonies. During the Aſhur nothing is heard but lamentations, moſt of the people wearing black, a colour they never aſſume at any other time. No one during this period either ſhaves or bathes, and all ſcrupulouſly follow the preſcriptions of the Koran, abſtaining from every kind of ſenſuality, all pleaſures, and all diverſion. Many of the poorer ſort are accuſtomed to bury themſelves up to the mouth in the ſtreets, covering their heads with a vaſe, over which earth is depoſited, and remain thus from dawn till ſunſet, and even during part of the night, other poor perſons ſitting by the while, and aſking alms of paſſengers.

Others again run naked about the ſtreets, with only their privities concealed with a piece of black cloth or ſacking of a dark colour, their fleſh daubed over with ſhining blacking, ſo as to reſemble as many devils. Theſe are accompanied by others painted red, in token of Huſſein dying covered with blood, and collectively they ſing in a mournful ſtrain the praiſe of Huſſein, and deſcriptions of his martyrdom, beating time with two pieces of wood or ribs of certain animals, which produce a melancholy ſound, and dancing all the while in midſt of the crowd. Sometimes they unite with mountebanks, ſelling their theriaca, thus gathering money from the ſpectators.

Every day at noon one of their mulla, of the race of Mahomet, repairs to the ſpot where theſe exhibitions go forward. This mulla is not called an emir, as at Conſtantinople, nor a ſherife, as in Egypt, but from an Arabic word ſeidi or monſieur. This mulla, then, dreſt on this occaſion in a green turban, of which colour it is never worn by the Perſians at any other time, mounts an elevated pulpit, where ſeated in midſt of a number of people, men as well as women, either on the floor or very low ſeats, he recites a panegyric on the virtues of Huſſein, and deſcribes the manner of his death; exhibiting occaſionally to the people, extremely attentive to what he ſays, certain figures repreſenting the circumſtances to which he alludes, and endeavouring to excite their commiſeration and tears. This ceremony is likewiſe copied in the moſques, and the moſt public parts of the ſtreets, which are adorned and illuminated for the purpoſe: the audience all the while bathed in tears, ſighing and moaning, beating their breaſts and diſplaying the greateſt affliction, frequently repeat with much expreſſion of agony theſe laſt verſes of one of their poetic monodies, *Va Huſſein! Shah Huſſein!* Alas Huſſein! the Shah Huſſein!

On the tenth day, the day on which the murder was effected, there are proceſſions in every quarter of the city, reſembling thoſe on the commemoration of the death of Ali, with ſimilar ceremonies, except thoſe on a certain camel three or four young children are placed in panniers, in memory of thoſe of the defunct who were thrown in priſon, ſinging mournful ditties. There are likewiſe biers covered with black velvet ſurmounted by the tag. On ſome even are a green turban and a ſword. The trophies, ſimilar to thoſe in the proceſſion for Ali, are carried on the heads of men, who dance inceſſantly to the ſounds of cymbals and gongs, turning continually as they dance, and keeping time with much grace. The country people from the neighbourhood accompany the train with cudgels, to uſe where occaſion againſt thoſe in other proceſſions whom they may chance to encounter, not only to ſecure to their aſſemblage a precedency, but alſo in commemoration of the ſtrife in which Huſſein was killed; they holding for certain, in caſe of being ſlain on this occaſion, that they ſhall enter paradiſe immediately; believing, morever, that all who die during the ten days of the Aſhur are tranſported thither directly.

But

But to my departure. Having provided a litter on the back of a camel for Madame Maani, my lady, and all things being in readineſs, on Friday in the evening, the 19th of January 1618, I left Hiſpahan, eſcorted by all the brotherhood of Carmelites, Auguſtines, and other ſecular Europeans then in the city, who accompanied me to the beginning of the road to Ferhabad, the city at which the King was repreſented to be. The firſt day we travelled no more than a league, it being late when I left Hiſpahan, and reſted at a village called Bectabad; the country about which is barren, and white as if covered with ſnow, a circumſtance owing, as I conceive, to its abounding ſo much in nitre.

That I may omit nothing, I muſt inform you that diſtances are meaſured in Perſia by leagues, or paraſanga, as mentioned by Herodotus, Xenophon, and ſeveral other authors, called, however, by corruption, ferſeng. The Turks, indeed, call them agaj, or trees, they being marked by trees. The length of them is ſimilar to thoſe of Spain, that is to ſay, equal to four Italian miles.

The manner of travelling here is as follows: the haram, or ladies, go before, with all the camels and carriages, together with the domeſtics who eſcort them. Theſe laſt go on foot chiefly, well armed, yet without fatiguing themſelves, as when weary they mount the camels. Having eight ſervants with me, four or five are allotted to this department. The chief or governor of the haram accompanies the ladies, on horſeback. This perſon is uſually either an eunuch, or a venerable old man with a white beard, who is armed as well as the reſt, and has the command of the eſcort. It was one of the latter deſcription which I employed, who had had the care of Madame Maani from her youth, and loved her with the tenderneſs of a father. He it was who, when obliged to fly from Mardiu, her native country, like Mitæbus who followed Camilla, never quitted her for an inſtant, but carried her from the deſtruction of war, ſeated before him on horſeback. When, however, any difficulties occurred on the way as we proceeded, I ſent to his aſſiſtance a Marſeillois, whom I have lately hired, and who is at preſent the only European in my ſervice. I find him more clever than the reſt of my ſervants, and uſe him when occaſion as an *avant courier* to clear the way.

After the haram is ſent forward the maſter mounts his horſe an hour afterwards or ſo, with the other ſervants who accompany him on horſeback, as it is requiſite he ſhould have a reſpectable appearance. Among theſe I have conſtantly a methu, or ſquire, who looks after the horſes, and ſerves me as a valet, carrying behind him two large portmanteaus, compriſing a ſmall carpet, mattraſs, pillow, and coverlid, for one perſon, that they may be ready on occaſion, without having reſort to the luggage borne by the camels, and a robe lined with fur, with a great coat and other ſimilar defences againſt cold, rain, &c. In theſe alſo are carried proviſions and ſweetmeats to eat on the way. After this deſcription, you will not wonder at the ſmall number of leagues we travel in a day.

The ſecond day we made no more progreſs than two leagues, paſſing the night in a dilapidated caravanſerai, at a ſmall town called Rie. On the third day we travelled eight leagues, beginning our journey an hour before dawn, taking up our lodging at a caravanſerai called Serdehew, ſtanding by itſelf. Here, however, we found proviſions, the hoſt keeping always a ſtore for the uſe of travellers. In theſe caravanſerai on the road the traveller is received gratis, and may remain as long as he pleaſes. In the cities he pays a trifle; but unlike thoſe on the road, which are open, the rooms of the latter have locks to the doors, for the maintenance of which the charge is made. They are, however, entirely deſtitute of furniture.

From Hiſpahan to this caravanſerai we traverſed over a flat country. On the fourth day we journied five leagues on a level road, between hills entirely bare of vegetation of any

any kind, like the whole of the province of Irak, which paſſes with ſome for the ancient Parthia; the labour of the inhabitants and an abundance of water alone making fertile thoſe places which are peopled. This day Madame Maani and myſelf dined midway of our day's journey, in a garden belonging to the King, called Tagiabad, or the colony of the crown. Over the gate there is a ſmall pavilion, ſimilar to that I have before deſcribed over the gate of the entrance to the palace in Hiſpahan, but not ſo large, ſo handſome, nor ſo coſtly. Here I have to obſerve, that the architecture of all the houſes belonging to the King which I have hitherto ſeen is the ſame; the houſes are ſmall, contain a number of rooms with many doors, and the decorations are wholly ſimilar. The garden was full of trees and fruit; its only remarkable beauty, however, was a long alley reaching from the houſe to the extremity, lined with cypreſs-trees and paved with ſtone. In the middle of the garden ran a large ſtream, whence flowed ſeveral pleaſing branches, and numerous water-falls, or rather courſes, over irregular beds, afforded a pleaſing murmur.

After dining on the banks of this ſtream, we arrived in the evening at a town called Kaur, taking up our abode in a private houſe, the caravanſerai affording ſhelter only for our cattle. On the fifth day, after travelling four leagues, we reſted at a town called Dep-abad; well watered with rivulets abounding ſo plentifully with fiſh, that they may be taken out with the hand. We paſſed the night in the houſe of one of the principal inhabitants of this town, which is of conſiderable ſize, from whom we met with great civility. The ſixth day, after going over again four leagues, we lodged with ſome private perſons, at a town called Buz-abad, or the colony of ice, but met with only indifferent treatment: mid-way we ſaw a large reſervoir of water, to which you deſcend by ſteps, conſtructed for the convenience of travellers, there being no fountains in this part; and towards evening paſſed by a large moſque, with gardens, apartments, and conveniencies for the perſons reſident on the ſpot, who look after this place of worſhip with great care. It is held by the Perſians in great veneration, and called by them Saleh i Muſa Cadhum, from the perſon interred here; the ſeventh day, Thurſday 25th January, five leagues beyond, we reached the city of Caſhan, and took up our reſidence in a very large and handſome caravanſerai belonging to the Shah, out of the city, and in the neighbourhood of the King's palace, where we remained for ſome time to refreſh and reſt ourſelves.

Caſhan is a city of ſmall ſize for Perſia, though both larger and better peopled than Averſa, or Capua in the kingdom of Naples. The traffic in it is conſiderable, on account of its being the high road to Caſvin, Tebriz, the weſtern parts of Turkey, the Caſpian Sea, and all the north. Among other articles there are here numerous manufactories of ſilks; the chief part of thoſe uſed in Perſia or ſent abroad being made here. Here they manufacture ſilks of all deſcriptions, but not with ſuch taſte nor of ſuch fine colours as with us; they particularly, from want of cochineal and its dearneſs, dye very few of a crimſon colour.

The ſite of Caſhan is on the extremity of an extenſive plain at the foot of very lofty mountains. So great is the heat in this city, that the winter is ſcarcely felt, but, on the other hand, the ſummer is intolerably hot. The inhabitants, however, are plenteouſly ſupplied with cooling fruits of every deſcription, ſuch as oranges, lemons, limes, and the like. As for its buildings, there are none that are handſome, the baths and the caravanſerai excepted. Before the King's palace in the ſuburbs is a very wide and long ſtreet, terminating with the gates of the city, the palace being on one of its ſides. The ſtreets of bazar within the city are built with piazzas, according to cuſtom, and in the middle of the bazar is a little ſquare white building, ſurrounded by walls, with numerous windows

and

and balconies, perfectly ſymmetrical and exactly proportioned, which makes a very fine appearance.

As I am ever deſirous of forming acquaintance with the learned, in the little time I remained here I got introduced to a Jew, a native of Shiras, whoſe family, however, came orginally from Safet, at preſent a ſeminary of the moſt learned and moſt religious among the Jews in Paleſtine; his name Mullah Meſſih. He was brought to Caſchan by the King to practice phyſic. He carries on this profeſſion publicly, receiving perſons at his houſe with great civility, but viſiting none; where neceſſary to ſend to the patient, from his being too weak to come to conſult him, he diſpatches ſome ignorant ſervant, and preſcribes from his report of the ſymptoms, without examining the urine, feeling the pulſe, or ſeeing the patient. He ſhewed me his library, which contained nothing curious; and beſides this, two balls, which he informed me were of mercury, that he had fixed, the ſecret of which art he proffered to diſcloſe, on condition of my acquainting him with the method of making looking-glaſſes, an art on which I had been diſcourſing with him, and of which I was maſter; but I declined his offer, not being partial to chymiſtry, being wholly ignorant of it, and expecting nothing but ſome paltry deception from a Jew whoſe knowlege appeared to be far from extenſive.

While at Caſchan, employed in converſing with this Jew, Madame Maani, wiſhing to buy ſome ſilks and other matters, repaired for the purpoſe to the Bazar-i-ſtaun, a place in the middle of the Bazar, ſurrounded by walls. Now, in this quarter no women of quality are wont to go in the day-time with their cuſtomary attendants, and in the night it is cloſed; Madame Maani, therefore, went incognita in a ſervant's dreſs, with only one of her domeſtics, her lalu or governor, and two other ſervants at a diſtance. Paſſing along the Bazar in a crowded part, an inſolent man, taking her for a ſervant, puſhed her, laying hold of her arm as drunkards in the ſtreets are wont to do with the women they meet. Upon this, Madame Maani, forgetting ſhe was dreſt as a ſervant, put herſelf in a rage. Decorum, however, prevented her from making a noiſe, ſhe therefore ſimply expreſſed by ſigns to the two men behind what had happened, and pointed out the offender. One of them who comprehended her followed the man, and gave him a beating, but being joined by one of his comrades, who, as well as the offender, were ſervants of a ſon-in-law of the King, rendered inſupportably inſolent by the diſtinction ſhewn them, and both being armed, my two ſervants immediately drew their ſwords, and conducted themſelves ſo bravely that the boldeſt and moſt offenſive was laid on the ground, having received, beſides two mortal blows, ſuch a violent cut from a ſcymetar as ſeparated both the ſhoulders. The others who had come to his aſſiſtance were diſperſed with many a kick, without my people being ſubject to any inconvenience. As ſoon as I heard of the affair I waited upon the Daroga, or governor of the city, to acquaint him of the circumſtances of the quarrel, and ſatisfy him of the innocence of my ſervants; in which I ſucceeded, meeting with great civility, and receiving excuſes on his part for not having furniſhed me with a houſe, which, had he been informed of my arrival, it would have been his duty and pride to have done.

The robe of the Perſians, which is made of cloth, differs in ſome reſpects from that of the Turks, being more ſimple, ſtraighter, and more open above. The under waiſtcoat, which they wear in winter only over the ſhirt, and which is not ſeen, is generally made of India cotton extremely fine. In ſummer they wear ſimply an outer jacket, or rather coat, quilted and lined with cotton, which fits the body exactly, covers the ſtomach, and is very narrow at the waiſt, on the right ſide of which it is laced; it has long, narrow, plaited ſleeves, without any buttons at the wriſt. From the waiſt downwards

it expands in the manner of a bell, reaching to the calf of the leg, where it is wideſt, and is kept expanded by the ſtrength of the quilting.

In general, theſe veſts or coats are made as before obſerved of Indian cloth ſtained of a ſingle colour, but the figures are whimſical, and are therefore ſo much the more prized. When theſe cloths are new, they are as gloſſy and luſtrous as ſatin. They wear two ſaſhes below the ſtomach, one above the other. The longer as well as the ſhorter are of ſilk, extremely fine and handſome, frequently worked with gold, as their chief pride is in the number, variety, and beauty of their ſaſhes, which diſtinguiſh the high claſſes from the lower. The ſhorter, to relieve the beauty of the other, and ſhew it to greater advantage, is only of one colour, and much more ſimple than the firſt; and although this ſecond girdle be frequently of cotton, or camel's hair, it is not in leſs eſteem, being oftentimes of greater value than thoſe made of ſilk.

In winter the Perſians wear but one upper garment, made ſomewhat to reſemble a frock coat, and chiefly very ſhort, ſo much ſo, that it ſcarcely flaps the haunches of the horſe when they ride; the common people wear it ſomewhat longer, but never to reach lower than the bend of the knee. It is principally of cloth, but of a curious colour, different from that of the veſt, and trimmed with cords and ſilk frogs. On grand occaſions, their coats are of ſilk and gold, and moſtly lined with fur, of which they have abundance that is very handſome, of white, black, and grey colours, with ſome unknown among us, particulary that of a kind of lamb, peculiar to the province of Khoraſan, the hair of which is long and curling: their ſhoes are of cloth of ſome lively colour; the women, however, wear them of velvet and gold cloth alone.

They take eſpecial care that every part of their dreſs ſhall be of a different colour, in this varying from our practice; nor do they chooſe common colours, ſuch as blue, green, and the like, but compound and whimſical tints, ſuch as bronze colour, that of the camel, of wine lees, olive and ſimilar; but of all, that which in my eſteem is the moſt brilliant is a flame colour, by the ſide of which our livelieſt ſcarlet or carnation appears as nothing, and among their darker colours, a certain deep green pleaſed me highly than the moſt faſhionable of any in the Eaſt. It is called Negti or Neft, from its ſimilitude of tint to that of a certain oil exuded from the earth in the neighbourhood of Backu, a city of Albania on the Caſpian ſea, dependant on Perſia. This oil being very cheap is uſed for burning, and produces a conſiderable revenue to the crown; it has alſo ſome medicinal qualities, and is not unknown to our druggiſts.

The ſwords here are much more curved than thoſe of Turkey, and have only one edge, the guard is ſimply a croſs, the blade is uſually damaſked. The ſheaths are ſhagreen of either a black or red colour, the extremity like the hilt damaſked after the Perſian manner; the belt, narrow and very handſome, is of the natural colour of the doe-ſkin of which it is made.

They always wear a turban of a ſtriped colour over a ground of white cotton, very rarely is the turban wholly white. People of rank have it either embroidered with gold or ſilver, or plain, as they happen to fancy; it is always ſo large as to conceal the little cap in the middle. I have not hitherto perceived that the turban, except that with a tag, marks any diſtinction of rank. Many in the winter time, when very cold, wear a long pointed bonnet under the turban, the extremity of which appears above, and the lower part ſerves to keep the head and ears warm. It is of the ſame deſcription as Xenophon deſcribes the Thracians to have worn in his time. Some wear this kind of cap alone, but theſe are only the common people; except, indeed, the Georgians, who, having the turban in abhorrence, wear it indiſcriminately, both high and low. In this part, however,

however, the Chriſtians accommodate themſelves to the common practice. Green is allowed to be worn here, which is expreſsly forbidden in Turkey. Of this colour not only do they wear coats and turbans, but even ſhoes or boots, which are frequently of ſhagreen among people of rank: I, however, who find them too ſtiff for my feet, wear them of Morocco leather like the common people. The ſhape of their ſhoes is different to thoſe of the Turks, being pointed at the toe, with high heels.

The dreſs of the women is very ſimple, and without ornament, although the rich are not ſparing in having a variety of cloth, ſilk, and gold, with handſome tiſſue of various kinds. Their dreſs is much leſs looſe than that of the Turkiſh ladies, and in my eſteem is not ſo becoming; their ſaſh, likewiſe, is tied very low, almoſt below the haunches, which appears to me very ungraceful. The veil they wear reſembles that of the women of Bagdad, and is tied in the ſame manner in front, but trains to the ground on each ſide: it is of various colours, extremely fanciful and extraordinary. Their head-dreſs is ſimple, and adorned with precious ſtones. They wear here only one row of pearls, not round the neck as with us, but about the temples, and pendant for about four fingers in length over the face. They wear likewiſe two looſe ringlets of hair proceeding from the top of the head, and hanging indifferently on the one or the other ſide of the face, which have a beautiful effect. When ladies go into the city they cover their head and body with a white ſheet, after the manner of the Syrians, on horſeback, and generally led by a ſervant.

To return, however, to my travels. After making the remarks I have detailed at Caſchan, I left it on Sunday the 28th of January, proceeding however according to cuſtom no more than a league from the city, and taking up my abode at a caravanſerai in a large town called Bidyal. On Monday we were enabled to continue our progreſs, and reached two caravanſerai which are together at a place called Deckien, after travelling ſeven leagues over large plains of looſe and barren ſands, in which the horſes ſunk to their girths, without ſeeing any villages or habitations, the country being entirely a deſart. On Tueſday we made ſix leagues, traverſing large plains of ſalt; the country is very even and white as a ſheet, nothing vegetable grows upon them; and in ſummer, from the reflection of the ſun's rays, the heat is ſo extreme that travellers commonly journey by a way ſomewhat about in order to avoid it. In winter this country is often inundated with rain to ſuch a height that the horſes are wet to the very flaps of the ſaddle, and the country out of the beaten track being then boggy, in caſe of getting out of the road the traveller runs great riſk of being loſt, to prevent which poſts are fixed at diſtances to mark the courſe of the highway. Fortunately for me there was no waters out on my travelling the plain, the ſeaſon being unuſually dry.

The ſalt of this plain, which I taſted, is very white and palatable, but is not uſed by the Perſians on account of their having ſufficient of a ſuperior quality called mountain ſalt. About the middle of this plain, which is five leagues in extent, I diſcovered a ſmall patch of black earth tranſported thither by order of the King of Perſia, who going a pilgrimage on foot to one of their moſques in Khoraſan which is much frequented, and unable to paſs this wide plain in one day, had it brought hither that he might lodge dry for the night. At preſent, it ſerves for the caravans who travel this way in the winter.

This day we traverſed the whole of this ſalt plain, but could not arrive at any place of retreat by night fall, we conſequently having had the precaution of furniſhing ourſelves with every requiſite, not excepting even wood for firing and water. The evening being very fine, Madam Maani would not have the tent raiſed nor ſleep in her litter,

but ſlept with me, heaven for our canopy ſpangled with ſtars, but under good quilted counterpanes of cotton, with furred caps on.

On Wedneſday, the laſt day of January, after travelling from five to ſix leagues we reſted at night at a caravanſerai called Scyah-cuh; that is to ſay, black-mountain, from one which appears at a diſtance of that colour, in the neighbourhood. That day we dined near a reſervoir of ſweet water, of which we laid in ſtore, there being none but what is ſalt at the caravanſerai; on account of which, the King has ordered the conſtruction of another at a ſhort diſtance, and ſeverely puniſhed the architect of the preſent for his improvidence in building it where was no good water.

In this caravanſerai, after a long abſtinence from wine, I took ſome at ſupper; the motive for which was the ſtrong importunity of Madam Maani, ſolicitous of having children, ſhe had conſulted with certain phyſicians who had aſcribed her barrenneſs to my abſtinence from wine.

On Thurſday the 1ſt of February, we roſe two hours before day, as we had eight leagues to travel ere we ſhould arrive at a reſting place. We enſiladed along a road, level, indeed, but difficult to travel, on account of its being ſo muddy that the horſes ſunk in it up to their girths. Now, however, it is amended, the King having cauſed a road to be conſtructed and paved over this boggy flat. This road, which is five leagues in length, being perfectly ſtraight, wide, and handſome, is very extraordinary, and has a ſuperb appearance, being perceptible owing to its evenneſs from one extremity to the other. It is not yet entirely compleated, but the workmen labour hard to finiſh it. For the paſſage of rivulets in various parts arches are formed, among the reſt one of this deſcription about the middle is extremely ſpacious. In its ſides ſmall places are made for the traveller to reſt upon. This arch or bridge is over a river called Ajji Chiai, that is to ſay, bitter river, the water of it from the quantity of ſalt with which it is impregnated being actually bitter.

Having paſſed this bad road, and three leagues of good before and ſubſequent thereto, we reſted at night in the caravanſerai of a ſmall town called Reſkmè. Friday, which was the day of the Purification, as well on account of its being a feſtival as to mend the girths of the camel which carried the litter, we remained at Reſkmè until evening, and travelled thence only one league to a large town called Mehalle bagh, or the vineyard of the neighbourhood. This is a little out of the road, but we proceeded to it, as moſt do, on account of the quantity of fruit and other conveniences to be found there. This town is ſituated at the extremity of the plain, at the foot of very high mountains which traverſe the country, and apparently are a branch from thoſe of Syria, which ſend forth many, reaching even to China, under the different names of Taurus, Caucaſus, Imaus, and others. The inhabitants, indeed, are unacquainted with the different names given them by various ancient and modern authors, but this is not aſtoniſhing; for, ſeparate from the difficulty of obtaining faithful relations of matters at ſo great a diſtance, they are not accuſtomed to give general names to their mountains, each one having the name of the village to which it is contiguous, and their villages are numerous.

We reſted for the night at Mehalle bagh, in the houſe of one of the moſt powerful in the province, who ſhewed us many civilities, and to whom, on our departure, we made a preſent in return of a veſt, a gift in high eſteem in this country. On Saturday we entered the mountains, which we traverſed by a very deep and narrow valley, much reſembling that you have ſeen in Umbria in Italy, called Valle Strettura; this, however, is much longer.

Through

Through this valley we travelled by a very even road, the aſcent or decline being ſcarcely perceptible; the mountains on each ſide being very lofty, and in parts the paſſage is ſo narrow where the road winds that one could ſcarcely get through it with the litter. A ſmall river or rather a large rivulet runs through the bottom of the valley, on the brink of which we diſcovered an uninhabited village in ruins. We were ſo much charmed with the freſhneſs of the water, that Madame Maani and myſelf halted here to dine, ſending on the ſervants. We perceived likewiſe a ſmall ſtreamlet formed from ſeveral ſprings, and extremely pellucid. Tempted to taſte its water, we were ſurprized to find them as bitter and unpalatable as that of the other was freſh and agreeable; which quality, on examination, I diſcovered to proceed from one of its currents of ſupply running over a vein of ſalt as it winded along.

We arrived towards evening at a certain ſpot in the ſame valley, where in a grotto formed either by nature or art the caravans are uſed to halt, there being no other ſhelter for a conſiderable diſtance. Madame Maani would not however ſtop here on account of its being very dirty, having the day before been the reſidence of a number of pigs marked red and white, which the King, who is but little ſcrupulous on matters of religion, either to pleaſe himſelf or gratify the Chriſtians of Ferhabad, and enable them to preſerve the breed among them, had cauſed to be driven thither from Hiſpahan. The mode of tranſport adopted was curious, as, in order to ſhorten the time of their journey, they were carried in panniers like women.

The grot being found in a filthy condition, we continued our journey till midnight with great difficulty, and very unpleaſantly, owing to the gloom of the valley, and a fall of ſleet, from our having alſo frequently to ford the rivulet I have mentioned. This was alſo the firſt day of our perceiving ſnow on the mountains, or experiencing inclement weather. At length we reached a town at midnight called Hebli-rad, where we reſted all the following day to refreſh our cattle. On the ſucceeding day, 5th of February, we continued our route ſtill through the ſame valley, which we diſcovered was divided into two by a ridge of mountains. The road to the left appearing to us moſt beaten, we took that in preference, and had proceeded about a mile when we learned from ſome ſhepherds that we were going aſtray, and trod back our ſteps to take the road on the right, which was covered with ſnow, and muddy owing to its beginning to thaw.

We had a fall of ſnow again towards evening, and at length after journeying four leagues arrived late at a town called Firuz-cuh, or the victorious mountain. This town is on the ſummit of the mountains in an expoſed ſituation, to which however, notwithſtanding its eminence, the aſcent is gentle. This town is the laſt of the province of Irak, in conſequence of which the copper money of Hiſpahan ceaſes to paſs for more than half its value. It is a remarkable circumſtance in Perſia, that although ſilver coin be univerſally current at the ſame value, copper ſhould paſs in a different province to that in which it was iſſued at only half its price, notwithſtanding it be larger and heavier than that in circulation of the ſtamp of the province in which it is tendered. Tueſday, we remained all day at Firuz-cuh. Wedneſday we continued our courſe towards Mazanderan, always on a deſcent, that province bordering on the ſea, and being a level country, ſo that we had to go down half as deep again from the mountain of Feruz-cuh as the valley from its ſummit whence we aſcended. Here, however, it may not be improper to give you a deſcription of Mazanderan.

This province is ſituated as I have before remarked on the Caſpian ſea, in the ſouth eaſt, having the province of Aſterabad, dependant on a Khan ſubject to the King, on the eaſt, and the ſea on its weſtern ſide; Ghilan, which was annexed by his preſent Majeſty to Perſia, and which is governed by a viceroy, on the weſt, and the pro-

vince of Irak on its ſouthern ſide. But in order to give you a better comprehenſion of the poſition of their various countries, I ſhall make the tour of the Caſpian Sea; ſpecifying the diviſions and modern names of the countries, to enable you to compare them with the deſcription of ancient authors.

As before deſcribed, weſt of Mazanderan, on the Caſpian Sea, lies Ghilan; beyond which towards the weſt, in the neighbourhood of the ſea, but above Ghilan, Albania is ſituated, which is annexed to the former province; the firſt city of which is Backee *, or more properly Bagh-cuh, pronounced by the Perſians, Vaccuh. It is remarkably ſtrong, being built on rugged rocks, on the margin of the ſea, called alſo by the ſame name. This city is ſaid to have been called formerly Albana, and is at preſent the reſidence of a ſultan. In the ſame country, alſo, on the weſtern ſhores of the ſea, is Derbend or Demir-capi, that is to ſay, Irongate. Albania terminates here, and Mount Caucaſus begins; inhabited at preſent by divers nations, but particularly upon the ſea by certain Mahometans called Lezghi, who acknowlege no king. Theſe are much divided among themſelves, under the dominion of an infinite number of petty tyrants, called Mirza; ſome of which have no more than twenty ſubjects. They are a people of groſs habits, who prefer a reſidence in villages, and in the country, to cities; a brutal and barbarous race, the dread and horror of their neighbours,

Who rove for booty, and ſubſiſt on ſpoil.

Beyond the Lezghi is the country of the Aſiatic Sarmatians, that is to ſay, the Circaſſians, who follow the Greek faith, but are without books, prieſts, or churches, ſo that they are Chriſtians only in name; and, divided as they are among themſelves under the ſway of different Mirza, from the Lezghi on one ſide and the Tatars on the other, they carry on inceſſantly a freebooting war with their neighbours. Hence the immenſe number of men and women ſlaves, Circaſſians, Ruſſians, Tatars, and Lezghi, diſperſed over the Eaſt by this infamous traffic.

Circaſſia extends along the Caſpian Sea to the country of the Ruſſians, called by us Muſcovites, to the mouth of the Wolga, where the city of Aſtracan, as called by us; but by the Perſians, who carry on a conſiderable traffic hither, denominated Agitarcan, and by its inhabitants, Aſktarcan. On the northern ſhores of the Caſpian Sea, the Ruſſians have the Tatars for neighbours, among which are a certain race called the Uſbeck Tatars, a name which ſignifies independant lords. Theſe people inhabit a country of immenſe extent to the eaſt of the Caſpian Sea. Beyond them, towards the riſing of the ſun, are the Tatars of Cathay; and ſouth of them lays India. Among other conſiderable places belonging to them, is Samarcand, anciently the reſidence of Tamerlane. Towards the ſouth they have Balk, or Bukhara, on the ſea, the reſidence of one of their principal khans, who is frequently at war with Perſia.

Betweeen the country of the Uſbeck Tatars, the Iagatays who inhabit Scythia citerior (undoubtedly the ancient) Sogdiuna and Bactriana, and the province of Aſterabad, which I have before mentioned, the country on the borders of the ſea is an abſolute deſart, inhabited formerly by the Turkmans, who now are diſperſed over the whole empire of Perſia as well as of Turkey. Theſe Turkmans were a wandering people, without any fixed abode, living in tents. Their ancient and ordinary country, however, was that part of Scythia called by geographers Turkiſtan, where they obtained the name of Turkmans, a corruption of Terck-imaun, which means, he has changed his faith; when from Gentiles, which they were before, they became Mahometans. Since that period this name has been applied to thoſe only who remained in the country and their

* Moſtly written Backu or Bakku, but properly Bagh cuh, the mountain garden.

colonies,

colonies, the reſt becoming powerful carried their arms farther towards the weſt, in Aſia, and into Europe, and retrenching the man or iman from their names, were afterwards called Turks. Some of theſe people, as I have obſerved, remained between Aſterabad and the Uſbeck Tatars; but theſe were afterwards exterminated by Abbas, on account of their being Infidels, and joining with the Tatars of the ſame creed as themſelves (which is ſimilar to that of the Turks) in deſolating the borders of Perſia. However, there are yet a number of theſe Turkmans in other parts of his empire, that is, in Media, Albania, and elſewhere; ſome of which are eſtabliſhed in villages and cities, others have no fixed abode. They are governed by Sultans and Khans, who ſerve the King with ſcrupulous fidelity.

I ſhall now return to Firuz cuh. On leaving this place we travelled three leagues through the ſnow, which laid very deep, to the frontiers of Irak, where we deſcended from the ſummit of the mountains. We however no ſooner entered Mazanderan, deſcending from the mountains by rude acclivities, than we found ourſelves again encloſed in a very narrow valley, at the foot of the mountains we had croſſed. The country we quitted was barren, and bare of either trees or plants; this, on the contrary, was covered with foreſts, abounding in water, and ſkirted by mountains clothed with beautiful and very lofty trees, which much delighted me from the reſemblance it bore to Europe; ſuch as I had never before ſeen in any of the countries of Africa or Aſia through which I had travelled, nor indeed had I ſince my departure from Italy ever before met with ſuch profuſion of wood and water.

After five leagues journeying we arrived after mid-night at the firſt inhabited ſpot in Mazanderan. This retreat, built on the road, as well as many others, by the preſent King, is called Suzkar abad. In order to compel the people to dwell in theſe buildings, and leave the barren mountains, he deſtroyed their houſes there, leaving only a few for the convenience of travellers. In this place I met with Mr. Gifford, an Engliſh gentleman with whom I was acquainted, with the interpreter of his nation returning from court to Hispahan.

Thurſday, which was the 8th of February, we travelled three leagues in this ſame valley; and as it expands here a little, and is watered by a ſmall ſtream which flows gently to the ſea, it was well cultivated, and entirely covered with rice, which is ſown ſo plenteouſly all over Mazanderan on account of the quantity of water in the province, and the humidity of the ſoil, that one readily takes it to be the only food of the people. In fact, whether owing to the ſoil not ſuiting the growth of wheat, or their want of partiality to the culture of that grain, the bread uſed in the whole province is made from rice alone, which likewiſe conſtitutes their only food. The people diſliking meat, and fancying milk, butter, with every ſort of unctuous food injurious to health, live entirely on rice cooked with a little water and ſalt, and called chilão, taking with it every now and then a ſpoonful of ſome ſort of acid, ſuch as verjuice, the juice of pomegranates, vinegar, or the like. To this food they are exceedingly partial, and maintain that there is none more conducive to health. In Lent I lived myſelf almoſt wholly on this food, and found it far from bad. I do not conſider it, however, to be highly wholeſome; the people of this province, who eat nothing elſe, ſeldom having much colour, owing perhaps to this mode of living, perhaps to the quality of the air. They are almoſt univerſally of a brown, ſallow complexion, with black hair, eyes, and eyebrows.

The women, however, were in my eyes perfectly beautiful; and I had full opportunity of judging, as, unlike other Mahometans, they never cover the face, but converſe freely with man. In addition, they are affable and exceedingly obliging. In courteous manners the men are not inferior to the women; particularly they are ever ready to offer

their houſes to ſtrangers, ſeek their company, and are gracious and generous in extreme; ſo much ſo, in ſhort, that I may ſay with ſafety, there is no country in the world in which the people, even of the very loweſt rank, poſſeſs greater urbanity of manners. Thus Hyrcania, if Mazanderan form a part thereof, from the horrid country it was depicted by the ancients, the repair of tigers and other ferocious beaſts, is now metamorphoſed into the fineſt country I have hitherto ſeen in Aſia, and that in which the inhabitants are the moſt civil, prepoſſeſſing, kind, and truſty of any upon the ſurface of the globe.

We diſcerned on the road this day, on the declivities of the mountains, ſome caſtles formerly uſed as fortreſſes. Certain petty noblemen who had aſſumed the ſtate of ſovereigns, and claimed independance, cauſed them to be erected during the minority of Shah Abbas, and the latter end of the very long life of his father Choda-bendè, in which period Perſia underwent ſeveral changes. But at preſent all theſe caſtles are in ruins, having been razed by Shah Abbas, after reducing this country to ſubjection. We ſaw likewiſe on the ſlope of another mountain, extremely high and of ſharp aſcent, which ſerves as a rampart to this valley, a grotto, with walls of maſonry, to which it is impoſſible to have acceſs, no one knowing the road to it, and the mountain being ſo rocky and perpendicular. It is related that a young lady, tall as a giant, lived in this grotto, and was uſed to ravage the circumjacent country, and that in this part all intercourſe was ſtopped by her between the neighbouring provinces.

They relate alſo a thouſand ſtories, not only of this maiden, but alſo of ſeveral giants of the country, whoſe large tombs are to be ſeen; but as I look on theſe as old women's tales, I paid no attention to them. I ſhall only remark to you, that in theſe ſame parts, on the margin of the ſtream which runs pleaſantly along the bottom of the valley in which we dined, I found in the morning a quantity of celery, wild endive, and ſeveral other excellent herbs met with in our country; with violets and other pleaſant flowers in abundance on the ſide of the road, delighting us with the grateful promiſe of ſpring. Amid the charming diverſity of proſpects, and the delightful fragrance with which we were regaled, we continued our journey, and in the evening entered one of thoſe little huts newly built, called Mioni kiolle. Of theſe there are a number on the road, ſo that travellers may halt wherever they will.

Mazanderan poſſeſſes no places ſet apart for the accommodation of travellers; but each individual is anxious to receive the ſtranger, and loads him with kindneſs, without exacting any gratuity; he however refuſes not the boon you tender as a preſent. On Friday we ſet off rather late, and moreover found the road extremely bad and muddy, the ground being of a very ſlippery nature; ſo that, but for the road in places being cut in form of ſtairs, it would have been impoſſible for us to have got along. On this account we advanced but two leagues, arriving in the evening at a ſmall village called Giret, ſituated on the ſlope of a mountain, where, the men being at Ferhabad in attendance on the King, we were received with all imaginable kindneſs by a very handſome and highly courteous hoſteſs, called Zohara, at whoſe houſe we were viſited by almoſt all the females of the place, each with a preſent. In return, Madame Maani preſented them with ſome trifles, which, from their rarity in this quarter, were highly eſteemed, and much delighted them.

With other things, ſhe divided among them a quantity of hanna, or alcanna as it is called by our druggiſts, for ſtaining the hands; and after ſupper, in order to celebrate our arrival, ſhe inſiſted on all preſent uſing of it with her; it being the cuſtom in the Eaſt on any joyous occaſion, ſuch as weddings or the like, to faſten it on the hands while in converſation. This alcanna is nothing more than the powder of the dried leaves

of

of a certain plant, which, as the Orientaliſts never wear gloves, poſſeſſes the faculty of embelliſhing the hand, and preſerving it from injury by the weather. The manner of applying it is as follows: after ſupper, juſt previous to their retiring to bed, they moiſten the alcana with water, and with the paſte cover the hands, or ſuch part of the body as they are deſirous of ſtaining, binding it on with linen bandages. The evening is therefore choſen for the application, as in the day-time it would be inconvenient for the ladies to have their hands confined. The paſte remains thus faſtened during the night, and in the morning, on removing the bandage, the paſte is reduced again to powder, and the part to which it had been applied is ſtained of a bright orange colour; ſometimes, if a greater quantity be uſed, it is more inclined to red; and ſometimes again, ſo much is uſed as to make it of a very dark colour, approaching to black. This dye is the moſt eſteemed by the Perſians, as it ſerves to ſet off the whiteneſs of the ſkin.

On Saturday we left this place, and continued our journey by a tireſome and very bad road. In the evening we lodged at a village called Tallarapaſcet, where I found ſome mountaineers who were ſo exceſſively ſtupid, that having bought oats of ſome of them for the horſes, in order to learn what number I had to pay for them of a certain copper-money of the value of a farthing, we were obliged to reckon the amount with beans, and in ſettling it ſpent more than an hour. On Sunday we quitted the vallies and the mountains, and entered on plains. We paſſed then through a large foreſt, the road through which is ſtraight, broad, and well ſhaded by the trees, which are large and of great height; many of them covered with wild vines.

We were much fatigued in travelling this road, the ſoil being ſlimy and moiſt, on account of the numerous rivulets by which it is watered in many places; ſo that in the winter it becomes ſo muddy that even camels, notwithſtanding their great height, ſink in the ſoil to the girths, you may judge therefore what the condition of horſes or ſmaller animals muſt be. In order to remedy this inconvenience, the King has ordered a road to be conſtructed and paved, for which purpoſe a quantity of materials are collected by the way-ſide, and huts have been built for the workmen. The plan however is not yet begun, on account of the ſeaſon; it raining almoſt continually in Mazanderan throughout the winter.

We at length waded through theſe bad roads, but with ſo much labour and difficulty that this day we travelled no more than two leagues, night overtaking us in the foreſt. We liſtened attentively for the barking of dogs or the bleating of ſheep, to point out to us ſome place of refuge for the night; at length, finding no habitation but what was at a great diſtance from us, we reſted that night in the foreſt, having the trees for covering in lieu of a tent, through the foliage of which the beams of the moon playing made our canopy appear of dark green and ſilver. A quantity of dry leaves ſerved us for carpet and bed; and for firing we found abundance of dry wood. We ſent our ſervants then to the neareſt village for proviſions. Its inhabitants, owing to ſome miſconception, took offence at our people, with whom they were near coming to blows without knowing why; but finally, informed of who we were, they were extremely civil, and came to proffer us lodging and make us preſents; and on our declining to go to the village on account of the diſtance, the principal of the village, with the chief inhabitants, came to our camp loaded with excellent proviſions, and paſſed the night gaily with us, bringing a muſician with them who treated us during ſupper with woodland ſongs, in the language of the country, which is impure Perſian; accompaning his airs with an ill-ſtrung violin, giving us little pleaſure ſave what we felt from the good-will he manifeſted to amuſe us. The Monday following we travelled two leagues farther through the wood, over an equally bad road; paſſing here and there over ſome well-cultivated

fields, irkſome to croſs on account of the rains, but in which the road was ſomewhat better.

In the evening we arrived at Saru, a very large and populous town, wherein the King has a palace; it is not an encloſed place, but has the denomination of a city. I did not notice in it any handſome buildings. The houſes are moſtly thatched with ſtraw, few being covered with tiles. The name of this place ſignifies yellow, perhaps on account of the quantity of oranges and various fruit which grows about the town. Here we met, in a brother and ſiſter of tender years, with moſt obliging hoſts, who ſhewed us all imaginable attention, as well as ſome of their relations, which induced us to give reſt to our beaſts, and remain here the whole of Tueſday. On Wedneſday, the 4th of February, we departed from Saru, and continued our way for four leagues through large plains, formerly a foreſt, of which the trees have been felled, and the lands put into excellent cultivation. They are inhabited in different parts by an infinity of people, moſtly Chriſtians, ſent hither by the King not long ago from various countries, but principally from Armenia and Georgia.

The roads through theſe plains are weariſome and unpleaſant; yet, being more open, are not equally bad with that in the foreſt. I truſt, however, that they will ſoon undergo the repair projected, and indeed already begun. They are intended to be paved, and will be broad, ſtraight, and continued the whole length to Ferhabad. The houſes on the road-ſide are built coarſely of the trees felled, and earth; as, however, clay abounds, they will no doubt ſoon be replaced by brick buildings, which the materials of their houſes, and the great ſtore of wood they have, will ſerve them to burn. I am confirmed in this opinion from the number of kilns conſtructed in the neighbourhood of Ferhabad, and the immenſe proviſion of fuel prepared for heating them, ſufficient together for the conſtruction of not only one city, but ſeveral.

At length, after undergoing ſo much fatigue, we reached Ferhabad in the evening of the ſame day we computed to do on leaving Hiſpahan, and with it the term of our journey. As for the laſt four leagues of road from Saru, it was ſo cloſely peopled that it ſeemed but one continued town. The King on my arrival was not at Ferhabad, but, conſtantly on the wing, had gone to a certain place at ſix leagues diſtance, attended by very few; the court, and the troops which cuſtomarily winter with him, remaining in this city. As ſoon as the Viceroy, who is governor of the city and the whole of the province of Mazanderan, heard of my arrival, he immediately appointed me one of the beſt houſes. But before I proceed to ſpeak of my adventures, it may be proper to give you a deſcription of Ferhabad, and point out its ſituation.

Some years are paſt ſince the King firſt laid the foundations of Ferhabad, or the colony of mirth, on a ſpot where the province of Mazanderan joins the Caſpian Sea towards the north, in midſt of a large plain which ſpreads to the ſea, but two miles diſtant thence. The increaſe of buildings, however, is ſo prodigious, that I have little doubt but in proceſs of time the city will reach the ſea.

Two motives induced the King to build this city. A deſire of embelliſhing his kingdom, which he has manifeſted by the numerous places he has cauſed to be founded in various parts; and a peculiar partiality to the province of Mazanderan, ariſing from the circumſtance of its being the native place of his mother, and the ſtrongeſt and beſt defended of any in his dominions, it being ſurrounded by the ſea, in this part of difficult navigation, and wild and barren mountains, pervious only by very narrow and difficult paſſes. Add to which, this country being the fartheſt diſtant of any from the enemies with which he has to contend, and principally the Turks, is the moſt ſecure of any in his dominions; and, as the fortune of war is uncertain, ſhould any reverſe oblige him

him to fly before his enemies, he might have in this country a ſecure rampart from every inſult on their part, and would find in the population of the province ſufficient means of upholding his authority and rank as a Sovereign. On this account, he takes the greateſt pride and pleaſure in improving Mazanderan; which, uncultivated and unpeopled before, by his exertions is now filled with inhabitants, who ſpend their labour on no ungrateful ſoil, the fecundity thereof amply repaying the huſbandman.

Having begun the conſtruction of Ferhabad, and appointed it the metropolis of Mazanderan, to people ſufficiently not only that city but the whole of the province, he had recourſe to extraordinary, violent, yet highly politic meaſures; by which he filled it with innumerable colonies, of various religions and countries. Theſe inhabitants are of two deſcriptions; ſuch as have been carried away from various places belonging to his enemies, thus weakening them while he increaſed his own ſtrength, of which deſcription are numerous dependencies of the Turks and Georgia, and his own ſubjects who lived in countries of inſecure defence, bordering on the territories of unfriendly powers, to whom in exchange for poſſeſſions which he ravaged to interpoſe an imperviable wilderneſs between their and his dominions, he gave lands and houſes in this fertile and inacceſſible country, where they might live in peace, and free from the fear of ſeeing their property, their families, and lands, become the prey of a fierce invading power, as was the caſe of the Chriſtians of Armenia, the Mahometans of Media, or the province of Shirwan, and many other places.

By theſe forced migrations to Mazanderan, he has abundantly peopled the province; and allotting to each individual the means of following his ordinary purſuits, ſuffering none to eat the bread of idleneſs, he has employed them in breaking up the untilled lands, and thus introduced in the province culture unknown before, and arts and manufactures to which it was erſt a ſtranger. Here we ſee ſuch of the Armenians as were huſbandmen, and as ſkilful in the culture of the vine as prone to enjoy the beverage it yields, employed in the ſame tillage of which they were the firſt inventors; while their ſhepherds are furniſhed with flocks. The Georgians again, both Chriſtians and Jews, accuſtomed to tend the labours of the worm, are occupied in the gathering and manufacture of ſilk; to facilitate the means for which, an incredible number of mulberry trees has been planted in the neighbourhood of Ferhabad, the ſoil being better adapted to their growth than that of any other in the world. As for the Medes of Shirwan, inclined to peace and idleneſs, and ſatisfied with their chiläo, who look for nothing better, that they may ſhake off their lazy habits, he does not allow them to ſell the leaves of their mulberry trees, of which great abundance grows on the lands he has aſſigned them, but conſtrains them to raiſe worms, and learn the art of making ſilk.

In ſhort, my dear Murio, Shah Abbas is not only the King, he is the father, the tutor, the benefactor of his people. Not only does he gift them with lands and flocks, he beſtows on them money in abundance to provide for their neceſſities; lending to ſuch as may be able to repay him, and graciouſly giving as a boon to thoſe whoſe harder fortune allows not the proſpect of return. Moreover he takes care of their marriages, particularly of his own houſhold, and ſees to all learning the practice of ſome trade: ſo that never was the father of a family more provident over five or ſix, than this great King over ſo many millions of ſubjects. This liberality, indeed, this extreme attention to the welfare of his people, has been of infinite prejudice to the cauſe of Chriſtianity; for many ſuffering themſelves to be dazzled by the luſtre of temporal advantage, renounce eternal truth, and diſown the faith of Chriſt, of which they were ſworn diſciples at their baptiſm, for the paltry gratification they receive on their abjuration, or to cancel their debts to the King, which are paid on their becoming Mahometans.

So many miſerable apoſtates, upon one occaſion, availed themſelves of the bounty of the King, granted upon the abandonment of their religion, that in Europe Shah Abbas has been taxed with the ſignal cruelty of having obliged them to abjure their religion by force, upon their not having money to pay their debts to him. Impartially judging, however, it muſt be acknowleged, that the Chriſtians were the moſt guilty on the occaſion; ſeeing that they engaged upon borrowing money of the King, that in caſe of non-reſtitution at the appointed time, they would change their religion; and that inſtead of providing for payment, theſe people diſſipated the money improvidently. The Carmelites took occaſion, therefore, at this time to tell theſe Chriſtians freely, that they ought not to ſell their religion for money; but on the contrary, to maintain themſelves ſtedfaſt in their faith, even at the price of martyrdom, if ſuch were requiſite; adding, that their individual means were not adequate to the acquittal of their debts for them. In this manner did they adviſe them ſecretly, for fear of offending the King, who however upon learning it, approved rather than blamed their conduct. To thoſe indeed who were the moſt neceſſitous and beſt diſpoſed, they afforded aſſiſtance covertly; and there is little doubt but if theſe Chriſtians had ſatisfied the King of their inſufficiency to pay him, he would either have allowed them time, or have wholly remitted his claim.

One day, however, noticing that payments came in with more than common eagerneſs, to the amount of many thouſand crowns, and theſe all in Portugueſe coin, the King refuſed to receive them; alleging, that according to the bargain they were pledged to abjure, and that ſince they changed their religion for money, and from Armenians that they were become Franks or Romaniſts, all religions muſt be equal to them, and that it was his pleaſure they ſhould therefore become Mahometans; for it was neither juſt nor reaſonable that his ſubjects ſhould be in the pay of a foreign power, particularly of the Portugueſe, his neighbours, who had become ſuſpicious to him, and with whom he was conſtantly in diſpute; and that now it was evident they could have no other motive in laviſhing money thus among his ſubjects, than to make a party, under the pretext of ſaving their ſouls.

To return to Ferhabad. The circuit of its walls is great; equal to and perhaps greater than that of Rome or Conſtantinople: the city containing ſtreets of more than a league in length. Of the people already ſent hither and daily arriving, the major part are Chriſtians, differing in cuſtoms and ceremonies, and theſe moſtly Armenians and Georgians, who are allowed to build as many houſes and churches as they pleaſe, and worſhip in public; a permiſſion not granted in Turkey, or other Mahometan countries, in which, if a church fall into decay, licenſe to repair or rebuild it can be obtained only by dint of money. The Chriſtians here however are far from devout, of which I ſatisfied myſelf on viſiting one of the churches of the Armenians, on Palm Sunday, one of their principal feſtivals. Notwithſtanding the number of theſe people at Ferhabad, and the paucity of their churches, the congregation on this occaſion did not exceed five-and-twenty or thirty perſons. Indeed we may attribute the misfortunes and calamities to which they have been ſubject, principally to their lukewarmneſs in matters of religion, their ſchiſms and hereſies, which have called down the vengeance of a juſtly irritated Deity. Not however to digreſs farther, I muſt obſerve, that the ſtreets not yet finiſhed are laid out, and are very broad and ſtraight, broader even than the ſtreet called Giulta, at Rome. They are lined by rows of ſymmetrical houſes, before which are canals to carry off the rain, with bridges in front of each houſe. As yet the houſes are built only one ſtory high, and are covered with flags, which reſiſt the weather as well as can be wiſhed.

The coarſe walls of Ferhabad are made of a matter very common in the neighbourhood, called culghil, that is to ſay, earth and ſtraw. It is a ſlimy ſand, watered like lime, and combined with chopped ſtraw, and without any mixture of ſtone, forms a very hard and durable fence. The King's palace almoſt alone is built of brick. This is of tolerable ſize, but not yet finiſhed. Not having yet ſeen the interior, I cannot deſcribe it; but from its outward appearance, I conjecture it does not materially differ from other of the King's palaces. There is moreover a caravanſerai, which is very ſpacious, and is already reſorted to by the caravans. It is of brick likewiſe, but not yet entirely finiſhed. The Vizier of Mazanderan informed me, that it was built at the inſtigation of the King, and took up no more than a fortnight to bring to its preſent ſtate. There is likewiſe a public bath, with ſome large houſes belonging to individuals of conſequence, who reſide in the city, but the number of them is inconſiderable.

The reſt of this city, which is in its infancy, is built only of wood, earth, flags, and ſtraw; whence it ſometimes happens, as has been the caſe during my reſidence here, that great devaſtation is occaſioned by fire, whole ſtreets being deſtroyed. The King, however, who is conſtantly vigilant to increaſe the beauty of and perfect this city, with a view of preventing ſimilar accidents, has availed himſelf of this to forbid the re-conſtruction of the houſes on the ſame plan, unleſs more ſubſtantially built. From his providence, when we reflect on the wonders which in a ſhort ſpace he has effected at Hiſpahan, there is no room to doubt of his rendering Ferhabad, in the courſe of time, one of the moſt handſome and magnificent cities in the Eaſt; particularly as its neighbourhood abounds in all the requiſites for conſumption and convenience.

Ferhabad is not ſurrounded by a wall, nor even as yet are the lines formed; apparently they will not be now begun, but time be allowed for its increaſe of ſize.

A river, much ſmaller than the Tiber, which has its riſe in the mountains I croſſed, and flows through the rice valley I deſcribed, increaſed by the torrents which fall into it, becomes navigable at Saru, and running thence takes its courſe through the middle of the city. The boats uſed on this river are not of common conſtruction, but made of hollow trees, with flat bottoms to ſuit its ſhallowneſs, and will carry ten or twelve perſons, or a proportionate weight of merchandize. The paddles they make uſe of are ſhaped more like ſhovels than oars; with theſe, however, they make rapid progreſs through the water, not only with but even againſt the current.

This river is called Tegine-rude, which ſignifies the rapid ſtream. In Ferhabad there is yet no more than one bridge, which is very well built, and ſituated in the moſt frequented part of the city; as however it is ſo large, and paſſengers often wiſh to croſs in other places, on ſuch occaſions they are ferried over in theſe ſmall boats, of which there are a number plying. This river, which runs from ſouth to north, falls into the Caſpian Sea two miles below the town. Ferhabad is therefore a ſea-port, veſſels coming up to the bridge of the city where they anchor; theſe veſſels, however, are not of large demenſions, but ſuch as ordinarily are uſed in trafficking thence to Ghilan, Aſterabad, Bagh-kuh, Demir-capi, and whither the trade is greateſt, Aſtracan for Muſcovy.

The largeſt of theſe veſſels exceed not our tartans in ſize; they are built high, yet draw very little water, and are flat-bottomed on account of the numerous ſhoals. I wondered at firſt why ſcarcely any other fiſh than ſalmon and very poor ſturgeons were caught at Ferhabad, and attributed it to the inability of the Perſians, and their ignorance of the art of fiſhing; I was however undeceived by the Khan of Aſterabad, who, living on this ſea and having experience of what he ſtated, was competent to inform me. It ſeems that twenty or thirty miles from the ſhore, the ſea is ſo ſhallow that the fiſhermen cannot throw their nets. On this account their veſſels are built in the manner before deſcribed,

deſcribed, and carry no cannon, there being but few cruizers on this ſea, unleſs indeed a ſmall number of Muſcovites or Ruſſians, in the neighbourhood of their rivers, particularly the Wolga. Navigators alſo are cautious of touching at the mountains of the Lezghi, or in the country of the Circaſſians, between Albania and Muſcovy, as they would infallibly expoſe both their property and freedom.

The temperature of Ferhabad much reſembles that of Rome, lying nearly under the ſame meridian; that is to ſay, the winters are alike humid, rainy, and foggy, and the ſame degree of heat and cold is experienced. The quality of the ſoil is likewiſe ſimilar, both being fat, marſhy, and watered by a river and the ſea.

I entered Ferhabad on the weſt of the river, but the houſe aſſigned me was on the oppoſite ſide, conſequently I was obliged to croſs it in order to get thither. Although one of the beſt in the place, the ceiling was ſo low that, notwithſtanding I am none of the talleſt, I could reach it with my hand. The houſe reminded me of the firſt cabins of Romulus; and as I ſeek to gather ſome amuſement from every thing, the imagery which this circumſtance brought to recollection ſerved frequently to divert me. An appendage to it however much delighted me; it was a large garden planted with white mulberry trees, on the banks of the river. Here, ſhaded by them at times, or at others walking in alleys, I ſpent a great and the moſt agreeable portion of my time in converſation with the muſes; now in company with Actius Sincerus, and now with a Marcus Aurelius, in French, which I met with by chance; and at other times with Ferrari, for want of other books.

So ſtrong was my inclination of ſeeing the Caſpian Sea, that the very next day after my arrival, that is, the 15th of February, I repaired to its ſhores. I embarked a little below my dwelling, not in one of the little boats I have deſcribed, but in a bark of tolerable ſize, reſembling a felucca, but very ill equipped with paddles, and a diſproportionate rudder; ſuch, in ſhort, that I am well perſuaded, unleſs the wind were wholly favourable, from the clumſineſs of the ſails, it could make but little way. Charts and compaſſes are things unheard of here; but as this ſea is much navigated, its numerous ſhoals are well known. I wiſhed much for a quadrant in order to aſcertain the latitude, and ardently deſired a well-mounted ſloop or frigate, that I might have taken the ſoundings, and made an exact chart of this ſea; ſuch, I have no doubt, is not to be met with in Europe.

We proceeded however to ſea in the veſſel I have mentioned, entering it by the mouth of the river; we had not advanced far, however, although the weather was calm, before the agitation occaſioned qualms in Madame Maani, who never before had ſeen the ſea, which obliged us to return and dine on a ſpot which preſented us with nothing but a plain of immeaſurable extent. Although not a faſt-day, we were ſerved with fiſh juſt caught from the river, which, however palatable at the inſtant from our having been ſo long without taſting of any, were very much inferior to thoſe in Europe; nay, even the ſalmon caught here, although freſh, are not ſo good as with us when ſalted; nor indeed all the while I was in the country, did I ever meet with any that were of only tolerable flavour, being much inferior even to thoſe of the Euphrates and the Tigris. They are all large and very fat, owing, as I imagine, to the muddy bottom of the Caſpian Sea.

On Friday the 16th of February I ſent two of my ſervants to Eſcref, only ſix leagues from Ferhabad, where the King then was, and where he already has begun to build a new city. I ſent by theſe men two letters, one for the Agamir, or firſt ſecretary of the King, the other for Huſſein Bey, the mehimandar, that is to ſay, the perſon who has the charge of the King's gueſts. It is his duty not only to aſſign houſes to the

King's viſitors, but alſo to regale and accompany them, and inform the King of their affairs, ſo that he is the firſt perſon made acquainted with them. In fact, of whatſoever nature they may be, whether proceeding from ambaſſadors of Princes or any others, they firſt paſs through his hands: he is, conſequently, an officer of great importance. Huſſein Bey is a perſon very high in eſteem, not only on account of his high charge and the favour he enjoys, but alſo from his being the ſon-in-law of a Khan, who is one of the moſt conſiderable perſons about the court, as well as from being deſcended from the ancient nobles of Perſia Proper, where he has very large eſtates in the neighbourhood of Shirez, with a number of towns and villages immediately dependent on him; being ſo many lordſhips hereditary in his family, called mulk, that is to ſay, poſſeſſions independent of the ſovereign, or, at leaſt, ſuch as the King cannot juſtly alienate.

To theſe perſons then did I diſpatch two letters, which Father Gio Thaddèe de Sta. Elizèe, vicar-general of the Carmelites at Hiſpahan, had given me; in which he merely informed them who I was, and of my arrival, in order that they might render account thereof to the King, before he ſaw me. In addition to the letters, I recommended my people to tell them from me, that I waited His Majeſty's orders at Ferhabad, whether to join him at Eſcrif, or attend him where I was. The mehimandar was at Ferhabad, of which I was ignorant; and without receiving any of my letters, on learning I had arrived, he came on the Saturday to pay me a viſit, and treated me, as his poſt exacted, with great civility.

On Sunday, in the evening, my people returned, and informed me they had ſeen the Agamir, who received them with civility, and acquainted them of his having before heard of my arrival and imparted it to the King, who anſwered according to cuſtom, *Safa ghieldi*, *koſk ghieldi*, ſignifying I was welcome; further adding, that it would not be requiſite that I ſhould travel to Eſcrif by ſuch bad roads, as he was about to mount his horſe to come to Ferhabad, where he would ſee me. Upon this communication, the Agamir immediately diſpatched my ſervants to give me intelligence thereof, and directed them to uſe all expedition, as His Majeſty travelled quick, and would, no doubt, paſs them on the road.

In fact, the King mounted his horſe, as I was afterwards informed, to come to Ferhabad; but finding himſelf followed by a number of ſoldiers, and being fantaſtic and extremely whimſical, he put himſelf in a rage, ſaying he could go no where without being followed; and, out of contradiction, returned, talking no more of his journey. He did not arrive, in ſhort, until the 27th February, which by our reckoning was Shrovetide, and I remained where I was.

The next day, which was Aſh Wedneſday, having been informed of the King's arrival on the preceding day, I ſent immediately to the Agamir to learn how I was to act, and whether it was proper I ſhould then wait on His Majeſty, at his levee, or wait till I was ſent for, and received for anſwer; that it was cuſtomary for perſons of diſtinction to wait for particular orders; that he would inſtantly mention the matter to the King, and communicate His Majeſty's pleaſure, which he did the next day as he mounted his horſe. Whether, however, the King made any anſwer or not, on returning home to dinner he ſent a gentleman to me, called Tochta Bey, to pay me a viſit, and act as my individual mehimandar, or *maitre d'hotel*; a peculiar mark of honour ſhewn me, this gentleman being the ſame perſon as on a ſimilar occaſion attended the Engliſh reſident on his firſt appearance at court.

I received Tochta Bey according to the uſage of the country, preparing a handſome collation for him, and perfuming his hair and beard with incenſe. He begged me to give

give him a particular account of my travels, and the object of my journey. I informed him, that the ſtrong inclination alone which I felt of ſeeing and offering my ſervices to the King had induced my viſit, which inclination originated in the fame of his grand and brilliant actions, connected with the honour he ſhewed our Holy Father the Pope, and his known good will towards the Catholics. He enquired alſo if I deſigned to remain any length of time in Perſia. To this I anſwered, that my ſtay would depend on His Majeſty. Again, he queſtioned if I had a haram; and learning I had, aſked who and of what country my wife was, and whence I had taken her.

Learning afterwards in courſe of converſation that it was Lent, he was minute in informing himſelf in what manner I kept it, as it is differently kept by the Chriſtians in Perſia, the Orientaliſts being much leſs rigid than thoſe of the Romiſh church.

The various queſtions and anſwers were committed to writing by a mulla, who acted as ſecretary, and the ſchedule, as he informed me, would be preſented to the King, as is done on all ſimilar occaſions. I communicated likewiſe for inſcription my name, ſurname, and country. After his taking leave of me in the politeſt manner, he further queſtioned my ſervants who accompanied him to the river's ſide where he took water, how many we were in the houſe; how many women-ſervants, horſes, and camels; of which he ſpecified the number in the paper he had to preſent to the King, and recommended particularly to the captain of the quarter where I dwelt, who had given me his own houſe as the beſt and moſt commodious in the neighbourhood, to pay me every attention. Theſe officers are called acſacal, that is to ſay grey-beard, however young they may chance to be. Their office is to ſee that nothing is wanting in the houſes of the King's gueſts in their different quarters.

Upon Tochta Bey leaving me, he repaired immediately to the King with the information he had obtained; but it being night by the time he arrived, and His Majeſty with the ladies, he had no opportunity of ſpeaking to him, and therefore ſent in his ſchedule.

The ſame evening the King, who ſeldom remains long in a place, mounted his horſe, together with his ladies, and went on a hunting-party, about four leagues from Ferhabad, to a diſtrict where he afterwards ſtopped for I know not how long, without the poſſibility of my receiving any intimation from him. However, Huſſein Bey, and Tochta Bey, my particular mehimandar, continually viſited, and ſhewed me much deference, behaving with the utmoſt civility.

At length the King returning, Tochta Bey immediately ſent to inform me that he had given him ample information reſpecting me, and that he himſelf would have waited on me to inform me of the reſult of the conference were it not for the bad weather, but that he would do himſelf that pleaſure ſoon as the rain had ſomewhat abated. The rain continued, and his viſit was delayed to the 16th of March, when he informed me that the King had recommended me very ſtrongly to his care, and enjoined that he ſhould frequently wait on me, to remove as much as in his power the tedium of my reſidence in this city; concluding with remarking, that the period of the King's receiving me was delayed, owing to the injunctions of his aſtrologer Mulla Gelal, who waited for a lucky time for him to give audience to foreigners; obſerving to me, that the King did nothing without having reference firſt to his calculations.

This, however, I look upon was a mere pretext, ſerving as an excuſe for His Majeſty's not chooſing to ſee me, either to tire my patience or to afford him time to make inquiſition reſpecting my views. I, however, had no room to complain, as a ſimilar conduct is obſerved towards all foreigners; and underſtanding that where impatience had been expreſſed, it had excited His Majeſty's reſentment, I deemed it moſt prudent to ſubmit

with

with a good grace to his pleaſure, intimating ſimply that I ſhould receive his orders, whenever he pleaſed to iſſue them, with pleaſure.

As, however, an opportunity offered in the courſe of this day, I unfolded, by means of this ſame Tochta Bey, one of the two objects of my viſit, which concerned a war for the entire deſtruction of the Turks; the other being to make ſupplication for peace between Perſia and the country of Madame Maani. I converſed for a long time with Tochta Bey on the firſt ſubject, and pointed out to him the means which might be adopted for the effectuation of the purpoſe, and the auxiliaries which Perſia might find, as well perhaps in the Chriſtians of Europe, as certain others of Aſia called Coſſacks, who dwell on the Black Sea, at the mouth of the Dnieper or Boriſthenes; giving him at the ſame time a ſuccinct account of theſe people, and deſcribing the importance of an individual then at court, who, on account of an apparent ſlight, was ſomewhat diſcontented. Tochta Bey paid much attention to my diſcourſe, and ſeemed greatly to approve my project, which he promiſed he would not fail to communicate to the King. The reſult ſatisfied me that he had acquitted himſelf; for one day afterwards, the Coſſack, preſenting a petition to the King in the middle of the ſtreet, repreſenting his impatience at not receiving any anſwer, and the ſlight he experienced from the Effendiar Bey, the King received it, and without reading the petition, ſtopping his horſe, he called for the Effendiar Bey, and the chief of thoſe who accompanied him, and, as he is wont, told them in a loud tone of voice, "You are ignorant then, you gentlemen, of the merit of theſe people, and, unaware of their bravery and noble diſpoſition, know not how to behave yourſelves towards them. Learn then, that they are maſters of the Black Sea; that it is they who have taken ſo many towns from the Turks, and in various inſtances (which he recounted to them) have ſhewn themſelves with great proweſs; learn, gentlemen, that they are capable of being materially uſeful to us, and are not to be ſlighted." He, at the ſame time, expreſſing a deſire of alliance with them in nearly the terms I propoſed to Tochta Bey, concluded with recommending the individual to their kindneſs, enjoining the Effendiar Bey in particular, that he ſhould not be ſuffered to want for wine, as he knew his countrymen were partial to it; ordering him at the ſame time five tomans in ſilver, equal to twenty-five pounds ſterling, for his preſent occaſions, until his petition could be attended to, and a more ſuitable preſent be provided. But let us now leave the Coſſacks.

On Wedneſday, 21ſt March, which was the Neu rouz, or beginning of the ſolar year, a great feſtival among the Perſians, as I have before obſerved, and on which the King receives preſents from all his ſubjects of rank, owing either to Saturn being on the aſcendant, or becauſe the King was indiſpoſed, as we were told, His Majeſty did not leave the haram; ſo that he was not viſible, nor could be ſpoken with, that nor for ſeveral ſucceeding days.

Among the preſents brought to the palace on this occaſion was one on the part of the Khan of Choraſan, who, among many other things, ſent nearly three hundred heads of Uſbeck Tartars, beſides a nobleman of diſtinction of that nation, and eight or ten of his ſervants alive, who ſurrendered themſelves priſoners, the reſult of a ſkirmiſh, in which the remainder were put to the rout. Theſe people, being ſectaries of Omar, and inimical to the Perſians, are conſtantly making inroads in their territories, carrying away whatever they can ſeize where ſucceſsful.

Two others joined together in a ſimilar preſent, the one Huſſein Khan, governor of a province on the frontiers of Bagdad, who ſent the heads of ſix hundred Turks, and Caſvin Sultan, lieutenant of the ſaid Khan, who has much fewer people dependent on him; his complement was ſixty: the heads of thoſe of diſtinction were enveloped in a

 ſilk

ſilk turban; the others bare, and each thruſt through with a lance. This cuſtom of making preſents of the heads of enemies to the King of Perſia is, according to Strabo, of very ancient date.

The King did not leave his palace to receive the preſents, but contented himſelf with one day ordering the heads and the priſoners to be carried to the oppoſite ſide of the river, which near the palace is narrow, viewing the ſhocking ſpectacle from a balcony. He pardoned the Uſbecks and gave them their liberty, without permitting them, however, to return to their nation; obſerving, at the ſame time, that if he ſhould order their execution, there yet would be no want of Uſbecks to deſolate and injure his borders, nor by his pardoning theſe would the number of them be ſo much increaſed as to give him cauſe of alarm.

The Turkiſh priſoners, however, underwent quite a different fate, and were all of them decapitated, one excepted, who was pardoned. As, however, the ſentence pronounced bore ſuch an ambiguous meaning, I can but notice it: the King, in a civil and obliging manner, ſaying, *Cardaſhlari-jaſhi-ſacla*, which ſignifies, "Take care of theſe brethren." On hearing theſe words, the poor wretches interpreting them as a pardon, particularly as they were releaſed from their handcuffs, made a thouſand reverences to the King, and beſtowed on him a thouſand benedictions; they, however, were ſcarcely out of ſight, ere the guards who accompanied them drew their ſcymitars and ſlew them, when they leaſt expected ſuch a fate, cutting off their heads afterwards.

The grand ſeal is not that which is in higheſt eſteem in Perſia, although it be affixed to all patents and emanations from royal authority, (it is kept by the mohurdar, or keeper of the ſeal,) but a ſmall ſeal, which is worn in a ring by the King himſelf; and which he uſes in ſealing all his letters to the Princes and governors of provinces.

At the feſtival of the Neu rouz, the Perſians in office in various departments are changed, particularly the Daroga, or governor of the city. Among thoſe who were nominated to employments this year was my particular mehimandar Tochta Bey, who was made Daroga of Hiſpahan, whither the King diſpatched him with expedition, ſecretly entruſting him with matters of great importance. This was in a degree injurious to my concerns, as the haſte which he was obliged to make cauſed him to omit that attention he was diſpoſed to pay to my affairs.

On the 13th of April, which was Good Friday, being informed that the King had ſuddenly departed for Eſcref, and apprehenſive that my reception might be delayed for a length of time, I deemed it proper to put him in mind of it in the beſt manner I was able. I therefore ſent my compliments, according to cuſtom with us, to all my friends, on occaſion of the day, and particularly to the agamir, with certain preſents; among them ſome confectionary, and eggs of different colours to play with; an amuſement to which the Perſians are ſo prone, that they cannot handle an egg without playing with it after their manner.

The agamir received my ſervants and little preſent with great politeneſs, and enquired who it was that had been appointed to viſit me ſince the advancement of Tochta Bey; and learning that I had ſeen nobody, he was extremely angry, and diſmiſſing my ſervants, informed them that the vizier of the city would not fail waiting on me the ſucceeding day. As promiſed, Tachi Mirza, the vizier, who is the King's lieutenant over all the province of Mazanderan, came to me ſo early in the morning that I had not yet riſen; in order, therefore, not to detain him I received him in bed, and the better to conceal my ſluggiſhneſs, told him I had been indiſpoſed throughout the whole night.

In view of pleaſing me, he told me that he waited upon me expreſsly by order of the King, as he mounted his horſe the preceding day, and not in conſequence of any

directions from the agamir; at the ſame time making many excuſes for his negligence in not having viſited me before, taking blame to himſelf as if guilty of unpardonable rudeneſs. On his departure he left a written order, after previouſly enquiring the number of my people, for our being directly furniſhed with proviſions for twenty days, that at the time being deemed the extent of His Majeſty's ſtay at Ferhabad. He left with me alſo one of his ſervants, not only to take care I was properly provided with neceſſaries, but that he might always be at my call; and taking leave of me, went to join the King at Eſcref.

On the laſt day of April I was viſited by a brother of the vizier Muhammed Saleh Bey; he informed me, that the King would remain ſomewhat longer than he at firſt intended, and gave me a new order for proviſions. I learnt from him, that His Majeſty would return in a few days to Ferhabad, and after ſtopping ten days or a fortnight, would remove with his army to Caſvin, and thence to the frontiers.

It may not be unentertaining to you to be informed of the quantity of proviſions allotted for our ſupport, firſt deſcribing to you the value of their different weights. The patman of the King weighs about 18lbs. of Venice, (19lbs. Engliſh); that of Tebriz, which is the weight by which we were ſerved, 9lbs. of Venice, (9½lbs. Eng.) This is divided into quarters, called cheharek; and theſe again ſubdivided into ſiah, and thoſe into mithicali; diminutive weights, the value of which I did not aſcertain. The quantity aſſigned us then for a month was

250 Patmans of flour,
150 Do. of rice,
36 Do. of butter,
80 Fowls, 19 capons, 17 lambs, 600 eggs,
15 Patmans of chick-peas, 12 patmans of ſalt, 3 of ſpices of all deſcriptions, compriſing aniſe, fennel, cummin, and the like; particularly one cheharek of pepper, and one of cinnamon, and one ſiah of cardamum ſeeds;
10 Patmans of pomegranate ſeed, dried in the ſun; the juice of which when boiled renders their ragouts excellent;
27 Patmans of onions,
20 Do. of wine; of which they were thus ſparing, merely from its being repreſented to them that I did not drink of it in general.
50 Thick and long wax candles, weighing each three pounds; one of which laſts more than one evening, and ſerves a ſecond time in the inferior apartments, but not in the divan kanè;
and 12 Patmans of tallow candles, burnt in ſilver candleſticks, with ſtandiſhes to catch the tallow, which are placed on the carpet. The uſe of tallow is not conſidered degrading to perſons of rank, it being burnt in the palace of the King himſelf.

This, however, is not the whole of our allowance of proviſions; we had beſides,
5 Patmans of raiſins without ſtones, called chiſkmik, and in their piläo,
5 Do. of dry apricots,
5 Do. of vinegar,
10 Do. of cheeſe in ſmall white pieces without rind, more reſembling thick cream than cheeſe;
20 Patmans of ſour milk,
3 Do. of ſugar, and a large flaſk full of white ſugar, kept in ſuch veſſels alone;

5 Large decanters of roſe-water,
5 Patmans of honey,
1000 Oranges,
100 Patmans of barley for the cattle; beſides fifteen chiles of land, aſſigned us for growing barley, to cut green in the months of April and May; each chile of land yielding generally ten horſe loads; with theſe, 45 loads of wood for firing, completed our allowance; all of which was tranſported to my houſe with great exactitude, almoſt at the ſame inſtant of time, except ſome articles which we did not like, and preſented to the ſervant of the vizier who attended us.

On the 1ſt May, the brother of the vizier waited on me again, to direct me, in conſequence of an order he had received from the King, to repair to him at Eſcref as ſoon as poſſible, he being deſirous of ſhewing me the buildings he had conſtructed there, before he left that part of the country; informing me at the ſame time, that if I would be ready by the next morning he would ſend a man to accompany me, and that it would not be neceſſary to take my baggage with me, as the King would remain there but a very ſhort time. I accordingly prepared myſelf, and left Ferhabad in the morning of the 2d May, with the vizier's ſervant and thoſe of my own, leaving the women and the remainder of my ſuite behind.

Eſcref lays eaſtward of Ferhabad; the road thither is very even, and the mud in it being tolerably dry, our journey was pleaſant. The country on each ſide was remarkably well cultivated, particularly in the neighbourhood of Ferhabad, and inhabited by an infinite number of Georgians and Armenians.

I ſaw growing about a number of plants which I had long wiſhed to ſee, but in vain, ſuch as chicory in abundance, thiſtle, and wild borage, with a different flower to ours. On the way I pointed them out to the inhabitants, who were ignorant of their value, particularly the endive. After travelling for a league we forded a river, ſomewhat broader than that at Ferhabad, which empties itſelf into the Caſpian Sea. It is called Chinon.

At noon we reſted for two hours in a town belonging to the Turkmans, called Chiarman. It is ſituated on another ſmall river, much reſembling that at the Marana at Rome. According to cuſtom we were regaled by the chief inhabitants, but as I had lunched off an excellent ham I ate but little. On remounting our horſes we continued our courſe until five or ſix in the evening, paſſing through ſeveral towns and villages inhabited partly by natives of Mazanderan and partly by Turkmans.

At length we arrived at Eſcref, which is about two leagues diſtant from the ſea. It is ſituated at the extremity of a handſome plain, at the foot of ſome ſmall mountains which cover it towards the ſouth. It is at preſent an open place, which is only juſt begun to be built on. Nothing is yet conſtructed but the King's palace, which, indeed, is not itſelf complete; its gardens; a large ſtreet, the bazar, and ſome houſes interſperſed among the trees of the foreſt, and a large eſplanade. It is, however, full of inhabitants; and, in order to encourage the frequency of more, the King, who delights in hunting, and meets with much ſport here, whenever he winters at Ferhabad, paſſes a great part of his time at this place.

Springs and rivulets are here very abundant, the water of which is excellent. Trees alſo are very numerous, thick and of high growth, and the houſes among them are ſo ſhaded by their foliage that they are ſcarcely viſible; and ſo numerous that one is at a loſs to determine whether it be rather a town in a foreſt or a foreſt in a town. On our nearing the palace, the man furniſhed me by the Vizier, rode on to acquaint the governor of my arrival, who immediately mounted his horſe to meet me, with ſome of his people

on foot, gave me the right, the ſtation of honour among the Perſians, as well as contrary to the cuſtom of the Turks, who give the left as a compliment, and aſſigned for my abode one of the beſt houſes in the place.

This dwelling has a large court entirely ſhaded by the branches of trees, ſo as almoſt wholly to exclude the ſun. In the midſt of it, in the moſt umbrageous part, a ſmall apartment, or rather a gallery, (as it is open on all ſides,) has been erected, about the height of a man from the ground, to which you aſcend by ſteps. In this place it is uſual to receive company in the ſummer, and even to ſleep, on account of its coolneſs. This place is common, and ſuch galleries are called bala kanè, or high houſes, from their being raiſed above the ſurface of the ground.

It muſt not ſeem extraordinary to you that ſuch open apartments ſhould be uſed to ſleep in, the night air poſſeſſing no noxious qualities in theſe parts, nor even in any part eaſtward of the Mediterranean as far as here; nay, even weſt of its ſhores in the Archipelago, at Scio for example. The cuſtom of ſleeping expoſed to the air throughout theſe quarters is ſo common, that illneſs would enſue upon the inhabitants reſting in cloſe apartments.

The vizier introduced me, therefore, into the bala kanè, where ſeated, we remained ſome time in converſation. Afterwards he repaired to the King, to acquaint him of my arrival; and returning ſhortly after, informed me that the King had bade me welcome, and would give me audience on the morrow. The vizier ſtaid to ſup with me; and every thing ſerved me, as well on this occaſion as at all my meals afterwards, was in a very nice manner from his own houſe. He remained with me for ſome time after ſupper, and ordering ſome of his people to abide with me to receive my orders, took his leave; telling me, he would wait on me in the morning to preſent me himſelf to His Majeſty.

As uſual with them, my bed was prepared in the bala kanè, it conſiſted of a mattraſs, with ſilk pillows, and a quilted counterpane of the ſame, but without ſheets; inſtead of which was a cit Indiano, or Balampour, of a thouſand colours. That I had no ſheets muſt not ſurpriſe you, they are rendered unneceſſary by the night-dreſs cuſtomarily worn, which is a ſhirt and drawers, or rather trowſers reaching to the feet.

On the next day the vizier repaired to my houſe, and found me already dreſt and waiting for him; but as it was yet early, he remained with me till the hour at which he expected I might be admitted to an audience. At length we mounted our horſes and repaired in company to the palace, the principal gate of which fronts a very handſome and long ſtreet; arrived at which we alighted. We did not enter by a large meadow before the palace, but rounded it, aſcending by a large ſquare joining the palace on one ſide, to which one paſſes by a garden that no one is allowed to enter on horſeback.

I found here a number of Georgians who waited upon the King to abjure their religion and become Mahometans; this induced a converſation between the vizier and myſelf; in which I learnt that liberty of conſcience was allowed throughout the kingdom; and that the King was wholly indifferent to what religion his ſubjects profeſſed, holding all as good, either the Mahometan, the Chriſtian or Jewiſh faith; but theſe people, added he, are continually peſtering His Majeſty to become Mahometans.

At one end of the ſquare, near the palace, there is a beautiful tree of great height, at which the firſt *corps de garde* is ſtationed. Here the Vizier left me in the ſhade to give advice of my approach, and receive the neceſſary orders; and after ſome time he returned to inform me, the King had ordered him to conduct me to the divan kanè of the garden, where the principal officers about the court awaited him. The floor of the divan kanè, raiſed only two ſteps from the ground, was covered with beautiful carpets,

pets, on which the officers of the court already aſſembled were ſeated. The Khan of Aſterabad; the Corchibaſhi, or chief of the ſoldiery, called Corchi; Muharrab Khan; Delli Muhammed, ſurnamed Delli from his facetiouſneſs, that word ſignifying ſportive; a Sultan from the frontiers next to India; with ſeveral others of conſideration. Beſides theſe, on the oppoſite ſide, Sarù Kogia Bey, and the Effendiar Bey, a particular favourite of the King; and on the ſide fronting the weſt, that of leaſt eſteem among them, were ſeveral muſicians with various inſtruments, ſuch as violins, cymbals, lutes, and others, but varying in ſhape from ours, the ſtrings of which were not only of catgut, but alſo of ſilk covered with wire.

On my entrance I was led to ſit between the Khan of Aſterabad, and the Corchibaſhi, as the moſt honourable ſtation, the Vizier of Mazanderan remaining at the door; thoſe officers in greateſt familiarity with the King never ſitting at his audience, but remaining ſtanding to obey his orders. The reſt of the aſſemblage kept their ſeats as on my arrival.

After remaining ſeated thus for ſome time we were ſerved with dinner. What was prepared for us was brought by the garden-gate, the diſhes being carried by as many perſons following each other after the *maitre d'hotel*, of from eighteen to twenty years of age, without beards, who act as the King's pages, and dreſt in the coſtume of Mazanderan; that is to ſay, in pantaloons, with a tight round frock fitting the body and reaching to the middle of the thighs; no turban, but inſtead a fur cap with the hair outwards, and the ſkin turned up at bottom to ſhew the cloth with which it is lined.

Theſe kind of caps, called in Perſia bork, are very common here, and are the ſame as for convenience-ſake are worn in the houſe in lieu of turbans. The pages do not wear liveries, ſuch not being uſed at all in theſe parts, but each was clad in a different colour to the other, according to fancy, and in various kinds of cloth, ſome embroidered with gold and others with ſilver, the bork being generally of a different colour from the pantaloons, and theſe again varying from that of the frock.

The diſhes they carried were large as our baſons, with high covers, either round or ſteeple-ſhaped, to cover the pyramids of pilão and other meſſes. The diſhes were ſome of ſilver but moſtly of gold, and, in order to make the greater ſhew, they were intermixed.

The *maitre d'hotel*, on reaching the divan kanè, knelt and ſpread before me and my two neighbours a cloth of moderate ſize of an octagonal ſhape, of gold brocade fringed, with gold taſſels of different ſhapes and colour. On this cloth every thing placed was ſerved in diſhes of gold, and the meats they contained, notwithſtanding it was ſeaſoned after the country faſhion, was truly a feaſt for a King. Beſides theſe diſhes, near each of us was a large porringer of the capacity of a ſmall pipkin, full of acids, extracted from different matters, of which ſpoonfuls are occaſionally taken during the repaſt, either to aſſiſt digeſtion or ſharpen the appetite; to ſerve which, in each porringer, which like the diſhes were of gold, a deep new ſpoon was put, made of aromatic wood, with a very long handle; theſe, however, ſerve but for one meal, never being uſed a ſecond time.

Although we were not long at dinner, wine was ſerved twice round to all the company according to rank; as I objected to a ſecond cup I was much importuned, as thoſe about me being prohibited the uſe of wine by their religion, and aware that no ſuch injunction withheld me, conſidered my abſtinence as a reproach.

While diverting ourſelves in converſation the muſicians kept playing continually, but in ſuch gentle tones and ſo low as to be ſcarcely heard, ſo as to afford no interruption,

While

While talking, the cup which was of gold and the ſalver the ſame, kept continually moving, the quantity drank at each time, however, was ſmall, and the Perſians accuſtomed to theſe entertainments have good heads.

It was now late, when the King attended by ſome favourite officers of ſtate, ſuch as the agamir, the chief of the eunuchs, and ſome others, entered by the garden gate oppoſite to us. As well as the others, he was dreſſed in a very fine cotton veſt of a lively green colour, laced over the breaſt; for, notwithſtanding it be cuſtomary to lace them on the ſide, as I have elſewhere noticed, they are ſometimes laced in front with orange laces. His drawers, or trowſers, were of violet coloured cloth, his ſhoes of orange ſhagreen or zigri, and his turban red and ſilver, ſtriped. His broad ſaſh was of various colours, as well as that above it, and the ſheath of his ſcymitar of black ſhagreen, the hilt of bone, probably the tooth of ſome fiſh.

His walk was ſtately; his left hand on the guard of his ſword, the point of which towards the ſky, and the concave bend upwards according to the cuſtom of the country. From caprice he is uſed to wear the wrong ſide of his turban before, which except himſelf, none is allowed to do.

As ſoon as we perceived the King at a diſtance, we incontinently roſe on our feet, but without leaving our places. He advanced towards us with a meaſured pace, unſupported, at the head of thoſe who followed him, according to general practice, whether on foot or on horſeback. He is of middling ſtature, not lean but delicate, well built and proportioned, and of dignified port, notwithſtanding he be now near nine and forty years old. Whether he ſpeak, he walk, or ſimply look at you, he has conſtantly the appearance of great animation and vivacity; nevertheleſs, in ſpite of his perpetual reſtleſsneſs, and his natural capriciouſneſs, he conſtantly maintains ſomewhat of ſerious and grave, which plainly indicate Majeſty. His face is rather handſome than otherwiſe, but his complexion is very dark, either naturally or owing to his frequent expoſure to the ſun. His hands are conſtantly dyed of a very dark colour with alcana. His noſe is aquiline; his whiſkers, which are long and hang down, as well as his eyebrows, are black: he wears no beard. His eyes are lively, ſparkling and ſmiling, and as well as the reſt of his countenance expreſſive of that greatneſs of mind and genius, in which he ſurpaſſes the whole of the Princes of the kingdom.

On the King approaching, the Sultan I before mentioned, as being with us who had come from the country over which he was appointed governor, on the frontiers of India and Jagatay, with four or five of the chiefs from thoſe parts who accompanied him, advanced and kiſſed his foot, as is uſual when Sultans or Khans repair to court from a diſtant country, and when they take their leave. This homage on the part of the Sultan was imitated by thoſe with him, after which it was repeated by the Sultan and the reſt, and again a third time, every one each time making a myſterious circle round the King. This ceremony being finiſhed, the Sultan and thoſe who accompanied him returned to the divan kanè and reſumed his place. The King entered alſo, and, as did the others, left his ſhoes on the ſteps of the divan kanè; not ſo much as a mark of reſpect as for cleanlineſs ſake.

Their ſhoes have heels to them, and are in conſequence much more comfortable and pleaſant of wear than our ſlippers without, and not being tied are as eaſily diſengaged without ſtooping.

On the King's entering the divan kanè, my neighbours gave me a hint, upon which I left my place accompanied by the Corchi Baſhi who was at my left, and retained that ſtation, putting his hand under my arm as if to ſupport me. The King ſeeing me advance,

vance, ſtood ſtill; on getting near I made him a profound bow according to our cuſtom, and kneeling on my right knee ſtooped, in view of kiſſing the hem of his garment, but he preſenting me his hand and hindering me, I kiſſed it, and touched it with my forehead. On riſing, while returning to my ſtation accompanied as before, the King enquired if I ſpoke their language, and underſtanding from thoſe with whom I had converſed that I did, he turned to me with a ſmile, and ſaid *choſh ghieldi, ſafa ghieldi* (truly welcome, very welcome); after which he aſſumed his place at the anterior part of the divan kanè, on the left hand as you enter, in the ſame ſpot in which Sarù Kogia was before. The King being ſeated here by himſelf, and Sarù Kogia oppoſite to him, we reſumed our former poſition. Almoſt all the officers of rank who accompanied him ſtanding about his perſon without the divan kanè, with ſome of thoſe who before the arrival of His Majeſty were ſeated with us.

The King at firſt kneeled down and ſat upon his heels, which is conſidered the moſt reſpectful and humble poſture, but which ſoon tires; after which he changed it for that manner of ſitting peculiar to our tailors. After His Majeſty had ſet us the example, we changed our previous uncomfortable poſture alſo, and ſat with our legs acroſs. After this he pulled off his turban and remained bare headed, notwithſtanding it was night and the apartment open. This, I underſtood, is his uſual practice, whether alone or in converſation. In this, we did not imitate him, it being conſidered an incivility to ſit without a turban, not only when among perſons of higher rank, but even among ſtrangers or your equals. He afterwards ordered wine to be brought; this the Effendiar Bey, who ſtood without the divan-kanè, preparing in a hurry to preſent to the King, fell into a ſmall reſervoir of water at the foot of the ſteps leading to the place, which excited a hearty laugh at his expence, redoubled when upon his recovering himſelf, and again advancing, he broke the glaſs decanter which contained the wine againſt the joiſts of the door.

The King having drank, two or three pages ſtanding in the room ſerved us each according to rank, one after the other as before; the cups from which we drank being of gold, and that of the King of glaſs. On the cup being preſented to me, the King noticing I did not take it with the ſame eagerneſs as the reſt, obſerved, " perhaps he does not drink wine." I anſwered, " that I was little accuſtomed to do ſo, but felt it a duty ſince I underſtood it to be His Majeſty's pleaſure that I ſhould, and that in mere momentous matters I was deſirous of ſhewing him my readineſs to ſubmit to His Majeſty's will." I thereupon emptied my cup, which was very ſmall, for the ſecond time that day; the wine, however, notwithſtanding it was pure, was neither very ſtrong nor very good.

In the mean time, a number of people came with the preſents made by the Sultan on occaſion of his viſit to court. This cuſtom appears of very great antiquity, the King of the Medes according to Philoſtrates never being viſited even in the time of Apollonius without receiving preſents.

This cuſtom is general throughout the Eaſt among all ranks. Equals for what they give receive an equivalent; where the value tendered for that received be greater, it is conſidered an acknowlegement of ſuperiority, where leſs, an aſſumption of the ſame on the reverſe. Vaſſals make preſents to their lords, who give back little in return. When Princes of ſimilar power and equal authority make them, the quality and nature of what is tendered is preconcerted on each ſide. The Sovereign who receives them from an inferior Prince gives little or nothing in return. Thus the Turks, wont to receive from the King of Perſia, render but a trifle; and the preſent war, as I conceive,

originates

originates from the Shah diſliking to give without an equivalent; and notwithſtanding the expence of the war infinitely ſurpaſs the value of the annual boon, peace is prevented by the pertinacity of the King in refuſing the annual donation.

After the preſents had paſſed in review, to which His Majeſty paid little attention, unleſs indeed to ſome falcons, arrows, and inſtruments of war, he employed the remainder of the day in the expediting of various affairs, giving different commiſſions and writing ſeveral letters; he alſo liſtened to the reading of ſeveral by the agamir in ſo loud a tone of voice that we diſtinctly heard every ſyllable; among theſe was one from my former mehimandar Tochta Bey, now Governor of Hiſpahan, informing of the arrival of an ambaſſador expected from Spain.

His Majeſty enquired of the courier, as is his general cuſtom, reſpecting the ambaſſador, and where he was lodged; of me alſo, if he were the man of rank deſignated: on which point I ſatisfied him, informing him, that although he was perſonally unknown to me, I knew his family to be one of the moſt noble in Spain; and in anſwer to his queſtion, whether a Caſtilian or Portugueſe, acquainted him that notwithſtanding he had poſſeſſions in both countries, he was a true Spaniard.

In this manner the King diſpatched his various affairs, converſing firſt with one, then with another, the wine paſſing round all the while; I availed myſelf, however, of his being ſo cloſely engaged to paſs my turn. At length lights were brought in; theſe were large iron pots into which rags and greaſe were put, at the end of ſticks, and which when kindled give much more light than our torches. Theſe are peculiar to perſons of high rank; four of them were placed without the divan kanè in the open air, and wherever three or four are viſible it is an infallible ſign that either the King is on the ſpot or his haram. Within the divan kanè, a row of wax candles were diſpoſed in gold and ſilver ſticks, and a lamp of greaſe, ſuch as I have before deſcribed.

Immediately after a collation was ſerved, conſiſting only of provocatives to drinking, as without wine in this country there is no converſation. Theſe, at the ſame time, very much prevent the wine from affecting, as by my own experience I am well enabled to aſcertain. The entertainment continued thus till paſt one o'clock in the morning, the King all the time conducting himſelf with great familiarity, yet conſtantly preſerving his dignity. After ſome time, the King called Delli Muhammed Khan, the jeſter, to come and divert him, condeſcending ſo far as to tell him, that if too idle to move, he would himſelf come to him. The gueſts upon this perceiving the Shah diſpoſed to unbend, (as ſuch perhaps is the cuſtom,) withdrew one after the other, without any ceremony whatſoever, and making as little noiſe as poſſible.

For my part, a novice in theſe matters, I waited ſome time, expecting they might return, as I noticed that all were free to go out and come back; I remained ſome time; at length, fearful of being the only one left at table, I withdrew, and as I waited ſome time on the ſteps for my ſlippers, the agamir on one ſide, and the Governor of Mazanderan on the other, came to acquaint me that that the King enquired for and wiſhed to ſee me.

I returned immediately on this intimation, and having entered the divan kanè, knelt down in order to ſit oppoſite to the King near Delli Muhammed Khan, but ſoon as the King perceived me, he told me he wiſhed to confer with me, and made a ſign for me to be ſeated on his right, with which I complied. Notwithſtanding we were no more in the ſaloon than the King, Delli Khan, and myſelf, the muſicians ſtill continued to play in the ſame manner as before deſcribed, ſo as not to hinder converſation.

When ſeated, the King made many enquiries of me reſpecting myſelf, my profeſſion, my family, and object in travelling; of the countries through which I paſſed; of Europe;

its politics; its religions; the power and views of Spain, reſpecting its ambaſſador; and many other ſubjects, reaſoning upon my replies on the latter, and ſhewing himſelf in his converſation perfectly well informed of the religions, cuſtoms, and intereſts of Europe, a very widely-informed man, and a conſummate politician. He detailed to me in return the cauſe of his wars with Gourgiſtan, as Georgia is called here; told me of Trimuraz, who had excited the Turks to war with him, having ſought for aſſiſtance from the Tatars, but "what can they do with their arrows, which go *ter*, *ter*," ſaid he, "let them come, let them come, I ſhall ſpeak and do," putting his hand to his ſword and aſſuming a menacing aſpect; when recollecting himſelf, and apprehenſive of too much preſumption, he turned his eyes towards heaven and rebuked himſelf, exclaiming, *tòba*, *tòba*, expreſſions of regret and reſignation to God; then turning the converſation to tactics, he ſhewed himſelf well acquainted with war, its inſtruments, the fitteſt for cavalry and infantry, and the various manœuvres in battle.

The leſſons which he gave to the attendants about him on theſe ſubjects were liſtened to with minute attention and much approbation; for my part I obſerved, that it was only for maſters to give ſuch leſſons, and that he was certainly qualified to teach from ſo much experience, and ſuch great ſucceſs as he had ever had. The King ſmiled at the compliment, modeſtly obſerving that what he had ever done was but of little value.

You muſt not, however, imagine that our diſcourſe (which, as it embraced ſo many ſubjects, was conſequently of long duration) paſſed without frequent reference to the cup; a practice common with the King, leſs with him for its being the cuſtom of the country than to allow his penetrating mind to work into the receſſes of the hearts of thoſe with whom he converſes, and with courteſy and the aſſiſtance of Bacchus to draw from them their moſt ſecret thoughts.

After continuing thus converſing, and drinking ſometime to a great exceſs, yet without ill conſequences to myſelf, Delli Khan, upon the cup paſſing with greater briſkneſs, knowing it to be the ſignal for departure, withdrew ſo ſilently that I ſaw his place empty before I noticed his retreat. Yet, ſeeing the King did not riſe, I thought it improper to do ſo before him. At length he made a ſign, obſerving longer ſitting was ſuperfluous, and putting on his turban leaned againſt a pillar of the divan kanè, where he was ſurrounded by the muſicians, who continued to play very gently. Hereupon the Vizier of Mazanderan, who was on his feet as well as the other officers, beckoned me to retire, which I did without ſaying a word, making a ſlight bow as I paſſed the King, which was diſpenſed with by the courtiers. The vizier aſſigned me ſome of his people to ſee me home, remaining with the King, who is wont to continue in this poſture, a prey to an habitual melancholy, liſtening to the muſic: ſometimes when he thinks of it, retiring to the haram.

On Saturday the 5th of May the King left Eſcref for Ferhabad, yet not by the direct road, in order that he might enjoy the diverſion of hunting, as he is wont; his ladies accompanying him on horſeback, and they alone, in order that his horſes, with the baggage and his train, might travel on at leiſure; as when the King removes, all his people go at the ſame time. For my part, I did not leave Eſcref that day, the King having directed that the apartments and gardens of the palace, when all ſhould have departed, ſhould be ſhewn me; and for that purpoſe, I was waited on the ſame evening by the Vizier of Mazanderan.

We entered by the great and principal gate of the palace, which opens on a long and beautiful avenue of great breadth, ornamented at preſent only by ſimple hedges and borders. It is, however, as I underſtand, to form a bazar. On the way he pointed

out to me other ſpots on which it was intended to erect caravanſerai, ſquares, baths, and other buildings, for the habitation of the people which the King was continually ſending thither.

Beyond the gate, which none are allowed to paſs on horſeback, is a very handſome meadow of great extent, where thoſe amuſe themſelves who go to pay their court or wiſh to ſee the King; for, unlike with us, the Shah never gives audience in the apartments of his palace, but in the open air; either, if on foot, in the courts, or on horſeback, in the public ſquares. On the left as you enter the meadow is a beautiful hill, raiſed partly by nature and in part by art, at the foot of which a bath is built for the ſervice of the town, the revenue from which belongs to the King. On the ſummit of the hill a private garden has been laid out for the ladies, incloſed by ſtrong walls flanked with towers.

I was introduced into this garden, which is even of great capacity, abounding in odoriferous plants and various fruits, but particularly oranges and lemons. Vegetation of all kinds, from the warmth and moiſture of the climate, and the abundance of water which falls from the neighbouring mountains, ſucceeding admirably. I did not, however, notice any eſpaliers, fountains, or ſimilar ornaments to thoſe with which our gardens are replete.

The water runs in the middle of the alleys, which are paved with ſtone, in little ſtraight canals, and not on each ſide the walks as with us. In the middle of the garden, at the union of the four principal alleys which croſs each other, an octagonal houſe is built, of ſeveral ſtories. The apartments in it are handſomely painted and gilt, but very ſmall, and conſtructed only for ſleeping rooms, or to reſt in. This building is deſtined excluſively for the women, and none are ſuffered to enter it except the King.

Upon quitting the ladies' garden we went to viſit that of the King, ſituated oppoſite to the hill beyond the meadow on the left at entering. One enters through a ſmall garden, and by an avenue which leads to the great garden, in the middle of which is the divan kanè, in which the King gave me audience. On entering, a great gate preſents itſelf, on which is a fountain which throws its water as high as the roof of this building, whence it is conducted into different apartments and balconies, and ſupplies ſeveral ſmall *jets d'eau* which ſpring from their floors.

This houſe, as well as the other, is very ſmall, and the number of apartments on the various ſtories are almoſt infinite. They are conſequently very narrow rooms, although well painted and gilt, and ornamented with exquiſite miniatures of great coſt. On every ſide are numerous balconies, with Venetian ſhutters and large curtains.

Of the apartments, one was contrived to have a beautiful effect; on each of its four ſides were two large looking-glaſſes in the form of windows, one on one ſide and one on the other of the four doors or windows, which, on every ſide reflecting, gave the appearance of ſo many rooms ſimilar to that in which they were. The floors of ſeveral of the moſt private rooms were ſtrewed with mattraſſes of rich brocade, for convenience on being ſeated, or for ſleeping on, and ſuch as had not their mattraſſes were covered with carpets of great value. The paintings throughout the palace, although the colours be beautiful, were very badly executed; the painters here being no Titians.

At length, after ſhewing me every thing that there was to be ſeen, the vizier that ſame evening ſet out on horſeback to join the King; for my part, not caring to travel by night, I deferred my departure till the next morning, and arrived at Ferhabad by a different road to that I left it, in ſuch good time as to be able to diſpatch a letter for Italy by an American courier departing for Hiſpahan.

On the road returning I dined in a village where I ſtopped to reſt, a number of which I paſſed through on my way, noticing every where in the fields bala-kanè elevated on poſts, the aſcent to which in lieu of ſtairs (to prevent intruſion of animals, as they are in the open country) is by a ſloping poſt with knotches on each ſide of it. Theſe bala-kanè are not incloſed by any thing but a ſlender matting, which can be let down or raiſed at pleaſure, ſo as to admit the air and exclude the ſun or rain. In one of theſe I dined off ſeveral diſhes brought by ſome of the village, and after ſleeping a ſhort time I mounted my horſe, and croſſing the Chinon in another part arrived at Ferhabad.

I obſerved, during my ſtay afterwards at Ferhabad, no more than two things; the one the ſolemn and general almſgiving, which is continual at the gate of the King, to the Sophi, who call themſelves religious perſons of the Perſian ſect; and the other, the circumſtance of the King diſpoſing of thirty women from his haram, to whom he gave each a huſband, as he is accuſtomed frequently to do. The manner of his diſmiſſing his wives is as follows.

He gives each of them a camel for to enable her to perform the journey ſhe has to make; a kiechève, that is to ſay, a covered litter, ſuch as is uſed in this county to ride in more conveniently on the camel's ribs on one ſide, and in the other to put a coffer filled with her things, that is to ſay, a ſilk bed or rather mattraſs, a pillow and coverlid, dreſſes and linen, her gold, her jewels, and every thing belonging to her; as all of them, according to their rank and birth, poſſeſs either leſs or more property. When ſhe who leaves the haram happens to have been in any eſteem, her equipage and cloaths, without which none are diſmiſſed, are worth from one thouſand to two thouſand ſequins, which in the Eaſt, where a woman brings nothing to her huſband, is in courſe a handſome portion.

Thus having detailed the whole of what I have noticed, here I am now preparing for a new journey, the King being on the point of departure with the army for Caſvin, whence he means to advance directly to the Turkiſh frontiers, and whereſoever the chance of war and the good of the kingdom may call.

Hitherto I have written from Ferhabad, and counted upon ſending my letter thence, brought down to the firſt or ſecond week in May, but was prevented for want of a truſty meſſenger, and the ſudden departure of His Majeſty, immediately followed by mine; and as I have an opportunity of ſending it by an Auguſtin lately arrived from India, and proceeding direct to Rome, I ſhall add, if the time will permit, an account of all that has occurred up to the preſent date.

The King, receiving ſome particular news from Turkey, left Ferhabad in haſte for Caſvin, on the 11th of May. Soon as the King leaves any place the ſoldiers about his perſon decamp immediately and follow him wherever he goes, without knowing whither nor even the time of his departure an hour before it takes place. This, however, is no ways inconvenient to the army, as from ſuch things being cuſtomary all are conſtantly prepared. The King, however, bent his courſe out of the direct way, rather towards the province of Ghilan, in order to take the diverſion of hunting, the guards, who were ignorant of this, making direct for Caſvin on the ſame road as to Hiſpahan from Ferhabad, as far as Firuz-cuh.

I was not made acquainted with the hunting party in Ghilan, or, as you may well imagine, I ſhould not have been abſent whatever the inconvenience to myſelf; but as the Vizier of Mazanderan informed me, that if I accompanied the King I ſhould not have an opportunity the more for converſing with him, as he would be conſtantly with the ladies, but ſhould likewiſe have to undergo vaſt fatigue. I followed his recommen-

dation, and ſet of with the army direct for Caſvin, on the evening of the 13th of May, travelling conſtantly by night in order to avoid the heat, which already, when the ſun was up, was ſcarcely tolerable, and repoſing in cool ſhades during the day. In this manner we reached Firuz-cuh in four or five days, the roads being dry and in good order.

Our firſt halt was in the city of Sarù, at the houſe of the hoſts who had treated us ſo civilly before, and who expected us at the door on hearing the army was paſſing. After paſſing through the foreſt, which had been our reſting-place, and Tatara Peſk, we ſtopped at a wretched ſtage called Shirgah. Our third day's journey was only of four leagues, on account of the mountains, and leaving behind us Girèt, the town inhabited by the ladies who treated us with ſuch kindneſs, we proceeded to Mioni Kielle, where we lodged before. Our fourth halt was in the neighbourhood of the ruined caſtles at the commencement of Mazanderan; the ruined caſtle but a ſhort diſtance from the highway is called Abund. Our march of this day was no more than four leagues, on account of the ſlow pace of the camels, and the place of our encampment for the night was a delightful valley at the foot or rather on the ſlope of the mountain. Beyond the valley on a ſmall mountain we diſcerned a number of black tents belonging to Arabs of the province of Mazanderan, who in the winter repair to the towns and villages, but live in tents in ſummer, and tend their flocks on the mountains.

As ſoon as our tents were pitched ſome very affable and obliging women repaired to them and preſented Madame Maani with milk and other things to eat, and after regaling them in turn, and keeping them to dine with us, Madame Maani was curious of ſeeing the ſtructure of their tents, and accompanied them back. I was alſo of the party, and at the bottom of the valley, near a rivulet, I diſcovered a quantity of wormwood, and ſeveral other odoriferous plants unknown to me. On our entering one of the tents, which although of coarſe quality, was abundantly ſtored with all kinds of neceſſaries and furniture, even to carpets, and which belonged to the perſon who conducted us; thoſe from all the other tents, particularly the women, flocked to ſee us. We had no ſooner got within the tent than we were again preſſed to eat, which to have refuſed would have been uncivil. Among the articles preſented us by the women, and which pleaſed me greatly, was ſome milk cheeſe of a particular kind that had been twice churned, and had been broken in pieces with a ſpoon in a ſweet liquor called duſhiab, very commonly uſed by the orientaliſts in their ragouts; beſides this, eſteemed a great delicacy, we were ſerved with various diſhes of meat, and muſcovado ſugar as it came from the cane, in the company of nearly twenty matrons and maids, who by their beauty as much as by their polite manners, converſation, and paſtoral life, reminded me of the Arcadian ſhepherdeſſes as deſcribed by the poets. Certainly, in grace and courteſy, they could not have excelled theſe of Mazanderan.

Making them firſt preſents of ſcarfs, veils, and other trifles, we took our leave, and after loading the camels proceeded on our journey, travelling through all the night, and arrived an hour before day-riſe at Firuz-cuh, four leagues from the frontiers of Mazanderan, where we reſted for the fifth time.

The King was not yet arrived at Firuz-cuh, nor was it known even when he would arrive; learning, however, that the hunt would take place in a valley between certain mountains, about two leagues diſtant from Firuz-cuh, out of the high-road, I went mid-way thither on Sunday the 20th of May, where, in a plain of great convenience, on account of the plenty of water and forage, I encamped on the banks of a river, near a ſmall hamlet of three or four houſes, called Nemevan, and as, in all likelihood, I ſhould have

to

to remain there ſome days, for the firſt time I pitched the whole of my tents, forming a court, a parlour, a bed-chamber, and anti-chamber, a gallery, and other neceſſary places.

On the 22d I reſolved on taking a view of the ſpot where the hunt was to take place, and the ſame time pay a viſit to Effendiar Bey, who had arrived to make preparations as well as Muhammed Saleh Bey. The way from my tent to the ſpot was by a very narrow paſſage in a mountain, through which a large rivulet flowed amid the protuberant and rugged rocks with great impetuoſity, making a great noiſe in its fall. This is the ſame rivulet which flowed by our abode, and in paſſing through the mountain we were obliged to march in its bed for the length of a muſket ſhot. The paſſage, however difficult it appeared, was eaſy, ſo much ſo as to be practicable for people on foot; when, however, the waters are ſwollen not even horſes can paſs it. Beyond this cleft we came to a moſt beautiful valley, about two miles in circumference, intirely encloſed by mountains.

The King, intending this ſpot for the ſcene of the hunt, had diſpatched ſeveral thouſand men from the borders of Mazanderan to drive the various wild beaſts in the valleys and mountains round about to this ſpot. In a certain part of the valley, grown over with trees, he had cauſed a hedge to be made of branches as ſtrong as a wall, all acroſs the valley, and as high as a man on horſeback, to prevent the animals eſcaping from the ſcene of battle, and in order to hinder their getting out by theſe acclivities of the mountains, large nets made of ſtrong cord were extended round the whole, as high again as the hedge deſcribed, ſo that the moſt nimble animals could not overleap them. The number of nets ſent for this purpoſe from Ferhabad loaded three hundred camels.

It is uſual for the King to take his ſtation in middle of the valley, and kill as much game as he pleaſes, either with his fowling-piece or ſword; it is alſo cuſtomary to take ſome alive, to the ears of which little plates of gold are faſtened, with the hunter's name inſcribed; and ſome have been caught with theſe appendages, having the inſcription of King Tahamaſp, Iſmael Sofi, and many other very ancient monarchs.

And, in order that the ladies may ſhare in the diverſion, a long gallery is built for them without the netting, cloſed with Venetian blinds, whence they fire at ſuch of the animals as come within ſhot, and ſhew great ſkill with the gun. When, however, there are no men in the valley, ſo many Cynthias, they deſcend into the midſt and kill them with arrows or the ſword.

Effendiar Bey, who had the direction of all theſe matters, took pleaſure in ſhewing and deſcribing them to me. The gallery he had planned ſo well that it took but two days in completing, notwithſtanding which the workmanſhip of it was extremely nice. The King being now at hand with his haram, the Effendiar Bey, the brother of the vizier, and all the others who had come hither to hunt, and had, as well as theſe noblemen, ſpread themſelves over the valley, retired to the extremity of the vale, cloſe to the paſſage through the rivulet, leaving the reſt of the meadow clear, it being thought indecorous to remain where the King's wives may appear.

And now, as opportunity occurs, I ſhall deſcribe the mode of travelling adopted for the haram. The King's wives, that they may not be ſeen, always travel by night, and when they travel without the King it is always in a ſort of panniers on camels, in one of which they ride themſelves on the camel's ſide, while on the other is a cheſt which ſerves as a counterpoiſe. Theſe panniers, however, are conſtantly covered, and cloſe like thoſe of all other women; and when the panniers are faſtened on, the muleteers after emptying

ing them leave every thing elſe to the eunuchs, who cauſe the ladies to get in them at a diſtance from the muleteers.

This method is new, the muleteers formerly helping the ladies into the panniers. The cauſe of the diſcontinuance was owing to the following circumſtance. The King travelling one night on horſeback by himſelf with the army, incognito, as is uſual with him, perceived the loading of one of the camels had ſlipped down on one ſide, whereupon calling the muleteer to ſet it to rights, and he not appearing, the King to eaſe the camel himſelf put his ſhoulder to the pannier, but finding it rather heavier than it ſhould be, and ſeeking the cauſe, he diſcovered the muleteer comfortably repoſed in the lady's arms, without any regard to the majeſty of him he offended, or care for how the camel went. The King, upon this, immediately ordered the heads of the lady and her gallant to be ſevered, and ſince then eunuchs have been ſubſtituted for muleteers, in helping the ladies into their panniers. When, however, the King travels with them they conſtantly ride on horſeback, with their veils raiſed. The King, who is then attended by eunuchs alone, rides in the midſt, joking with them, and occaſionally hunts. Whether, however, they travel by themſelves or with the King, they are conſtantly thus preceded.

Four eunuchs ride at leaſt a league before them to clear the road and oblige all to retire, the puniſhment of death being awarded for merely looking on the King's wives; and if they ſhould in the day-time have occaſion to paſs through ſome town or village, the inhabitants are ordered to quit it or ſhut themſelves up till they have paſſed. Afterwards follow a body of theſe, who clear the way, and drive, wound, or even kill ſuch as remain; then the haram, with the eunuchs, if by itſelf, in panniers on camels, or as before noticed, if accompanied by the King, on horſeback; a troop of ſoldiers follow, called Jaſachi, or the King's guards, wearing the tag and an arrow, the point fixed in the turban, and the feathers pointing upward.

To return, however, to the hunt. His Majeſty underſtanding I wiſhed to be preſent, ſtated he would acquaint me when it began; but, contrary to expectation, the quantity of game was ſo trifling, not exceeding fifty pieces, that he did not think it worthy my attention; he, however, ordered an antelope to be brought me. Thus, I was neither a party at the hunt in Ghilan nor here; in the one place owing to ignorance, where the ſport was excellent, and in the other, with knowlege of it, for want of game.

The ſame evening we loaded our camels a little before night, and marched with the camp which followed the King. From Ferhabad the road runs conſtantly ſouth; from Firuz-cuh to Caſvin it has a weſtern direction. Firuz-cuh is a frontier town; on one ſide of it lays Irak, on the other Mazanderan, and by the road we took to Caſvin, bordering Media, if I miſtake not. This night we forded two rivers, the names of which I did not learn, one on this ſide of the mountains, the other between them in a deep valley. We traverſed a ſucceſſion of very high mountains, very difficult to deſcend on account of their ſteepneſs, and the roads ſhocking. The whole of theſe mountains, which form the frontiers of Media, the country where grows the amomum, were covered with a certain plant then in bloom. Its ſtem was loaded thick with flowers of a yellow colour, forming a pyramid, ſmall leaves, and in addition long filaments. When the plant feeds, which in ſome ſpecimens it did at this time, each flower is ſupplanted by an oval pod full of grain, which, as well as the flower, is of a yellow colour. The green leaf of the ſtem reſembles that of the violet.

After ſeven leagues march, paſſing over mountains in the way, we reſted for the firſt time at the entrance of certain extenſive plains, bordered by mountains, by the ſide of a clear

clear rivulet, in a meadow producing excellent graſs. The ſecond night I left Madame Maani and the luggage behind, and haſtened forward, deſirous of joining the King, that I might not be chargeable with negligence.

I travelled, therefore, with great expedition, paſſing through ſeveral villages and towns, one of which, of ſome ſize, called Ghilas or Ghilar, where I reſted for three hours, after having croſſed a river which runs below the town over a bridge of ſtone. At dawn, I ſet forward again, and journied on foot three or four hours, when I forded another river called Giageron, both deep and rapid; the bridge over which was in ruins. After riding thus ten or twelve leagues, a little paſt noon I arrived ſomewhat fatigued at the city of Taheran, at a league from which, near a moſque, in high veneration among the Mahometans, the King was encamped with the greateſt part of his troops, the remainder being behind with the baggage.

Taheran is a large city, more ſpacious than Caſhan, but not well peopled, nor containing many houſes, the gardens being extremely large, and producing abundance of fruit of various deſcriptions, of ſuch excellent quality, that it is ſought for by all the circumjacent country. The Khan ordinarily reſides here, on which account the other cities yield it the palm as capital of the province, which alſo is called by the name of the city Taheran, and extends along the road from Firuz-cuh, as far as the mountains we traverſed the firſt night. All the ſtreets in the town are watered by a number of conſiderable ſtreamlets, which ſerpentining in the gardens, contribute not a little to their fertility. The ſtreets moreover are ſhaded by beautiful lofty plane-trees, called in Perſia chinar; ſome of them are ſo extremely thick, that it would take from two to three men to claſp them round. Excepting theſe, Taheran poſſeſſes nothing, not even a ſingle building, worthy of notice. The King ſetting off on Thurſday, we followed his example.

We travelled all the night, preceded by the King and his whole train of camels, and by day-break, after ſix leagues, arrived at a conſiderable town called Kierè, which likewiſe gives name to a river, over which is a handſome ſtone bridge. Here I took up my abode for the day in a handſome new apartment, open on the ſides, built on the river by order of the King, a little higher than the ſurface of the water, between two large arches. The water ſtreaming below over a rugged bed with ſome violence, compoſed me ſo perfectly to ſleep with its noiſe, that the King, who was deſirous of reaching Caſvin, and reſting himſelf an inſtant a little behind us, had mounted anew, and rode over my head, attended by ſeveral cavaliers, without awakening me.

The ſucceeding night, inſtead of taking the regular road, on which there is a number of towns and villages, to ſhorten the way, the army took acroſs an almoſt barren plain; after travelling ſix leagues over which, we reſted on Saturday morning at a miſerable village called Hauz-abad, whence on Saturday night we departed, and arrived on Sunday morning, the 10th of June, at Caſvin.

The inhabitants of Caſvin are not friendly to the ſoldiery, and purpoſely to prevent their ſelecting their houſes for their abode, build them with miſerable entries, inconvenient, and dark. We choſe one, however, and were about to take up our abode in it; but as we ſhould have to diſlodge ſeveral women, as well as the men, who had no refuge, we choſe rather to leave it, and pitch our tents without the town, near a clear running ſtream called Sheich Ahmed, from the father of my former mehimandar at Ferhabad, who, while governor of this part, had turned its courſe this way to ſupply the city.

Caſvin, called properly by the Italians Caſbin, and in the epitome of Ferrari, Arſacia, is a large city, the capital of great part of Media, and formerly was the ſeat of empire

of

of the Perſians, till Shah Abbas took an averſion to it. It is not encloſed with walls, like other of the great cities of the empire, but is extremely populous, and a place of great trade, being a thoroughfare to ſo many different provinces. The houſes are not well conſtructed, are very ugly within, and moſtly in a ſtate of decay, the diſtance and abſence of the court having taken ſo many of its wealthy inhabitants away. The ſtreets are not paved, but ſmall, naſty, and ſo full of light duſt, that there is no walking in them without being blinded. Its bazars are very ill built, although in them every deſcription of merchandize and proviſions is on ſale. In ſhort, this city has nothing in it to ſatisfy the expectations I had formed of a place, which, for ſo long a time, had been a royal reſidence.

There is in the whole place but two things worthy of obſervation; one, the gate of the King, or the royal palace; the other, the grand meidan or ſquare.

The King's gate is neither painted nor gilt, like that of Hiſpahan; it is, however, very large, and of more majeſtic appearance. It is built in a ſpacious but uneven eſplanade. The veſtibule is very handſome and lofty, beyond which is a large court, planted with very high and lofty palms, under the ſhade of which is a pleaſant walk, where thoſe reſort who wiſh to ſpeak to or pay their court to the King.

The grand meidan or ſquare is at a ſhort diſtance from the palace, in a quarter of the town between that and the bazar. It is not indeed ſo handſome nor ſo large as that of Hiſpahan, but falls little ſhort of it. Like that it is three times as long as broad, for the purpoſe of its being adapted the better to a game played here on horſeback, for which two limits are conſtructed at one end of the ſquare, and as many on the oppoſite. The porticoes round the ſquare are ill built and old faſhioned; but in the middle, on both one and the other ſide, two ſmall palaces are raiſed, adorned with balconies; one of them, intended for the ladies, with Venetian blinds, and both of them with handſome gardens attached to them.

The King appears almoſt every evening on the meidan, where in conſequence the nobility reſort to make their bows and pay their court, being more ſecure of meeting with His Majeſty here than at his levèr. On his firſt appearance, thoſe he paſſes incline the head without bending the body, which reverence it is unneceſſary to repeat, the Shah being careleſs of homage. All the time of the King remaining, pages attend to ſerve the King's gueſts and certain of the chief officers with wine, muſicians playing the whiie on ſeveral kinds of martial inſtruments, after the Turkiſh, the Perſian, and Uſbeck faſhions; the Turkiſh and Uſbeck bands being merely uſed as trophies of the victories in which he captured them.

The game of pell-mell played on horſeback, is ſomewhat like football with us. Two parties are formed of equal number, never exceeding five or ſix, who, with a light ſtick, unarmed with iron or lead, ſtrike the ball forward, which is repelled, the party winning which firſt ſtrikes it to the oppoſite limits. This is an exerciſe which requires great dexterity, as well in the horſe as the rider, and is a favourite diverſion, of which even the ladies condeſcend to be ſpectators, but in ſimple dreſſes with their veils down.

As before noticed, the courtiers on leaving His Majeſty on the meidan make uſe of no ceremony, but go and come as they pleaſe; nor when he departs is it requiſite to accompany him to the palace.

I am now going to fight the Turks, — believe me conſtantly your friend, and remember me in your prayers to the God of Battles, that we may be covered with ſucceſs.

## LETTER V.

*Hiſpahan, 22d April, and 8th May, 1619.*

IT was the 11th June laſt year, when we arrived at Caſvin. On the next morning the King gave a public audience in the interior portal of his palace, at which I was preſent. The King perceiving me, as a mark of courteſy ſent his mehimandar to learn if any buſineſs or private matter brought me to the levèr; I anſwered him that my duty alone brought me thither to pay my reſpects. Among many matters promulged by the King, in a loud tone of voice, was his injunction to the public crier, that notice ſhould immediately be given in every quarter of the city, that all ſoldiers ſhould repair without delay to Sultania, about three days journey from Caſvin, on the road to Tebriz or Tauris, thence to proceed wherever the good of the ſtaté might require.

This order was inſtantly executed by means of notices ſtuck up in every part of the city, as well as by a number of criers through all the ſtreets, and on the ſame day, or nearly, by His Majeſty's previous management, in almoſt every city of the kingdom, by which the people were ſatisfied there would be a war that year, of which before they were dubious. The Corchi-baſhi, the King's ſon-in-law,, was likewiſe directed to repair to Sultania, to attend to the diſtribution of and providing for the troops as they ſhould arrive.

In the evening after the proclamation, in order to pleaſe the people, the Shah treated them with another game, in uſe among them, for the mob on foot. A wolf was turned into the midſt of the ſquare, which the common people, holding their cloaks before them, by making a noiſe and worrying, irritate till he ruſhes upon ſome one or other; here, however, they allow the wolf no time to injure, but dragging him off induce to purſue ſome other, who avoids him, or if caught, receives no hurt, from the number ready to aſſiſt. In the game itſelf there is no amuſement; the principal pleaſure ariſes on being preſent at ſuch an exhibition from the joyous exclamations, and the exultations of ſo many hundred voices in concert. The games of pell-mell and the wolf, are the only public entertainments they have, and theſe are ſo frequent, that they were given every night on which there was no audience, or which was not a day for receiving preſents.

On the 12th June, I ſlept for the firſt time in a houſe appointed me near the royal palace, as owing to the confuſion conſequent upon the army arriving, I, as well as others, had hitherto ſlept under my tents. The King, upon leaving the meidan, ordered the kizilbaſhi to appear the next day with their tags, which they do not always wear, on account of their being heavier than the common turbans. Thoſe only of his officers immediately in attendance on him wearing them conſtantly.

From this ordonnance we conjectured, that ſomething of conſequence was to happen on the ſucceeding day in the ſquare, whither we repaired earlier than uſual. The audience to be given to the Turkiſh ambaſſador was the occaſion of the extraordinary aſſembly which followed. This ambaſſador was ſent to treat of peace, not on the part of the Grand Signor, but of his Serdar, or Lieutenant-General Hali Baſha, who wintered in the city of Amid, the principal of the province of Diarbeckir, as they call it, but we Meſopotamia.

This ambaſſador had repaired to Caſvin ſeveral days before the arrival of the King, but had not yet had an audience, ſo that he was admitted thereto on that day for the firſt time. The King did not chooſe to receive him in the palace, nor elſewhere with the ordinary pomp, but on horſeback in the ſquare, either on account of the ill treatment

his ambaſſador had met with from Sultan Ahmed, who reigned at the time of his being ſent, and who would not ſee him to the day of his death, keeping him as a ſort of priſoner, and this notwithſtanding the oppoſite conduct of Muſtafa, who ſucceeded him, and admitted him to his preſence, behaving with great civility to him, and who being deſirous of peace, had ſent him to his ſerdar at Amid; or becauſe the Shah wiſhed to make a parade before the ambaſſador, and was really intent on war.

Whatever might be the cauſe, the King arriving in the meidan, attended by a multitude on horſeback, we all aſſumed our proper ſtations, and the King, with two or three of his council, retired to the bottom of the ſquare down one of its ſides, riding gently along, and converſing as he rode. In the meantime, the mehimandar introduced the Turkiſh ambaſſador on horſeback, with ſome of his people, at the oppoſite extremity. He did not, however, conduct him immediately to the King, but to the middle of the ſquare, near a butt, at which the people are wont to ſhoot as a mark with arrows, and left him there in converſation, to wait for the King; this being the ſpot he moſt frequently repairs to, and on the ſides the moſt honourable about the court and his gueſts are ſtationed, and form a circle about the King as near him as poſſible. The King, however, paſſed purpoſely another way, feigning at firſt not to notice the ambaſſador; at length he rode towards him. The ambaſſador then, after ſalutation, but without leaving his horſe, as ſuch is not cuſtomary, no one diſmounting except, which is very rare, when the Shah tenders his hand or foot to be kiſſed, preſented a letter from the ſerdar. The King, however, who is a profound politician, aware of its contents, and that it proffered conditions of peace he ſhould be unwilling to accept, told the ambaſſador, that "He did not wiſh to hear any thing more, nor to ſee any further letters, but that all might be finally concluded in a few words, if the Turks were ſatisfied with keeping what belonged to them, and ceaſed to diſpute the poſſeſſion of what belonged to the Perſians. If ſuch were the diſpoſition of the Porte, as was reaſonable and juſt it ſhould be, he was willing to conclude a peace; but if otherwiſe, further debate would be entirely uſeleſs."

He added, "That the Turks had had ſufficient proofs of the value of the enmity of the Perſians to make peace deſirable, and incline them to liſten to juſt and reaſonable terms; that none deſired peace more than himſelf, but that if forced to war by their arrogance and iniquitable pretenſions, the blood of the myriads of innocent people which would in conſequence be ſhed muſt be upon their heads, and that in ſuch caſe he would place himſelf at the head of his troops. That the Turks might place their truſt in the abundance of their wealth and the number of their ſoldiers, but that on his ſide, he had for him, his God, Mahomet, and Ali the tripod." He again repeated, "That peace might be concluded, the Turks keeping what they had, and the Perſians the ſame."

The ambaſſador replied in ſo low a tone of voice, that I could not diſtinguiſh what he ſaid, other than that the Turks could not make peace on ſuch terms. The King then replied, "If reaſonable terms are rejected, there is then no alternative but war. My kiſilbaſhi are not like your Turks, who wear large turbans and keep their hands in their ſleeves for fear of the cold. No, they are prompt and active, they have nothing but their horſe and a curved ſcymitar; are fitted for fatigue and impatient for war. If you will have war, I will place my wild Chircana (a falcon, punning on the name of his Lieutenant-General Carchio) at the head of my kiſilbaſhi, who ſhall pounce upon you, and reduce you to nothing. Nor think," added he, "that you will this year be more fortunate than the two laſt, under Serdar Muhammed Bey, when your troops galloped off crying like women." On finiſhing which obſervation, he galloped off,

without affording any time to the ambaſſador for reply. Thus ended a conference on which was to depend the death or life of ſo many thouſands of innocent perſons. The behaviour of the Shah, however, who purpoſely ſpoke loud that all about in the ſquare might hear him, was highly approved by the people and court, who teſtified their ſatisfaction in the manner uſual on ſuch occaſions, exclaiming Allah! Allah!

The next day we received intelligence of the arrival of the Spaniſh ambaſſador at a town about a league diſtant from Cazvin, where he waited the King's orders for his entry into the city, in which a dwelling had been made ready for him. A number of the firſt people of the court, attired in the moſt ſuperb dreſſes, with magnificent trappings for their horſes, went out to meet him, and attended him to the gate of his houſe, where they took their leave; the Mehimandar alone, in virtue of his office, conducting him to his apartment, and myſelf as a Frank.

On the ſame day that the Spaniſh ambaſſador made his entry, the Turkiſh ambaſſador had a ſecret audience in the garden, at which none were preſent; and on Sunday, 17th June, he gave a public audience to the Spaniſh ambaſſador, in a garden which has but one large walk in the midſt, and is at a ſmall diſtance from the royal palace. This garden is called Gennet Bayhi, or the garden of paradiſe. He purpoſely received him here to accept his preſent at a time when a number of others were to be made him; and for the greater parade, invited more than a hundred perſons of various nations, languages, and dreſs.

The preſent of the ambaſſador, excluſive of three hundred camel loads of pepper, left at Hiſpahan, was valued at one hundred thouſand crowns. It conſiſted of vaſes of gold, ſilver, and cryſtal, and precious ſtones; beſides theſe, a box containing ſixty golden chains, enriched with emeralds; ſaddles and horſe trappings, elegantly embroidered after the Spaniſh faſhion; fowling-pieces, and other arms, emboſſed with gold; the ſword worn by the King of Spain on the day of his marriage, covered with jewels, a number of files and other hard tools, ſeveral coats of mail, various portraits, (among others that of Anne of Auſtria, preſented by the ambaſſador himſelf and not the King,) certain lances from America, and a number of other articles, all together employing five hundred men in carrying them.

Upon the King entering a little palace built in the middle of the garden, the ambaſſador was introduced with his preſent, which preceded him, thoſe who carried it making a tour in front of this palace, and marching round the gueſts, who were ſeated about a canal adjoining, on rich carpets laid for the purpoſe *al frêſco*, on account of the number of the gueſts being too great for the apartments of the palace; the proceſſion afterwards filed off.

The order of precedence was as follows: The King, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, the Turkiſh ambaſſador, and the interpreter of the Spaniard ſtanding, being apart from the company, in a caſino open on all ſides, and ſurrounded, except in front, where an alley led up to it, by water conducted from the canal.

The Engliſh were ſeated in a corner on the ſpot where the ſupper was prepared about the canal, even the ambaſſador had no other ſtation, only the moſt honourable poſition among his countrymen; immediately above theſe were the Spaniards, but ſeparated by a ſtreamlet which ran between; after and higher up than them the Turks ſucceeded, beyond whom certain Curd and Arabian gentlemen then at court as the King's gueſts; above theſe the brother of the Prince of two countries called Chick-e-Macran, on the frontiers of Perſia, on the ocean, and making part of ancient Caramania.

This

This Prince had conſtantly been inimical to the Perſians, but having made himſelf maſter of a place of importance, he came to the court of Perſia, to offer to hold it in feof of the Shah, provided he would aſſiſt him in maintaining poſſeſſion of it againſt the Prince, his brother.

This nobleman, brother to the Prince, was a beardleſs young man, very elegantly dreſſed in his country faſhion, in gold brocade, with a round turban, differing from that of the Perſians, ſtriped of various colours, with a large fringe of gold taſſels and green ſilk floating on his ſhoulders, deſignating his deſcent from Mahomet.

The Mehimandar, who regulated every thing, ſtationed me immediately above this nobleman, conſidering it unfit I ſhould be with the other Europeans, whom I ſurpaſſed in quality, ſo that the vizier of Mazanderan alone, and ſome of the principal perſons of the province invited by the King, were placed above me.

The Uſbeck Tatars whom the King pardoned, that they might relate on their return to their countrymen ſomewhat of the magnificence of the King, and the reſpect ſhewn him by foreign nations, were placed on one ſide, and much above them the emiſſaries from that nation at his court, whom he had not yet diſpatched.

The entertainment was nearly a counterpart of that at Eſcref, of which I gave you a deſcription, but laſted not ſo long on account of the Spaniſh ambaſſador finding the mode of ſitting unpleaſant in his European dreſs, and obtaining permiſſion to retire early, in which he was imitated by the Turkiſh ambaſſador as well as ourſelves.

In the evening of the 22d June, the King, in the middle of the meidan, ſhewed great civility to the Uſbeck emiſſaries, and after repreſenting to them that their country being at war with him could only draw deſtruction on the heads of the people; that although by their predatory excurſions they might do injury to his ſubjects, they were conſtantly cut to pieces in regular engagements; that it was their intereſt as much as his wiſh that they ſhould become his friends, and rather join his kizilbaſhi than oppoſe him, notwithſtanding they were followers of Omar; that they might have ſeen what homage was ſhewn him by ſo many different Princes, and what reſpect from thoſe powerful Kings who lived in friendſhip with him, concluding with enjoining them to give a faithful relation of what they had witneſſed at his court to their Khan, as well as of the kindneſs they had experienced, that it might occaſion a good underſtanding between them.

All this, in a ſolemn manner, the Uſbecks promiſed to perform; and as they were much affected by the various marks of kindneſs they had received, and the obliging manner in which he addreſſed them, they twice diſmounted to kiſs His Majeſty's feet, and proſtrate themſelves before him.

On the 25th July, the King ſet off early in the morning for Sultania, each of us following at our leiſure. I travelled that night three leagues over a flat country, in very cold and windy weather, till I reached a village called Ghiveran, where I reſted the whole of the next day. Well mounted I travelled nine leagues the next day, arriving at a city called Abher, from the quantity of water with which it abounds, and which, divided into numerous ſtreamlets, runs through almoſt all its ſtreets. The city is ſmall, and beautifully verdant from the number of gardens it compriſes full of fruit-trees and poplars.

On Friday night and Saturday morning we travelled eight leagues, arriving at noon at Sultania, where we found the King in his tents in the country, encamped in the middle of his troops, and though I travelled faſter than my train, by its taking a nearer road I paſſed it juſt on my entrance into Sultania, and after ordering my tent to be pitched, I refreſhed myſelf under the ſhade of a moſque, with bread, raiſins, and ſome

of the moſt delicious water I had ever taſted, which the Mahometans are weak enough to imagine comes under ground from Mecca.

Sultania was formerly a very ſpacious city, at preſent it is a heap of ruins. It undoubtedly received its name from the quality of the individual by whom it was conſtructed. Sultan ſignifies in Arabic, power, or a potentate, and preſumptively ſuch muſt have been the title of the founder of the place, as aſſerted by the Perſians in oppoſition to the Armenians and other Chriſtians, who maintain it to have been built by Chriſtians. According to the Perſians, a Sultan of Tatar race of the Uſbeck nation, called Muhammed Choda-bendè, built the city, and the handſome moſque it contains, changing its neighbourhood from a wilderneſs, by cutting canals and watering it, to the paradiſe it is at preſent, and peopling it by forcible meaſures, ſuch as have lately been practiſed by Shah Abbas for populating Mazanderan. As, however, conſtraint, though it ſecure comfort or even enjoyment, is irkſome, no ſooner was Choda-bendè dead, than the inhabitants immediately forſook the place. The emigration was ſo conſiderable, that in one night no leſs than ſeven thouſand camels left the place with panniers, in each of which was a woman, thus carrying off fourteen thouſand.

We Europeans are upon an excellent footing with Imamculi Khan, whom I viſited in company with the father Vicar, who had arrived at Sultania, to preſent the Shah with a tranſlation of the Pſalms of David into Perſian. On this occaſion, the Khan ſhewed us great kindneſs, treating us with excellent ſweetmeats and other articles remaining from an entertainment he had given the King the day before, and moreover ſent two large baſons full to my houſe, a very common cuſtom in Perſia. The ſame day I both paid and received a viſit from the Mehimandar, who informed me that the army would ſhortly move to Tebriz, under the conduct of his brother Daud Khan; that the King only repaired to Ardebil, on account of intelligence he had received that the enemy meant to attack him in two different quarters; the Turks, with the Serdar at their head, by the way of Tebriz; and Teimuraz Khan, at the head of the Tatars and other auxiliary troops, by the way of Georgia. Ardebil, as being midway between theſe two parts, was choſen by the King for his head-quarters, the communication thence being eaſy with each place, and an opportunity at the ſame time being afforded him of preſerving the ſepulchre of his forefathers, which is in this place.

The whole of what was told me by the Mehimandar was verified by the event, the army moving that very night for Tebriz. We, the King's gueſts, however, remained with the King, and the ſmall army about his perſon. I was pleaſed on the one hand with having an opportunity of viſiting Ardebil, which is a city of note, yet vexed at not ſeeing Tebriz, a much more famous city, and for the poſſeſſion of which we were to come to blows. It would alſo have been far more grateful to me to have been oppoſed to the Turks, who are Mahometans and my averſion, than the Tatars, who are ſome of them Chriſtians, and headed by Teimuraz, a Prince for whom, without even having ſeen him, I have a ſecret affection.

Upon further intelligence received by the Shah, the army halted, and a grand entertainment was reſolved upon, which took place, and at which ſeveral of the gueſts were ſo far overcome with wine as to be carried away, and I myſelf was ſo much ſurpriſed, that when about to depart, I could not put on my ſlippers at the ſteps of the Divan Kanè. I recovered, however, amazingly, and rode home ſomewhat more full of talk and merrier than uſual.

On Wedneſday, however, the 1ſt of Auguſt, in conſequence of advices received by the King, orders were iſſued under heavy penalty, for all belonging to the army to march

march to Tebriz, which accordingly was done; none remaining about the King but his gueſts, certain of his nobility, officers of State whoſe preſence was neceſſary, and part of the diviſion of Imamculi Khan, that His Majeſty might yet have ſufficient about him to impreſs an awe on the enemy.

It may not be amiſs here to give an account of the manner of formation of the army, and the order of the ſoldiery in Perſia.

There are four diviſions or orders of ſoldiery in Perſia, the fuzileers, the King's ſlaves, the kizilbaſhi, and the corchi.

The firſt, yet laſt in point of rank, the fuzileers, is a modern inſtitution, at the recommendation of Sir Anthony Shirley, an Engliſhman. This order is compoſed of the native inhabitants of the country, and is ſimilar to a militia. In Perſia, however, the individuals of this order receive pay quarterly from the King, and are bound to appear at his ſummons. The gentry, thoſe I mean who are called kizilbaſhi, do not enrol themſelves in this order, but only thoſe called reaiet, that is to ſay, vaſſals or tat, compoſed of the refuſe of the nation. In the beginning, theſe fuzileers fought on foot, however now they are mounted, and fight on horſeback, with guns ſomewhat ſmaller than our muſkets, with matchlocks, which have a fork faſtened by a cord to the ſtock, by which, when they diſmount, they have a reſt for taking aim by. This deſcription of ſoldiery is in high eſteem with the King, and is a very uſeful body.

Of this body of men, the total collected by the Shah from the various provinces of his empire, amounts to 20,000, who, as tat, do not wear the tag, but merely a plain turban.

The ſecond order of ſoldiery, conſidered more noble than the preceding, is that of the King's ſlaves, or vaſſals, all of whom were originally Chriſtians, either bought or furniſhed by various nations; ſuch as the Circaſſians, Georgians, Armenians, and the like. At preſent, however, they are moſtly Georgians and muſſulmen, either from their having been brought up in that faith, or their having apoſtatized. Theſe, like the former, fight on horſeback, and make uſe of different arms, ſuch as pikes, arrows, guns of the deſcription before noticed, iron loaded ſticks, ſcymitars, and daggers. There are none but carry a kind of light hatchet, the iron of which is rounded at one end, and on the other a little curved and pointed. The bow and arrow, conſidered by the King as uſeleſs, are by degrees laid aſide, and replaced by fire-arms, as well among theſe as the reſt of the ſoldiery. The King's ſlaves are allowed on certain occaſions to wear the tag. They have one particular general and ſeveral captains.

The number of theſe ſlaves in the immediate ſervice of the King, enrolled as ſoldiers, excluſive of thoſe dependant on the various khans and governors, is 15,000.

This eſtabliſhment, as well as the preceding, is of modern date, and owes its origin to the reigning Sovereign.

The third deſcription, more noble than the latter, is the kizilbaſhi, which is compoſed of thirty-two tribes, ſixteen of which are called of the right hand, and the ſame number of the left, from their taking theſe ſeveral ſides of the King: of the privileges and quality of theſe, I have before given you an account. They are free, independant, and ſerve as long as they are paid, being at liberty to change their maſters when they pleaſe, from one khan to another, or to the King, and from the King to a khan, as ſeems beſt to them. Not all the kizilbaſhi are ſoldiers, but as almoſt all the lands are in the hands of the Shah, or his governors or khans, for ſubſiſtence they are obliged either to make choice of the profeſſion of arms, or exerciſe ſome kind of trade, handicraft, or huſbandry; in conſequence, the number of thoſe not ſoldiers is very inconſiderable.

Moreover,

Moreover, their different tribes are not equal in point of number, ſome conſiſting of from ten to twelve thouſand men, and ſome of not more than five hundred. Of ſome of them all are ſoldiers, of others but few.

This body has always had great preponderance; the various kings appointing their kings and governors from among their tribes; as owing to their exertions the preſent dynaſty was ſeated on the throne. Shah Abbas, however, ſecretly deteſts them, and endeavours by all means to undermine and leſſen their influence, frequently puniſhing their chiefs, and keeping them rather in fear of him than ſeeking their affections.

Of theſe, there are in Perſia at leaſt ſeventy thouſand, of which fifty thouſand are in the King's pay, or that of his khans.

The fourth order of ſoldiery, and the moſt noble, is that of the corchi, or the King's guards, choſen from among the kizilbaſhi, and entirely and immediately in the pay of the Shah himſelf. Theſe ſeldom go without the tag, being almoſt conſtantly about the royal perſon.

The number of theſe is about 12,000; their arms the ſame as the other kizilbaſhi, and like all the other ſoldiers compoſing the army of Perſia, theſe are cavalry.

The whole of the main force of Perſia conſiſts, therefore, collectively, of 97,000 cavalry. This number is, however, ſubject to great variation, it being ſometimes more and ſometimes leſs.

Whenever the army marches, the greateſt ſilence and regularity takes place, neither trumpets ſound or drums beat; and as all the officers and principal perſons take their ſervants and family with them, the number of the army is ſwollen prodigiouſly; yet, notwithſtanding the immenſe numbers, the greateſt abundance conſtantly reigns in the camp during its march, ſo much ſo as to make it a ſaying in the country, "That the army of the King is one of the fineſt and beſt provided cities in Perſia." Unlike in many countries of Europe, its march is a bleſſing inſtead of a curſe for the countries through which it lays; and ſo far from ſhutting up their houſes and flying from it as a peſtilence, the people from great diſtances from its line of march, haſten to bring it every kind of neceſſary, and even delicacies of all ſorts. Diſcipline is ſo regularly preſerved, that every thing is paid for, and exceſſes are unknown. The ſeverity of Abbas, for any encroachments on the property of his ſubjects, I have had occaſion to notice. When encamped near Ghivi, ſome people had erected their tents, rather inconſiderately, in the meadows, where they ſuffered their camels to graze at the expence of the proprietors, for the ſake of ſaving a few pence. The inhabitants, in conſequence, complained to the King, who ordered certain of his officers to go with them to the ſpot, where they cut the tents in pieces, not ſparing even that of the King's muſicians, removing the cattle, and taking the owners to priſon. The vizier or lieutenant of a khan, having been more guilty than the reſt, and having had the audacity to take ſome of the fruit from one of their gardens without paying for it, notwithſtanding his rank, was tied hand and foot, carried to priſon, and when taken thence, with an arrow thruſt through his noſe, he was led round, and expoſed to the view of the whole army.

To return, however, to the route. The army filed off towards Tebriz, while we remained with the King in Sultania, where, on the 3d of Auguſt, we received intelligence that Teimuraz Khan had not ſeparated from the ſerdar; a number of other vague accounts were brought. At length, on the 5th of Auguſt, the tents were ſtruck, and our march began for Ardebil.

The province of Irak terminates at Sultania or its neighbourhood, where begins that of Adherbeigian, which comprizes a great part of Media.

Our

Our army began its march at day-break, and after two leagues arrived at a city called Zengan, but ſpelt Zengian, ſignifying moans and tears. It aſſumed this name after having been taken and ſacked by ſome Tatar Prince, who immolated all its inhabitants in a moſt brutal manner. It is now but a ſmall city, without walls, ſituated on the ſlope of a hill, and apparently was once a place of greater conſideration.

The army did not ſtop here, nor myſelf, ſave to refreſh, the baggage being ſent on. From this place, the King took a witch, having much faith in divination and incantations, or at leaſt pretending to have, in order to enchant the ſoldiers of the enemy.

On leaving this town, we diſtinguiſhed two roads, one towards the weſt, leading to Tebriz, the other rather eaſtward, running to Ardebil, which latter we followed. After marching about three leagues, we pitched our tents and halted for the night on the banks of a ſmall ſtream called Sarmuſak-chiai, or garlick river.

On the 6th of Auguſt, after four leagues of way, we halted early near a river which ran by the road; but as in one ſpot its water was inſufficient to quench the thirſt of ſo great a number, our tents were pitched ſo far aſunder, that the foremoſt was a half day's journey from the laſt.

The heat being great this day, our plan of march was changed, and begun at three hours after ſunſet. On Wedneſday morning we ſtill continued our march, croſſing ſeveral ſmall hills and beautiful valleys cloathed in green, although entirely bare of trees, as is the caſe with almoſt the whole of Media, which, in the part we traverſed, is mountainous, lofty, and cool. The mountains, nevertheleſs, are very pleaſant, their tops being almoſt level. A little before noon, after travelling ſix leagues from the place where we encamped the night before, we ſtopped to reſt ourſelves at a village called Jenghigè, or New. We found ourſelves, however, much embarraſſed for want of ſufficient water.

Here our ſtay was ſhort, for night coming on, we continued our way, and after marching two leagues came to a very deep valley, which we had to deſcend from the mountains by ſuch a narrow and winding path, and ſo ſteep at the ſame time, that with difficulty we could even lead our horſes down one after the other. After which, on the oppoſite ſide of the valley, as unpleaſant an aſcent offered itſelf, but of nearly double elevation. You may readily picture hence, that with this going down and going up, together with the crowd, at a narrow bridge in the middle of the valley, over an unfordable river, the confuſion of the paſſage muſt have been great, and the accidents numerous.

For my part, after paſſing the bridge at the bottom of the valley, having, in company with a few others, by galloping on before, got conſiderably the ſtart of the main army, we reſted for the night in a little ſpot out of the high road, ſurrounded by cedars of Lebanon, but very ſmall, with which all theſe mountains are covered.

On Thurſday, in the morning, I was joined by Madame Maani on horſeback, and with much difficulty aſcended the oppoſite bank. From the ſummit of the mountain we deſcended to that we attained, notwithſtanding the vale was extremely narrow, was at leaſt two leagues. Its acclivity paſſed, we travelled on to a village a league beyond of no conſideration. Here we remained all the day. The army, however, did not reſt here, but proceeded a league farther, to a flat country, where was plenty of water, and was wiſely followed by my baggage: reſpecting the latter, I was under alarm, it, however, joined me by night; and haſtening on, I reached the ſpot where the army had encamped about two hours after ſunriſe. It had juſt departed, but my camels with the litter being greatly exhauſted, I was reſolved on waiting at a village in the neighbourhood called Cabagh, requeſting the vicar, if he overtook my muleteer, to ſend him back.

Cabagh, where I reſted for ſome time, is ſix or ſeven leagues from Jenghigè; hence on Friday morning, the vicar having met with my people about a league and a half from where I was and ſent them back, I repaired to that ſpot, where in a pleaſant valley they had pitched my tents, on the margin of a ſmall river, which ſerpentined through the meadows belonging to a neighbouring village called Ghivi.

Here a part of the army was encamped under tents at ſome diſtance from each other, but the King with the remainder, forming his ordu, were in a ſtrong place in the mountain called Kalkal; where he not only intended to paſs ſome time in hunting, but alſo propoſed to leave his tents, baggage, and every thing cumberſome during his ſtay at Ardebil. In this he was alſo copied by thoſe who attended him. My wife, however, Madame Maani, underſtanding that the King's ladies repaired to Ardebil, reſolved on accompanying me thither. After marching all night, therefore, for about five leagues, on Sunday morning, two or three hours after ſunriſe, we reſted near a mill on a ſmall eminence, ornamented by a number of trees, grouped in the moſt beautiful manner imaginable, and a running ſtream which fell below a ſmall village in the road, called Tagibuyuc, or great crown. This village belongs to the great moſque at Ardebil, as well as ſeveral other neighbouring villages. We remained here the whole of Sunday, and great part of the next night. Soon, however, as the moon roſe we continued our march, and finiſhed the four remaining leagues which parted us from the city of Ardebil; as, however, the houſe aſſigned us by the mehimandar, who arrived before us, was not yet thoroughly in order, we pitched our tents in the fields at ſome diſtance from the city, and entered our dwelling the ſucceeding day.

The houſe appointed for us was very handſome and ſpacious, ſituated in the middle of a large garden, watered by a conſiderable ſtream running through the midſt much larger and deeper than the Marano at Rome. This houſe belongs to a female relative of the King and the Corchi Baſhi, called Becſi Kanum; but from her huſband having fled the kingdom on account of having incurred the diſpleaſure of His Majeſty, although the houſe be not utterly confiſcated, the proprietors are no longer allowed to dwell in it, it being appropriated to the reception of the King's gueſts who arrive at Ardebil. As ſuch it was allotted to us, as it had previouſly been ſome time before to the Tatars of the country of Leſghi and Nocai, two hundred in number, accompanied as far as this place by the mehimandar on their way home.

The people left in care of the houſe, and who ſerve as domeſtics to thoſe who inhabit it, related ſtrange things of its former tenants, and their brutal and groſs manner of living. Among other things, they informed us, that they ate their meat almoſt raw, without bread; uſed no napkins, and every where left heaps of filth, which was never ſwept away. The Perſians who had been witneſſes to their filthineſs, and who are themſelves a very delicate people, when they ſaw the cleanlineſs in uſe with us, and the nice manner of our eating with forks and ſpoons, could but make remarks highly favourable to our cuſtoms.

On the ſame day the mehimandar paid us a viſit, which we returned on the ſucceeding. We learned from him, that the news we had before heard of the devaſtations committed by the Tatars in the open towns and villages of Armenia, into which they had made an irruption, was true; and that the Serdar of the Turks had apologized for it to Carchica Bey, diſowning any knowlege of theſe diſorders; and intreating that it might not be the cauſe of more continued war, as he wiſhed to come to an accommodation, and was ſedulouſly employed on planning terms for a ſubſtantial peace.

All

All this, however, obſerved the mehimandar, is farcical and deceptive; but the King is not to be ſo eaſily duped: he has had certain intelligence of the Serdar being ordered to proceed directly to Ardebil, to deſtroy the ſepulchre of Shah Sofi in that place, (whom the Turks look upon as a ſchiſmatic,) as well as the city itſelf; then, wintering in Georgia, where proviſions abound, to make himſelf maſter of Teflis, reckoned eaſily practicable through the ſuccour he is to receive from Teimuraz Khan; and the following ſummer to follow up his ſucceſs into the heart of Perſia, and ſtrive to rid the Turks of ſo vexatious a competitor as the Shah.

This news, which was publiſhed in Ardebil, had greatly intimidated the inhabitants. The King himſelf gave credit to it, and in conſequence had proceeded hither with part of the army, in order to protect the country, while the main body was ſtationed to defend the road leading from Tebriz to Caſvin, and thence to the center of Perſia. As, however, Ardebil is not a fortified city of any ſtrength, the King did not mean to ſtand a ſiege, nor hazard in this quarter any deciſive battle againſt forces much ſuperior to his own; but rather to remove the bones of his anceſtors to a more diſtant and ſecure aſylum, in caſe of extremity. The King, however, ſent hence a quantity of ſilk and other valuables which belonged to him towards Caſvin; of which the inhabitants being apprized, themſelves began to remove their various effects to places of greater ſafety. The men and women of Ardebil, accompanied by the moſt powerful ſatraps of their ſect, alſo retired from the city, on the 13th of Auguſt by day-break, to a place at a diſtance from the city, where on the day on which the leſs Beiram is kept they are wont to ſacrifice the camel; a ceremony of which I before have given you a deſcription in a letter from Hiſpahan. You will here pleaſe to remark, that every city has a place appointed for this ceremony, called in Arabic, *Muſſal*, which ſignifies a place of prayer. Hither it was that the whole of the city repaired to pray for the King, and on account of the war. I likewiſe went to the place after dinner, and as I rode along had an opportunity of ſeeing the whole of the city; of which, previous to any thing elſe, I ſhall render you an account.

The country in which Ardebil is ſituated being in the north of Perſia, and, moreover, like the whole of Media full of mountains, the cold here is intenſe. The city is in a large plain, furrounded by mountains. That moſt immediately contiguous to it is extremely lofty, and one of the moſt remarkable in Media. It is ſaid to be extremely fertile, and well peopled, and is called Lepalan, or Sepalan, oftentimes pronounced Sevalan; the Perſians frequently confounding not only the *B* with the *V*, after the manner of the Spaniards, but the *P* alſo. Hence, when they write correctly Caſvin, it is ſounded Caſbin; and the ſame Tebriz or Tabriz, we pronounce Tavris; and Ardebil by many geographers is given Ardébil.

This mountain preſumptively is the Zagro mentioned by Ptolemy and Pliny, or rather a branch of it laying north-eaſt of the city. In the month of Auguſt even it was covered with ſnow.

Ardebil is a city of middling ſize, not being either ſo large or ſo ſmall as many in Perſia. Its ſtreets are irregular, of no length in general; crooked, dirty, and uneven. Its buildings indifferent. It is, however, well peopled, and abounds in merchandize of every deſcription; its trade being very conſiderable on account of its favourable ſituation on the frontiers, and its contiguity to Armenia, Curdiſtan, Georgia, Albania, and Ghilan, and its vicinity to a river which falls into the Caſpian Sea, by which great quantities of goods are tranſported to various countries.

No wine is made in the territory dependant on Ardebil, as well from the coldneſs of the climate being unfavourable to the vine, as the unwillingneſs of the deſcendants

of the Sheich, to whom it belongs, to commit so great a sin as to encourage the growth of it on such sacred ground. On this account, wine is so scarce in the city, none being drunk but by a few in secret, that we were many days without tasting a single drop.

A number of rivulets, proceeding from a small river which falls from the mountains, flow through almost all the streets of Ardebil; and in this particular the city much resembles Venice. These rivulets abound in fish, much superior in quality to any I ever tasted in Persia, or even since I left Egypt. Their trout in particular are excellent.

In summer time these rivulets are easily forded, but on account of their being much swollen in winter, a number of brick bridges are built in different parts of the city; and on the margin of these streams on each side rows of trees are planted, which half cover the streets with their verdure and shade.

The grand square, as they are generally formed, is longer than it is broad; the buildings which inclose it are very paltry. Ardebil was formely the residence of a Khan, and the capital of the province. Since the Shah, however, put Zulfcar Khan to death, the last of the Schichabend who governed there, he has not suffered any one vested with so high a dignity to make it his residence; it is, therefore, governed at present by officers of inferior rank, more immediately dependant on the King. The house formerly inhabited by Zulfcar Khan is now the Royal Palace, and the most extensive dwelling in the place. Compared with the other buildings of the city it may pass for handsome, as well as the square in front of it, its public gardens, those retired, and its other appendages.

Except this palace, there is nothing remarkable in Ardebil but the mosque of Shah Sofi, in which he is interred, as well as the successive Kings of his race, and their near relations, the ancestors of the reigning Prince. The first and chief portal of this mosque is situated in a very narrow street, unwatered by either of the rivulets described, at some distance from the great square. A number of iron chains from right to left, and from these reaching to the ground, cross this gate and inclose a certain space. Any criminal who flies hither and keeps within these chains, or even touches them, is free from pursuit of the law or even the King's ordonnance; whence this sanctuary is resorted to by numbers, who live here in perfect security.

Within this first gate is a large court, round which is an infinity of shops full of all kinds of wares and edibles, and as there are a number of refugees who dare not go out of the mosque, and as this place is resorted to by a number of pilgrims from all parts of Persia, the shop-keepers have plenty of custom. After traversing this large court, you advance to a second portal, crossed with chains in like manner as the former, over which several apartments and balconies are built, part of which are destined for the refugees, and others for officers belonging to the mosque. Within the second gate is another court longer than wide, of no very pleasing form, and which when I noticed it was being paved by order of the King. On the side of this court a canal is constructing for bathing in and other purposes.

At the end of this second court, on the left towards another small gate, is a place opposite to the kitchen, where provisions are daily distributed in charity to the poor. The food thus given is pilão, very nicely cooked; and the number of poor who partake of it, and others who receive it out of motives of religion, is so numerous as to keep thirty-five large boilers continually employed. At first, it was customary to make these distributions only in the morning, but Shah Abbas founded a fund for giving the same in the evening as well. This institution will of itself be sufficient to immortalize the name of the King; for, as ever will be the case where there are similar foundations, a number of worthless people (among the Sofi and others) resort hither, choosing rather to sub-

ſiſt in lazineſs, and begging for means to clothe them, than ſupport themſelves by labour; and theſe, occaſionally diſperſed over the whole kingdom, will not fail to extol the benefactor who enables them to live the beſt part of the year in a ſtate of eaſe and idleneſs.

Beyond this place where the pilão is diſtributed there is at firſt a ſmall corridor with two gates, one at the beginning, the other at the end. They are not very large, it is true, but entirely covered in a coarſe manner with plates of ſilver. Between theſe two gates of the corridor is the moſque, in which prayers are ſaid, and into which you enter by one of the ſides of its length. This moſque is of a reaſonably large ſize, entirely open at the top, except at the two extremities, that is to ſay, the entrance and its oppoſite ſide, at which are two tribunes with vaulted roofs. This manner of building moſques is in Perſia very common. Thucydides relates, that even among the Greeks it was uſual to conſtruct temples without roofs.

After croſſing this open moſque, you proceed direct to the gate of another, which is ſmall and roofed, under the dome of which, covered without with varniſhed tiles, and ſheeted, as reported by thoſe who have ſeen it, within with ſilver, Shah Sofi is interred in a large raiſed tomb, covered with rich ſilk, in a place railed in by itſelf; and a little beyond are buried the remainder of the predeceſſors and relatives of Shah Abbas, the deſcendants of Sofi. The tombs of theſe are made in the ſhape of large coffins, and are covered with ſilk and gold.

I was unwilling to enter this moſque on account of certain adorations and genuflections requiſite, which I deemed improper for a Chriſtian; Madame Maani, however, entered it one day with her veil down as cuſtomary. She informed me, that the covered moſque is divided into three cells one beyond the other; the two firſt contain nothing but a vaſt number of ſilver lamps ſuſpended, with a number of oſtrich eggs, according to the cuſtom of the Mahometans; handſome carpets on the floors, on which were large chandeliers with wax candles of an extraordinary length, which, however, are never lighted, but are only for ſhew; and in theſe cells, the doors of which are covered with plates of ſilver, ſeveral mullahs are conſtantly praying, relieved occaſionally by others, from a ſort of pulpit.

After paſſing through theſe two cells you enter the third, which is the place of ſepulchre, beneath the dome. This likewiſe is full of lamps; moreover, ſuſpended above the tomb of Shah Sofi, hang eight large ſilver pomegranates as ornaments, and in front of the incloſure of the tomb is a ſmall window through which a man cannot enter without ſtooping. Through this window none paſſes but the King when he goes to ſay his prayers and meditate on his paſt life. The ſmall windows, which are the moſt valuable part of the moſque, are in frames of ſolid gold enriched with precious ſtones.

Beyond this I ſaw nothing remarkable in Ardebil, except that the peaſants of this part make uſe of neither horſes nor mules for carrying, but only bulls and cows, moſt of which are black with ſpots of various colours, and the breed ſmaller than ours; what is ſingular, they have no pack-ſaddles, but inſtead pads of coarſe ſackcloth quilted with cotton, which cover almoſt the whole of their body. This kind of houſing is very convenient, ſo much ſo, that it is frequently uſed by them when they ride, eſpecially when they have long journies to make.

The King, deſirous of waiting till winter when the Turks would have conſumed their proviſions, enjoined Carchica Bey, the lieutenant-general who had ſent to entreat him, from his poſition beyond Taurus, to be allowed to fall upon the Turks aſſembled at three days' journey diſtant from his army, by no means to fight them; adding, that

if

if he did he ſhould conſider him as his enemy, and wiſh the bread and ſalt he ate might be poiſon to him.

In view of inconveniencing the army of the Turks, therefore, he ordered the people in its neighbourhood to quit their homes, and carry off all their effects, not leaving behind them any proviſions whatſoever. By ſimilar meaſures he was ſucceſsful in the famous victory he obtained ſome years before over Bakia Chicalla, and rendered abortive at various periods the grand projects of his enemies; copying the plans of the ancient Medes, the Perſians and Parthians, in their various wars with the Weſtern nations. Thus we may ſay, that names and ſeaſons change, but cuſtoms remain the ſame.

The elevation of Muſtafa to empire, to the prejudice of the children of Ahmed, which might occaſion diſturbances in Turkey, as well as the apprehenſion of a war between the Porte and the Chriſtians, induced Sultan Muſtafa to wiſh for peace with Perſia; he, therefore, after loading with kindneſs Caſum Bey, ſurnamed Bouroun Caſum, or Caſum with a noſe, ſent him to the Serdar Halil Bacha, generaliſſimo of the Turks, then in Aſia, to treat of peace; who, in conſequence diſpatched him for the purpoſe to Ardebil, with an ambaſſador of greater rank than that which had been before at Caſvin, who arrived in that city on the 30th of Auguſt; Bouroun Caſum reaching it on the 22d.

On the 25th, however, the King, learning that the Turkiſh army, reputedly three hundred thouſand ſtrong, was but four ſhort days' journies from Tebriz, on its way to Ardebil, repaired to the moſque of Shah Sofi, where, bathed in tears, he remained a long time melancholy and in earneſt prayer.

On the 28th he received intelligence from Carchica Bey, that he had completely inundated the territory of Tebriz by emptying the bed of a river, ſo that cavalry could not advance; and that the Turkiſh army was hemmed in in ſuch manner that not a man could return to inform his countrymen of their fate. He informed him, likewiſe, that a dyſentery prevailed among them, and that they were in the utmoſt diſtreſs for proviſions.

The King ordered Carchica Bey to ſuffer the Turks to advance into the country, and for that purpoſe to draw off part of his army, ſo as that he might keep with the one where he was, and allow the other to fly before the enemy, in order by a circuitous route to get in their rear; the latter being placed under the command of an excellent general called Imir Gunch, Khan of Erouan, who, after leaving in his capital a ſtrong garriſon, had joined Carchica Bey with the reſidue of his forces. By this means he propoſed, when the Turks ſhould be reduced to extremities by famine and the cold of winter, to attack their army in three directions at once, with the bodies under command of the King, Carchica, and Imir Gunch.

On the 30th of Auguſt I repaired as uſual to the palace, when I learnt from the mehimandar, that the King had ordered the evacuation of Tebriz, and that the people ſhould repair with their property to places of ſafety.

On the 31ſt the King gave audience to the Turkiſh ambaſſador. He was received without any ceremony, or entertainment, as is uſual on ſuch occaſions, conferring with him in ſecret, and not even deſiring him to be ſeated. All that was overheard at the conference was, the King informing the Turk, that he would grant peace to his maſter when he ſhould have taken Bagdad and Aleppo; a rhodomontade after the French ſtyle.

The conduct of the King towards the ambaſſador was a retaliation for the outrage committed by Ahmed on the perſon of his repreſentative Bouroun Caſum. The conditions of peace propoſed by the Turk, as ſuch matters immediately tranſpire at the

court of Perſia, were that the tribute of ſilk ſhould be ſent which was wont; or, in lieu of the three hundred camel loads of that article, certain ſcarlet cloth for trappings for cavalry of inferior value. That the Shah ſhould ſurrender the conqueſts he had made; that is to ſay, Tebriz and its territory; Shiumaki, with all Shirwan; certain places in Media; Demir Capi, and Nakivan, with all the towns in Armenia. That he moreover ſhould reſtitute the whole of the country taken from the Georgians, and ſend one of his children as a hoſtage to the Turks.

This was the ſubſtance of what the Serdar required on account of the Sultan; for himſelf, as a condition for withdrawing his troops, he demanded a preſent of value ſufficient to indemnify him for the trouble the war had occaſioned him.

The King on this occaſion had much need of nice management, notwitſtanding the extravagant pretenſions of the Serdar; the people, who languiſhed for peace, were aware, that if his cupidity were ſatisfied, much more favourable conditions would be accepted; the ſatraps, in particular, taxed the Shah with injuſtice and impiety towards God, in warring with Mahometans. Sarù Kogia, one of the moſt powerful Viziers, likewiſe, and the Corchi Baſha, the King's ſon-in-law, preſt the King ſo much to liſten at leaſt in part to the propoſals, that he felt it prudent to temporize.

As to the ſilk, he ſtated he would willingly ſend the cuſtomary preſent, and engage to continue the ſame (the Perſians, I underſtand, are heedleſs of promiſes, which they break as convenience ſuits). As for reſtitution of conquered provinces, it could not be admitted. His own ſon he would not ſend, but in lieu he had no objection to ſubſtitute as his own ſon that of Zulfcar Khan, a perſon I before have mentioned, who had been murdered by Carchica Bey, and whoſe brother, at the ſolicitation of Kogia Khan, had been put to death by the Shah. This young Prince was a near relation of the King, and by propoſing ſending him as a hoſtage, while he ſhould gratify the malice of theſe two eminent perſons, he would get rid of one whom he had reaſon to ſuſpect might be inimical to him. And, laſtly, as to the preſent; in order to ſilence the Corchi Bey and Kogia Khan, whoſe importunities were the ſtrongeſt, under pretence that he had no money to ſatisfy the Serdar, he commanded them to provide him with a preſent, and that of ſome hundred thouſand crowns; that, as they were deſirous of peace, they might furniſh the enemy with a golden bridge to retire over.

This propoſal was a thunder-clap for theſe two advocates of peace; it was in vain for the wife of the Corchi Baſha, who was the King's daughter, to tender certain ſilk cloths and rich brocades as a preſent to the Serdar, her father aſſured her he was entirely mercenary and wanted money, and her huſband or his partner being unable as well as unwilling to raiſe the ſum required in the ſpace of time allowed, their oppoſition in conſequence entirely ceaſed. Having, therefore, ſurmounted all obſtacles in his council, he was left at liberty to follow his own inclinations, ſecure of the ſedulous co-operation of the Corchi Baſha, who had the chief of his poſſeſſions to protect about Ardebil. To ſooth the ambaſſador, however, and make amends for his firſt neglect, he gave him a royal feaſt, and preſented him with a number of horſes, and a purſe of a hundred tomans, about 500l. ſterling.

On the 3d of September, he granted him a private audience anew. In this the ambaſſador dropped from his firſt claims, requiring ſimply the ſilk, and his ſon as hoſtage; or, if His Majeſty ſhould be unwilling to yield his ſon, any other perſon of condition who might paſs for ſuch. The King immediately conceiving the uſe they might make of ſuch an inſtrument of inſurrection, played off one of his uſual manœuvres, and drawing his ſword: "This is my ſon," ſaid he, "if you can, wreſt him from me." The ambaſſador obſerving that many poor wretches muſt periſh in the war; and

and that it was lamentable that ſo much blood of Muſſulmen ſhould be ſpilt. "For that," replied the King, "it is you muſt be reſponſible to God, who attack me while in quiet and offending no one; nay, it has been your annual practice thus to come and inſult me, even in my very palace, and that without the ſlighteſt provocation. You may advance," continued he; "the moſque of Shah Sofi is indeed the tomb of my anceſtors, but their remains have been removed, which you will not have the pleaſure of inſulting; you may advance, but think not I will face you now. I ſhall not heſitate a moment to fire every quarter of this city. You ſhall find no where any thing but a waſted country; and when you have entangled yourſelf ſufficiently, when I ſhall ſee the opportunity, I ſhall make you feel the weight of my ſcymitar, and utterly exterminate the invaders." Hereupon, pretending to be in a rage, he called for the calanter of the city, and expreſsly enjoined him, in preſence of the ambaſſador, to cauſe the town to be immediately evacuated by the inhabitants, who with their effects ſhould be directed to withdraw to a place of ſafety; and that if any were refractory to his orders, they ſhould be cut in pieces. The calanter immediately iſſued his orders; the King, however, ſecretly directed that they were to have effect only in the neighbourhood of the ambaſſador's houſe, before which they ſhould file ſo as to be ſeen by him, making a circuit of a league, and returning in parties ſecretly by another gate. This was, however, but a frivolous artifice, which, no doubt, would be ſeen into by the ambaſſador.

On the 30th, he again gave him a royal entertainment previous to his departure, which took place either on that or the ſucceeding day. And on the 3d September, by couriers from Carchica Bey, the King learnt that, the Turks having advanced, he had demoliſhed and quitted the fortreſs of Tebriz, of which they had taken poſſeſſion, after its having been abandoned by its inhabitants, who had carried off every thing, and that all the neighbouring country had been previouſly deſolated.

The King, upon this intelligence, ordered Ardebil to be evacuated in effect; which took place, and was a moſt afflicting ſcene.

On the next morning, Bahadu Khan appeared at court; his government lays between Ardebil and the Caſpian Sea. He came before the King in the ſame condition in which he arrived, booted, his bow in his hand and quiver at his waiſt. To this perſon, a deſcendant from the Pagan Kings of Perſia of the dynaſty of Coſrhoè, and governor of various fortreſſes and ports on the Caſpian Sea, but of no cities, the care of protecting the emigrants was delegated by the Shah; recommending to him to ſee that they met with ſuccour and friendly reception on their way. At the ſame time he iſſued orders that ſuch of the inhabitants as could bear arms ſhould remain; and that the various banditti on the frontiers, the commanders of whom are known to the King, under promiſe of pardon, ſhould hover on the flanks of the Turkiſh army, which is never entrenched, and ſerve as light troops to cut off their ſupplies, and pillage their camp in the night.

On the 10th of September a Tatar ſpy arrived, bringing intelligence, that a diviſion of the Turkiſh army, conſiſting it was ſaid of forty thouſand, with ſix days proviſions, had been detached from Tebriz, under command of the Georgian Prince Teimuraz, expectedly to fall on a ſudden on Ardebil. The King immediately gave directions, that ſuch inhabitants in the city and neighbouring villages as had not yet left ſhould quit them, and take the road to Mazanderan, or ſome more diſtant part of Media or Irak: that every thing at Caſvin ſhould be in readineſs for the inhabitants quitting that place, if it ſhould appear requiſite, and in the mean time, that all the merchandize and property there belonging to His Majeſty ſhould be tranſported thence, as ſafely as poſſible to Ferhabad and Hiſpahan: that every one in Ardebil ſhould hold himſelf in readineſs to leave

leave the city on the following day for the ſtrong fort where the King had placed his baggage to wait for the enemy; and that preparation ſhould be made for ſetting fire to every part of the city upon our evacuation, as well as the various towns and villages in its neighbourhood.

On the 11th September, juſt as we were about to mount our horſes, and fire the city, intelligence of the moſt grateful deſcription was received from Carchica Bey, giving account of a victory moſt unexpectedly obtained over the Turks. This Corchi Baſha, on the Turks entering Tebriz, had withdrawn to Ugiun, one day's journey from that city, on the direct road to Caſvin, leaving the way open as preconcerted to Ardebil, under expectation that they would in courſe direct their march thither. The Turks, however, conceiving that this ſtep was a mark of weakneſs; and underſtanding from the ambaſſador who had been at Ardebil that no pillage would be obtained there; and that the King himſelf, with the ſmall army he had with him, was in the greateſt conſternation, and had reſolved on flying before them, determined on attacking Carchica Bey; after routing whom, they might eaſily purſue their plan of ruining Ardebil, without having any apprehenſion from him in their rear. As, however, they knew from the orders he had received, it would be difficult to induce the Corchi Baſha to hazard a pitched battle, they attempted to take him by ſurprize. With this intent, they ſelected their beſt troops, as well Turks as Tatars, to the amount of from forty to fifty thouſand, as we had before heard, which were detached lightly equipped, and calculated for diſpatch, to fall upon Carchica Bey in the night-time or by dawn of day. In ſtating Ardebil as their deſtination, the ſpy was deceived, as well as in their being commanded by Teimuraz Khan, who at that time was indiſpoſed and not with the army. Unfortunately for the Turks, while on their march, a Perſian in their army of the name of Ali Bey, influenced by that *amor patriæ* ſo natural to man, when mounted with the reſt, clapped ſpurs to his horſe, and favoured by darkneſs and the ſpeed of his animal, quickly reached the camp of Carchica Bey.

This nobleman found the army completely off its guard, and, paſſing the drowſy centinels, reached the very tent of Carchica Bey entirely unperceived. Here, after making a great noiſe, he ſucceeded in gaining admittance to the general, to whom he ſuccinctly related his danger. The general immediately iſſued orders for the troops to ſaddle their horſes, and load the baggage waggons, not to create diſorder or a panic amid the ſoldiers; ſo that before day-break, this prodigious body of cavalry was in readineſs to march in military array, and divided in four immenſe ſquadrons at ſome diſtance from the baggage, and a row of tents which formed the market or bazar; leaving from a thouſand to fifteen hundred horſe, who were directed, in caſe of the enemy appearing, to engage their van, and draw them, as they retreated, among the baggage and the tents, which were left ſtanding.

So orderly was every thing managed, that none of the ſoldiers had any idea of their having to engage, but merely imagined that they were about to decamp for ſome other ſpot, as was frequent with them. But Carchica Bey ſeeing a favourable opportunity had ſo contrived, that he was apparently reduced either to comply with the King's injunctions and abandon in diſgrace his camp and baggage, or attempt to deliver them from the enemy by an engagement.

The enemy came up ſhortly after day break, and the Tatars made a furious charge on the troops of Shiraz Imaunculi Khan, by whom they were valiantly received, and a deſperate conflict enſued. Carchica Bey, who was in the rear, upon this ſtated, that he could not in conformity to the King's orders hazard an engagement, but ſhould entrench himſelf. Upon this Imaunculi Khan ſent word that he was unavoidably drawn

into battle, and that the Corchi Baſha muſt think ſeriouſly of fighting and immediately join him, as notwithſtanding the bravery of his troops they muſt otherwiſe be overpowered, enjoining him if he would not fight to draw up his forces, as their appearance might intimidate the enemy and encourage his men. In the mean time, he fifteen hundred men of the van who had done their duty, agreeable to the orders received, pretended to fly, and drew the enemy among the tents, where they immediately began pillaging and maſſacreing ſuch as they found in the bazar, giving over the purſuit. At this inſtant, Carchica Bey ſeeing things in the ſtate he wiſhed them, and holding himſelf juſtified with reſpect to his orders in the opinion as well of Imaunculi Khan as the reſt of the nobles in the army who blamed him for his inertneſs, joined his forces to thoſe of the Khan of Shiraz, and fell with the utmoſt fury on the Tatars with his four ſquadrons. The Tatars bravely ſuſtained the ſhock, but finding themſelves at length overpowered by the Perſians and not ſupported by the Turks, who came up but ſlowly, owing to ſome impediment on the road, or their cowardice, which induced them rather to be ſpectators of the battle than actors in the field, were at length obliged to give way in diſorder; the Khan of Caffa, who had behaved himſelf bravely, and was wounded in ſeveral places, retiring at the entreaty of his people.

The Perſians, upon the Tatars being put to the rout, followed up their advantage cloſely for ſeveral miles, driving before them not only the Tatars but alſo the dilatory Turks whom they met on the road, putting to the ſword moſt of thoſe whom the want of fleetneſs of their horſes put within their reach, and making very few priſoners. Of theſe, the only ones of condition were the Baſha of Van, a grey-haired old man, a Captain of Tatars, and a Georgian of note in his own country, a Captain of Janiſſaries *. Among the dead, the number of which is uncertain, were ſeven or eight Baſhas, whoſe names are mentioned. On the ſide of the Perſians, no one is ſpoken of as killed of any conſequence; ſuch a victory, however, cannot have been purchaſed without great loſs. In his account of the battle Carchica Bey excuſed himſelf for his diſobedience of His Majeſty's orders by the ſingularity and urgency of the caſe, and ſtated, that if His Majeſty diſapproved of his conduct, he was ready to lay his head at his feet. The Shah expreſſed himſelf ſatisfied with what he had done, and commended him for his ſkill.

This intelligence occaſioned the revocation of the former orders. The whole day long nothing was heard but muſic and rejoicing, and an infinite number of people repaired to the moſque in order to return thanks for the victory. Ali Bey, who was nobly rewarded by the Corchi Baſha and his officers, had apartments aſſigned him in the houſe of Bahadur Khan.

His Majeſty pardoned the Tatars and his chief priſoners, but ordered all the Turks to be put to death, as well as ſome of their ſpies who were taken; their execution was barbarous, it conſiſted in cutting off their feet or legs, and leaving them in the different ſtreets to bleed to death and be trampled on by paſſengers.

On the 16th September, Emir Gunch Erouan Khan came to confer with the Shah, and after a promiſe from the King that he would not conclude peace without hearing more from the army, he returned to join the Corchi Baſha.

The Turkiſh ambaſſador appeared again at court with new propoſals. Theſe went, that the Turks were willing to make peace without reſtitution of any conqueſts, upon

* This word is conſtantly written thus; it ſhould be Yeni cheri, as pronounced in Turkey, the meaning a new ſoldier. The Germans not having in their language the ſound of *ch*, ſubſtitute an *s*, and pronounce it Yeniſeri or ſari, ſpelling it with a J, founded by them as Y with us. Retaining the German ſpelling, the word is conſequently but improperly pronounced by us Janiſſary.

condition only of the annual preſent being ſent, or in lieu of it a certain quantity of ſcarlet cloth, ſome horſe trappings and other trifles, provided the army were allowed to return by the road of Maraga and Curdiſtan, the country through which they came being exhauſted, and that the King would furniſh them with a quantity of corn, ſtraw, and ſhoes for their horſes, with other articles of which they ſtood in need.

The wary King, while he conſented to the tribute, refuſed to allow them a paſſage through Curdiſtan, and inſiſted on their return by the ſame way they came; upon their agreeing to which he would furniſh them with the requiſite proviſions. With this anſwer the ambaſſador returned, accompanied by Bouroun Caſum Bey for the concluſion of peace on theſe terms on the part of the Serdar.

On the 20th September, the King being in better humour than on the preceding days, went without the city to divert himſelf with falcons and other birds, and on this occaſion, fantaſtic as he was, he remained ſeated on the bare ground in the midſt of the fields expoſed to the rays of the ſun without any covering above his head, but not forgetting the bottle, and in this poſture made his meal, without any cloth, of a roaſt fowl which was brought to him, the court ſeated around him. In the afternoon, we were informed by the mehimandar that the Turks were advanced on the road from Tebriz as far as a large town of the name of Serah, on the road to Ardebil, whither he appeared to advance, while Carchica Bey in purſuance of the Royal orders retired before them. We were in conſequence, to provide againſt any treachery, directed to ſend off our heavy baggage to the King's camp, reſerving only a laden horſe called a ſeiz kanè, that we might be ready to accompany the King at notice with greater diſpatch.

On Saturday 22d of September, the firſt day of Bairam, or the greater Eaſter feſtival of the Mahometans, the King repaired to the moſque, whither the ornaments of greateſt value which had been removed had already been brought back, and where after prayers the King himſelf ſerved out the pilão to the poor.

On Sunday ſome Armenian Chriſtians, coming from Turkey, who had paſſed through the Turkiſh army, brought account that the Serdar had received new orders from court, by which he was commanded to repair immediately to the aſſiſtance of the Porte, about to be attacked in different quarters by the Chriſtians; and that Erzerum, through which they had paſſed, was thronged by emigrants flying from Trebiſond in conſequence of the ravages committed by the Coſſacks on the ſhores of the Black Sea.

This news was verified on the return of Caſum Bey with the treaty of peace ſigned by the Serdar, who had ſent with him not only the ſame ambaſſador who had been twice before with the King, but alſo Gebegi Baſha, a perſon of great authority, colonel general of the gens d'armerie and artillery, who, with another of no leſs reſpectability among the Turks, was deputed to ratify the treaty.

Upon the retreat of the Turks, which took place immediately, the King diſbanded thoſe of his troops which came from Mazanderan and the Turkmans, and on arrival of the laſt ambaſſador publiſhed his intention of leaving Ardebil for Cazvin; ſo that many among us, and I of the number, ſet forward on the road, not being diſpoſed to ſubject myſelf to the inconvenience naturally attendant on the march of the ordu or King's camp. On the 22d October, therefore, I left Ardebil in the evening, merely to begin the journey, and after travelling half a league halted at a village called Taſk Kieſen, from the number of ſtone-cutters by which it is inhabited.

On the next day, after marching three leagues and a half, I ſtopped at Tagi buyuc, a village at which I had reſted on coming. Tueſday I travelled five leagues, lodging in the village of Ghivi, at the houſe of a very obliging and extremely agreeable lady.

Beyond Ghivi the road to Caſvin divides, I took therefore a different one to which I came, and after three leagues on Wedneſday paſſed the night in a town called Hoin. Thurſday we journeyed through a valley extremely well peopled throughout its whole extent, and arrived by night at a ſmall city called Shial, five leagues from Hoin. Shial is built on the ſlope of a mountain, in the narroweſt part of the valley, above a ſmall river which runs through it; it is, however, ſo inconſiderable a place as hardly to deſerve the title of a city.

We advanced but three leagues in this valley on Friday, owing to our litter being overturned; fortunately, however, without any injury either to Madame Maani or the camel which bore it; taking up our abode at a caravanſerai. On Saturday we continued our courſe over a diſagreeable road, no longer full of mud as that of the preceding day, but abounding in acclivities, and after journeying almoſt three leagues came to a village beyond the mountains, near which, owing to our camels being extremely jaded, we reſted for the night by the ſide of a running ſtream, where we ſaw a number of paſtoral Turkmans with their flocks, frightened hither by the din of war from their province of Ghilan.

On Sunday we merely completed the remainder of the three leagues of the previous day, ſtopping at the firſt village we came to, in the territory of Taron, called Derram. The ſucceeding day, while yet here, the King with the whole of the ordu paſſed us, the greater part of the army continuing its route, but his Majeſty remaining below the village under tents. On Tueſday the royal houſhold ſet off rather late, we following it at a diſtance, travelling for three leagues through a country abounding with cotton; from Derram to Caſvin the fields being covered with ſcarcely any thing elſe. In the evening we pitched our tents on the margin of a ſmall river, whoſe courſe we had followed, keeping on its left ſide the whole of this and part of the preceding day. We reached a village called Ibrahim Oba, or Abraham's hut, on Wedneſday 31ſt of October, after having journeyed five leagues.

As travelling along, accompanied by Tochta Bey, Imameuli Mirza, the King's youngeſt ſon, who was greatly attached to me, inquired of my people with the baggage to whom the litter belonged, and learning it was mine, converſed for ſome time with them ſeated on the ground, his led horſe with his Seizchanè having fallen ill. While thus diſcourſing with two of my men who ſtopped to anſwer his queſtions, he ſaw a little bitch paſs by on one of our camels, which, however deſpicable it would have been with us, in Perſia ſerved as a pet, and admired the animal extremely; finding, however, that his praiſing her would not induce the ſervants to have the civility of offering it, he even begged her of them; and on her being preſented, not knowing how otherwiſe to ſecure it till he ſhould overtake his baggage, upon his led horſe coming up he unfaſtened his garters, and joining them together he tied one extremity round the neck of the bitch, and holding the other in his hand, led her along.

On Thurſday, the firſt of November, we arrived at a ſpot where the bridge which formerly croſſed the river being in ruins, we were obliged to ford it. It is the ſame we paſſed in going to Ardebil, in the valley of Perdeliſe, and is called Kizil Uzen, or red colour, from its flowing over red ſand which communicates its colour ſometimes to the water. This river, to which ſeveral ſmall ſtreams are tributary, much increaſed in volume, empties itſelf into the Caſpian Sea.

In the evening, on account of my not being diſpoſed myſelf to ford this river with my baggage horſes, and making a long tour to paſs it over a bridge, it was late before I reached my people at a village called Kielle, or head, about half a league beyond the river, and four good leagues from our laſt place of reſting.

Friday

Friday, the 2d of November, after four leagues of road, we arrived at a ſmall village of only four or five houſes, called Kara Tikian Corchi Baſha, or the black thorn of the Baſha of the Corchi, leaving before we came to it the river Shiahrud, which falls a little lower down into the Kizil Uzen, on the left; having all the while cloſe on our right the mountains of Ghilan, which branch from Mount Taurus.

On Saturday we travelled ſix leagues through an extreme narrow valley very unpleaſantly, on account of the numerous and crooked defiles we had to paſs, and our being frequently obliged to ford a ſmall ſtream which winds on a bed of rock and ſtones. Late at night we pitched our tents in the neighbourhood of ſome peaſants' huts, where we procured proviſions and forage for our horſes.

On Sunday, having cleared the defiles of the valley, we entered on a high and level country, and encamped below a village called Ramuſhan, only three ſhort leagues from Caſvin, where on Monday we arrived, but found the ſtreets ſo filthy in conſequence of the heavy rains of the preceding night, that our horſes were up to their girths in mud. Notwithſtanding the conſequent condition of the country, the King, unwilling to turn the inhabitants out of their houſes, encamped his army on the wet ground.

On Saturday, the 17th of November, the King, after having previouſly given audience to the various ambaſſadors from Spain, Mogholiſtan, and Muſcovy, received their preſents and given them grand entertainments in the Meidan or ſquare at Caſvin, on which occaſion, it being by night, the ſquare was illuminated with ſuch a profuſion of light as to make the night vie in ſplendour with the day, he left Caſvin to paſs the winter in Ferhabad, as is uſual with him. The nobles at court hereupon diſperſed each his way, excepting a few expreſsly appointed by the King to attend him. For my part, having caught a cold which brought on a lingering fever, not feeling any diſpoſition to reviſit Ferhabad, and requiring the comforts of Hiſpahan, I took leave of His Majeſty to winter in the capital.

Before his departure, however, the King taking umbrage at the Muſcovite preſent, which among other things compriſed a large number of caſks of brandy, imagining that they tacitly thereby accuſed him of drunkenneſs, ſent back the chief to the ambaſſadors, telling them at the ſame time that for his part he had not occaſion for ſo much, and that as he knew they were uſed to drink deep he was unwilling to deprive them of what he was aware was ſo gratifying to themſelves.

On Tueſday, the 20th of November, I departed from Caſvin for Hiſpahan by the direct road, which was different to that by which I travelled to Ferhabad, and as I was too weak to undertake the journey on horſeback, I went in the litter.

We pitched our tents the firſt night about three leagues and a half from Caſvin, near a village in ruins on the road. Wedneſday, a little before dawn in the morning, as we were loading our horſes, I ſaw for the firſt time a comet, the largeſt of the two which have been viſible for two months back. Its form was that of a ſcymitar.

This day we travelled ſeven leagues, and arrived early in the evening at a village called Ara Sengh, were we paſſed the night, and were joined by Father Melchior des Anges, prior of the Auguſtin convent, who had paſſed us in the morning on his way to Ferhabad, on buſineſs with the King reſpecting encroachments on the part of the governors of the provinces bordering on Ormus, and who receiving a courier ſhortly after he paſſed us, by which the King had ſent orders to theſe governors to deſiſt; and intimated his intention of examining the affair himſelf on his return to Hiſpahan, which would ſhortly take place; the good Father trod back his ſteps. His company and that of his companions ſo much raiſed my ſpirits, and I found myſelf ſo much better, that I began to mount my horſe again.

On

On Thurſday we rode ſix leagues, and reſted at night at a caravanſerai in midſt of a wild uninhabited country.

We travelled eight leagues on Friday, and arrived at night at a ſmall city called Sava. On Saturday, after fording the river called by the name of the city, we lodged at a caravanſerai in a deſart country called Geuher-abad, five leagues from the place at which we laſt reſted.

On Sunday night, five leagues beyond, we halted at a caravanſerai in the city of Com, which the author of the Geographical Epitome (Ferrari) maintains was anciently called Choana, and is a city of Media. I am alſo of his opinion, and believe Media to extend farther, and even to compriſe Caſhan, more towards the ſouth, and extend to certain mountains which apparently are its boundaries, although the inhabitants of the country place them in Irak.

Com is a city of middling ſize, inferior in population and the number of its houſes to Caſhan, but much ſuperior in point of elegance and ſituation. We entered the city by a handſome ſtone bridge, which generally is ſmall, but very wide when ſwollen by the rains deſcending from the mountain. Near the bridge is a handſome moſque; its ſtreets and bazars are good; its ſquare large and very ſpacious, although not of a regular or proportionate figure; in ſhort, the whole city appeared to me commodious and handſome.

We remained in this city the whole of Monday to reſt our beaſts, and finding myſelf much better I indulged myſelf with melons and cucumbers, which here are excellent. On Tueſday we travelled four leagues only, and paſſed the night at a wretched caravanſerai, dependant on a village called Siſin. On Wedneſday night we reached Caſhan, ſeven leagues from Siſin. On the road I was much inconvenienced by the cold and violence of the wind, notwithſtanding the fur dreſſes I wore. Here we took up our abode at the King's caravanſerai, ſituated in the ſuburbs of the city.

Sunday, Father Melchior being ſummoned to Ferhabad by the ambaſſador, we parted, he towards that place and I for Hiſpahan, travelling by night ſix leagues, and ſtopping two hours before dawn at a caravanſerai called Kogia Caſum Natanzi.

Monday night we journeyed eight leagues; reſting in the morning at a caravanſerai in the neighbourhood of the royal garden called Tegiabad. Thence, the next night, to the caravanſerai Lala Bey, eight leagues; and on Wedneſday night, after the like diſtance, came to a town called Berian, only one league from Hiſpahan. Here I took repoſe for a while, ſending forward to adviſe of my arrival, that the King's officers might appoint me a reſidence, that which I before had being occupied by the Spaniſh ambaſſador.

The houſe we were to dwell in being ready, I repaired to it on Saturday the 8th of December, when, taking to my bed, I was confined to the 16th, recovering my ſtrength afterwards by degrees, ſo that with the new year of 1619 I found myſelf in good ſpirits and health.

In this interval the Armenian Chriſtians of Chiolfa repaired to Ferhabad to make certain preſents to the King; he, as they had been given to underſtand, being diſpleaſed at the length of time ſince they had made their laſt. One of theſe, on his return on the 13th of February, informed me that at preſent Ferhabad contains 40,000 houſes belonging to Armenians, 12,000 to Georgians, 7,000 to Jews and to Mahometans from the provinces of Shirwan, Ghilan and other countries, 25,000, and theſe excluſive of thoſe inhabited by the attendants of His Majeſty and perſons belonging to the court. I mention this that you may form an idea of the brilliant beginning of this city, founded

by

by force, and ſome computation of its probable extent ſhould it flouriſh, which is problematic after the death of Shah Abbas.

With the relation of two curious matters I ſhall conclude my long letter. The one, that although I have but ſeven women ſervants and ſome few men, we ſpeak with correctneſs in our houſe ten different languages. I ſay ſo many are ſpoken perfectly ſeparate from ſeveral others with which we are partially acquainted. The languages ſpoken are the Latin, Italian, French, Spaniſh, modern Greek, the Turkiſh, Arabic, Perſian, Georgian, and Armenian. I confeſs, however, that I alone am maſter of the Latin, French, Italian, and Spaniſh; but ſeveral ſpeak the ſix others, and not one of my people is there but underſtands at leaſt three or four. I myſelf comprehend, in meaſure, the whole, except the Georgian and Armenian, of either of which I have little knowledge. The other curious matter, which relates to ſurgery or natural hiſtory, and what I certainly ought not to omit mentioning, is the puniſhment inflicted on ſuch as commit rapes or ſodomy, which is ſimilar to that uſed in ancient times in Egypt, according to Diodorus Siculus, and conſiſts in the amputation of the offending parts. Strange as this operation, the culprit never dies in conſequence, but is cured ſpeedily by the application of aſhes alone.

The Vizier of Mazanderan, who was my mehimandar at Ferhabad, underwent this chaſtiſement moſt wrongfully, as he proteſted to me. The King being informed that he had carried off a young boy from a certain part of which he was governor, in order to ſet an example to his other miniſters and governors, ſentenced him to undergo the law, which took place and left him deprived of manhood. A young wife he had was ſo much chagrined on the occaſion, that ſhe left his haram in ſearch of another more uſeful companion, but one of more mature years compenſated for her loſs by her unremitted fidelity and kindneſs to him.

Soon, however, as the knife had done its office, it was diſcovered that he had been falſely accuſed; in conſequence of which the King was greatly hurt, and ordered the tendereſt care to be had of him, that he ſhould have aſhes applied, and be kept in a dark apartment for ſeveral days. At length he recovered his ſtrength, but not what he had loſt. This ſame vizier, while I was at Eſcref, ſentenced to a ſimilar puniſhment a young man who was one of his domeſtics, and charged with having violated a ſingle woman. What is remarkable, when this operation is effected on grown-up perſons, it does not cauſe them to loſe their beard.

*Hiſpahan, 22d April, 1619.*

About to cloſe my letter, it has occurred to me that I ought to inform you of a matter I have omitted. The Perſians obſerve no order in fighting; the different khans, ſultans, or captains, appointed by the King or the generaliſſimo, mixing their fuzileers with their bowmen and ſuch as fight with lances indiſcriminately. And fairly may we ſay of the Perſian archers, that they retreat rather than run away; for, ſimilar to their anceſtors, the Parthians, they turn their back to the enemy as they draw the bow to ſhoot with greater power, the fuzileers copying them, after having fired their piece.

In their march they keep no ranks, but each goes as he pleaſes, uniting in a body only when in ſuſpected places, or in the neighbourhood of the enemy's army. The baggage and the women are placed in the rear when nigh the foe on advancing, and on retreat precede the army.

I have in my garden here among other articles ſome yellow jeſſamine, the leaves of which are larger and thicker than thoſe of our common jeſſamine, in other reſpects the plant is the ſame. I am uncertain if this be or not a curious thing in Italy; if you ſhould think

think it ſo, I will forward you ſome of the ſeed in a letter. Yellow roſes are alſo frequent in all the gardens of Hiſpahan, ſimilar in their leaves and ſhape of the flower to common roſes, but differing in fragrance, the ſmell of them being far from pleaſant.

## LETTER VI.

THIS letter being chiefly filled with a deſcription of the triumphal entry of Shah Abbas the Great into Hiſpahan, of the ſplendid entertainments given by him to the various ambaſſadors at his court, and matters relating rather to hiſtory than an account of travels, is ſuppreſſed.

## LETTER VII.

IN this the author gives the propoſals of Spain for a traffic in ſilk with Perſia, and a portrait of Madame Maani, two matters which, as unintereſting to the reader, are paſſed over.

## LETTER VIII.

*Hiſpahan, 4th April,* 1620.

IN the middle of November laſt I changed my abode, a matter which is common with the King's gueſts, as ſuits their convenience or occurrences; the houſe in which I dwelt before not belonging to the King, but being rented by him, the owner wiſhed to repoſſeſs it, and as two houſes in the neighbourhood of where I formerly lived had been vacated by the Spaniſh ambaſſador, I agreed with the mehimandar to remove to one of them, in which I am now.

On the 21ſt of November I was witneſs to a circumſtance here as extraordinary as it was inhuman. Certain differences ariſing among the Jews of Hiſpahan, they accuſed each other before the King. In particular, three Rabbins were falſely charged with being addicted to magic and other flagrant crimes, one of them being ſaid to poſſeſs a letter which, on any one reading, either by virtue of poiſon or witchcraft, cauſed his death. Whether the inculpations were merited or not, judging by the event they ſhould have had foundation, as the culprits were ordered for execution; the ſentence of the King being, that they ſhould be expoſed to dogs, kept by him purpoſely for devouring criminals of this deſcription and nation, held in contempt by the Mahometans, and treated as infidels. His Majeſty, however, propoſed to them the uſual alternative of becoming Muſſulmen, after the furious animals were brought into the ſquare. Except one, the reſt were ſo much intimidated that they readily accepted the koran; Aba, for that was the name of the one conſtant in his religion, braved death in preference to apoſtacy, and was torn in pieces by the furious beaſts, invoking to the laſt, in his agonies, the name of God and the founder of his law.

In order to diſplay the difference which exiſts between the violent and barbarous government of this country and that more mild and civilized under which we live in Europe, I ſhall relate an incident which occurred at court towards the cloſe of laſt December.

Lala Bey *, the King's treaſurer, his firſt miniſter and intendant over all matters relative to merchandiſe, attending him one day at his levèr, on account of having

* The ſtory of Ali Bey of the Archbiſhop of Cambray, in the fables compoſed by him for the uſe of the Dauphin of France, is taken from the latter part of this relation.



neglected

neglected to forward certain affairs with which he was entrusted, and having failed in attention to His Majesty's orders, the King was so highly enraged as to strike him with a stick which he had in his hand, and not content with this, directed the porters to beat him, which they did so unmercifully as to leave him for dead. Abbas, not willing, however, to lose a man who was so necessary to him, caused him to be taken up and carried home, whither he sent his own physicians, with attendants, ordered to keep watch over him constantly, that he might not, in despair, commit any violence on himself. Shortly after, on his being cured of his bruises, he was taken into perfect favour with the King, and served him afterwards constantly with fidelity, forgiving and forgetting the disgrace to which he had been exposed. This man is of mean origin, a Curd by birth, and was so poor when taken into the service of the Shah, that the thread-bare dress he wore formed all his fortune. This, however, he preserves with the utmost care, that it may constantly remind him of his pristine state. At present he is extremely rich and powerful, and when told by the courtiers around him, that the King may some day call him to account, his answer is, "he knows nothing of accounts, and has none to render to the King; that all that he possesses has been derived from the employments with which His Majesty has honoured him, and all consequently belongs to his master. The Shah," adds he, "may take the whole when he will, and leave me again to resume the humble habit I still keep by me, and which I formerly wore." Thus does he turn the sneers of the courtiers into ridicule, while the King has implicit confidence in him, which he is reputed honestly to deserve.

The Mahometans in Persia celebrated, on the 15th of February, a festival, called Isfend, from the name of a plant which makes its appearance the first of any, and is considered the harbinger of spring. This festival is not appointed by the lunar but the solar year, on the day when the sun enters the twenty-fifth degree of Aquarius.

And now, as for what regards me individually, I have again changed my place of abode, being dissatisfied with the house in which I passed the spring, on account of its being gloomy and dull; and rather than be subject to change continually, to which the guests of His Majesty are liable, I have hired one, with which I am greatly pleased, for as long a time as I choose to keep it. This house is handsome, cheerful, well planned in point of convenience, and has attached to it a beautiful garden, through which flows a running stream which supplies a reservoir in the audience chamber. The garden has a raised esplanade of a bow shot in length, built very neatly of brick, where I walk to study, as I prefer the open air to the house. The house, moreover, has an interior apartment in the shape of a cross, formed by four handsome rooms, surmounted by a high and noble dome, by which the light is admitted, so that the rays of the sun penetrate but obliquely, and do not reach below. The Paromisades, which I take to be the people of the present Zabelistaun at the extremity of this empire, according to Diodorus, were accustomed to build their houses in this manner; that is to say, with arched domes, with only one hole in the middle of the dome as a passage for the smoke and entrance for the light. The Persians of the present day build most of their houses in this manner. On the roofs are terraces, affording prospects of the country without exposure to any one. In short, I am delighted with my new acquisition. The garden is full of trees, some planted for the sake of their foliage, others for their fruit, of flowers and plants to please the senses and serve as well for food.

With this I shall finish my letter, saluting you cordially and all our mutual friends, wishing you health and prosperity.

## LETTERS IX. X. XI. AND XII.

THESE letters ſimply compriſe a hiſtory of the politics and events of the times, collected in various records, or matters merely perſonal to the author.

## LETTER XIII.

THIS is replete wholly with a panegyric on Shah Abbas the Great.

## LETTER XIV.

*From Hiſpahan, 24th Sept.* 1621.

I MAY ſay with St. Jerome, that my wiſhes are completed ſince I have received your letter of the 27th of Nov. 1620, which to me has been a moſt refreſhing beverage after two years of thirſt. As for the drugs and medicaments of which your friend complains that I am ſilent, it aſtoniſhes me, as I have repeatedly written to him that no one here knows any thing of Amomum, not even in Media where it is reputed to grow. As for Hamama, the druggiſts are ignorant of the plant, and ſell nothing that bears ſimilitude to it in name but a certain ſeed of which I ſent you a ſpecimen from Bagdad, in 1616, together with thoſe of other drugs, without ever receiving any mention of them from you in return. I have likewiſe ſent to our friend Horace a ſmall bag of the flowers of the bid-muſk or the muſk-tree, as common in Perſia as it is rare in Europe, the appellation of which is given on account of its fragrant, muſk-like flavour. I ſend him the ripe flowers on account of the grain being ſo very light and delicate as to be difficult of preſervation when ſeparated from its envelope. I kiſs your hands.

## LETTER XV.

*Shiraz, 21ſt October* 1621.

AFTER repoſing a while from the fatigue incident on the journey to this place, where we obtained a reception from the Engliſh in their factory, I cannot refrain from preſenting my reſpects, and imparting to you the curioſities which we noticed on our way hither from Hiſpahan. I ſhall, therefore, premiſe what I have to ſay with informing you, that, having ſome time before taken my leave of His Majeſty, I could not preſume to appear in any public place while he was preſent, and had no further buſineſs there than to prepare for my travels.

On Friday, therefore, the 1ſt of October, our baggage and cattle being gone before, and awaiting us on the high-road to Shiraz, ſhaded by trees without the gates of the city, we proceeded to join them, after taking leave of our friends; and that night travelled four leagues, ſtopping at a town or caſtle called Huſſeinabad, where we met with indifferent fare. When the places at which we ſhould ſtop might not be comfortable, we propoſed ſleeping under our tents in the open country. We had likewiſe provided neceſſary dreſſes for our horſes, after the faſhion of thoſe uſed in the King's camp; which, as I do not recollect ever to have mentioned, I ſhall take this occaſion of deſcribing.

The horſes are conſtantly kept expoſed to the open air, as well by night as by day, provided, however, againſt the weather, and particularly in winter, not only by a cloth as with us, but alſo by an over-cloth, which is thick and made of hair, called a ſhawl, which keeps them warm, and preſerves them from the air, rain, and even ſnow, ſhould it chance to fall. They ſet apart a ſpace of tolerable large ſize proportionate to the number of horſes, which they broom and clean very neatly. In this they are tied one by the ſide of the other, in the ſame manner as we are wont in our ſtables, to a rope of ſufficient length, faſtened tight to two ſtakes of iron at each end, driven ſome depth into the

the ground, leaving the halter by which they are tied of ſufficient length to allow them the liberty of moving in freedom. To keep them quiet, and prevent their committing any violence, they are faſtened by the two hind feet to a cord, which divides into two branches, with a nook at each end for the inſertion of the feet, of ſufficient length to allow of their laying down and ſtanding at eaſe. This method they always follow in their ſtables at home alſo; and is of ſuch ancient practice as to have exiſted in the time of Cyrus, according to Xenophon. Inſtead of making a bed of ſtraw for them, they ſift ſand or duſt. They are not ſuffered to feed from the ground, the cuſtom of keeping their neck continually bent making them heavy-headed, but they put their feed in a large bag, which is faſtened to the neck of each horſe, as is done by our carmen and coachmen at Rome. The food they give them in this bag conſiſts of corn, bran, and chopped ſtraw; the corn is barley, as no oats grow in Perſia: in May they feed them on graſs and green barley. They are remarkable in this country for a uſage uncommon with us, but which it might be well to follow. The firſt queſtion aſked on buying a horſe of any one is, the quantity of food it has been accuſtomed to; and the reaſon they give is, that if they were to exceed the proper quantity, which is in proportion to its ſize and condition, it would create humours, ſwollen legs, and render the animal unſerviceable. When worked, they augment the portion given at other times. The Perſians differ from us likewiſe in this particular: they uſe the ſame kind of bit for all their horſes alike; it is a kind of baſtard ſnaffle, and the only difference between one another is in its ſize, which is ſuited to the mouth of the horſe. They make uſe of no curb, but with the ſimple ſnaffle break in and manage their animals with the greateſt dexterity, even in full gallop on the moſt ſlippery ground, and deſcending the ſteepeſt precipices without fear of their ſtumbling; taking no pains as we do to make them hold their head erect with their neck arched like the rainbow.

The natural ſwiftneſs of the horſes of this country, and their ſmall doe-like head, ſtand in lieu of all the leſſons of the riding-ſchool. To make them go, neither ſwitch nor ſpur is neceſſary; inſtead of theſe every horſeman is provided with a whip, much ſmaller than thoſe uſed by poſtillions with us, and made of twiſted cord of parchment with a ſilk laſh at the end; with which upon their touching them behind, they dart forward with as much celerity as if you drew blood with a ſpur: ſome perſons, indeed, fix a ſmall ſharp piece of iron in the heel of the boot, but all are perfectly free from the incumbrances with which our feet are loaded to faſten on the ſpur. The ſaddles are of the Turkiſh or Arabian faſhion, of wood covered with leather or velvet without any ſtuffing, and are conſequently very hard and unpleaſant. Theſe ſaddles are, however, uſed only by a certain few, conſiſting of old people and perſons attached to ancient modes. The cavalry uſe the ſaddles common to the Uſbeck Tatars, as being more commodious. Theſe are covered with a good pad, and made in a fanciful manner, very high in front and behind, ſo that the rider may turn with great ſwiftneſs without any danger of being unſaddled. They have, moreover, the advantage of being much lighter, neater, and not near ſo awkward as ours. Perſia abounds ſo plenteouſly in horſes, that the beſt I had, and which I uſed as a war horſe, coſt no more than thirty ſequins (15l. ſterling), ſaddle and bridle included: another, I gave ſeven ſequins for it in the market at Hiſpahan, and it ſerved me in the regiment for more than a year, after which I made preſent of it to my brother-in-law, who took it with him to Bagdad. Although theſe horſes coſt little, they are ſo excellent that I am entirely weaned from my partiality for thoſe of Naples or Rome. There are few among them very high or very ſtrong, and ſtill fewer race-horſes, as they are not ſolicitous of increaſing the breed of theſe, principally confining themſelves to the uſeful breed, full of ſpirit,

capable of bearing fatigue, and fit for the ſaddle. They have among them ſome trained to canter, the noſtrils of which are very wide to facilitate reſpiration; theſe will keep continually the ſame pace for ſeven or eight leagues at a ſtretch, without fatiguing the rider in the ſlighteſt degree. A trained horſe of this deſcription coſts from eighteen to twenty ſequins.

On Saturday evening, 2d October, after reſting below the village of Huſſeinabad, the moon being up, we continued our journey, bending our courſe directly ſouth, and on Sunday by day-break, after travelling five or ſix leagues in the night, we ſtopt at a caravanſerai near a village called Mehiar. Two hours after ſunſet we ſet off, accompanied by Ghulamali, a Mahometan courier in the ſervice of the Portugueze, who overtook us on the road, going expreſs from our monks to Ormus, and was directed to ſerve me as a guide; and after five or ſix leagues, the ſun being riſen to ſome height, we halted at the caravanſerai of a large town called Comſhè, till three hours after night-fall, when we departed. On Tueſday, journeying eight leagues by moon-light, we reſted in a garden in the midſt of a town with a caſtle called Amenabad. Soon as the moon roſe on the following night we mounted our horſes anew, travelling this day no more than four leagues on account of there being no place where we could halt, except at a great diſtance from the village at which we ſtopped, called Izdkaſt, (or God's will.) This village or town is ſituated in the opening of a ſmall mountain, in a low and confined ſituation, incloſed by rocks on the weſt and north, and expoſed to the eaſt and ſouth winds. We reſumed our progreſs at the cloſe of day, and after eight leagues diſmounted at the village of Dehighirdu, or the village of walnut-trees; ſo named from the abundance of them about the place. Here, under the ſhade of four large trees in the midſt of the court of the caravanſerai, we ſpent the day. After ſupping, we went no more than two leagues to the town of Kuſkizer, at which we arrived on Friday morning, a little before dawn. Here we ſaw a number of houſes inhabited by Georgians and Circaſſians, ſent hither by the reigning ſovereign, in addition to thoſe belonging to the natives of the province. At a league beyond this town we croſſed a handſome bridge over a ſmall river, which bears the name of the laſt town. The Perſians and Turks call certain open buildings erected in a garden or on an eminent ſituation, Kouſk, or Kioſck, from one of which this town takes its name, Kuſkizer, ſignifying the golden Kioſk. Our place of reſt on Saturday morning was at the village of Aſbas, at the foot of a mountain, near a rivulet which falls from its ſides. On this mountain is a large garden ſurrounded by walls and planted thick with poplars. Near the ſame village is a caſtle built on an eminence ſurrounded by two incloſures of walls, the one at the ſummit, the other at the foot of the hill. Theſe walls, ſimple curtains joined to outworks by lines of communication of no great ſtrength, and moſtly in ruins. The ditches are full of water, and their banks covered with large willows, which form a handſome crown for the caſtle, and ſerve to give ſhade to the plain, in which are a number of Circaſſian and Georgian dwellings, as well here as in all the neighbouring towns.

We left the village of Aſbas three hours after night had aſſumed its reign, and travelling four leagues reached a caravanſerai, not yet wholly completed, in a town called Ugian, the revenue of which is ſet apart for the maintenance of the ſepulchre of an ancient Prince of the Blood Royal, called Seid Ahmed, who died as he was paſſing through this place. This Prince was a ſon of Shah Soſi; he founded a perpetual eſtabliſhment for travellers, who are received and maintained here gratuitouſly. Here we were ſerved with an excellent ſoup, and a fowl cooked in a much better manner than at Ardebil. Ugian is called by the inhabitants Ardebil the Leſs. The building is a ſhort diſtance from the village, and has a garden walled-in for the benefit

benefit of the guardians of the tomb; the caravanſerai is in the middle between the village and the ſepulchre, which is not ſuperb, conſiſting only of a ſmall dome raiſed on pillars, and ſome other pieces of architecture. Hence we did not depart till midnight, waiting for the moon riſing to have light on our way through the mountains, which was difficult and dangerous. By favour of the moon we traverſed the remainder of the plain and paſſed the mountain, in doing which we were frequently obliged to diſmount. By dawn of day we reached its oppoſite foot, in a ſpot venerable among the Mahometans as the place of ſepulture of their Imauns, called Imaunzadè Iſmail; after which we entered a narrow valley three or four leagues in length, incloſed by mountains, and having completed altogether ſix or ſeven leagues, arrived in the afternoon at a large town called Mayin, inhabited by Circaſſians and natives of the country. Here, however, finding only a ſmall ruinated caravanſerai full of people, we were obliged to paſs on and encamp in a plain near a large garden. On our road over the mountain and through the plains I remarked a number of piſtachio-trees, which I had miſtaken for turpentine-trees. They are called by the Arabs batom; by the Turks chiaclacuchi. I diſtinguiſhed likewiſe other plants, which from their roots ſend up a number of green, long and ſeparate ſhoots, ſtronger and more ſtiff than the ruſhes of which we make mats, and which produce a kind of bitter almond. The almonds, however, I did not ſee, as it was not their fruiting ſeaſon. The following night we roſe with the moon a little before day, and continued our journey by a conſtant and almoſt imperceptible aſcent for three leagues, attaining at length the ſummit of a plain by half an hour after noon, and reaching the banks of a river which flows from north to ſouth, over which is a bridge of brick, which, notwithſtanding it be old, and the parapets at its ſides in a ſtate of decay, is yet call Puli New, or New Bridge. This river is called Kur, retaining to our days thus the name of Cyrus, which is Kur with a Latin termination. On the banks of this river was it, according to Strabo, that Cyrus, when an infant, was expoſed, and received his name from the place where he was left, rather than that where he was born, which was at Agradat. After paſſing the Kur, (which there is no doubt is the ſame as the Araxis mentioned by Diodorus and Quintus Curtius, ſince it flows near Perſepolis, that there is none other deſerving of the name of river, and that Araxis, in the ancient language of the country ſignified the river; ſo, perhaps, ſtyled by way of eminence,) we reſted at a houſe by itſelf, inhabited by a family which receives paſſengers. Before we croſſed the bridge we perceived on the eaſtern bank, oppoſite to us, two large rocks, on the ſummit of which formerly were two caſtles built of the ſtone hewn from their baſes, the neareſt of which to the bridge was called Calaaï Sakt (the ſtrong caſtle), the other Calaaï Shekiſktè (the ruined caſtle). The banks of the river are covered with certain trees reſembling our juniper, a ſort of cedar of Lebanon, but ſmaller, called by the Perſians ghiz, the wood of which is very handſome; as, however, theſe trees grow to no ſize in this country, it is not adapted for any large cabinet-work, and ſerves only for gunſtocks. Quintus Curtius, indeed, relates that the palace of Perſepolis was built of cedar, and on that account was ſo ſoon conſumed when ſet on fire by Alexander; which if the caſe, Perſia muſt then have produced cedars of large ſize: ſuch, however, grow there no more. The remainder of the day we paſſed under the ſhade of theſe trees, and the following night in the houſe. The next day at dawn, the 13th of October, leaving the high road to Shiraz, we repaſſed the Puli new, and followed the courſe of the river towards thoſe famous ruins called Chehil minar or the forty columns, the illuſtrious remains of the ancient Perſepolis, which I ſo ardently and ſo long had wiſhed to ſee, and to reach which required but little divergency from our road towards the eaſt. After proceeding for four leagues in this direction, and paſſing a ſmall

a ſmall river called Pelevar, which flows from north to ſouth, and which empties itſelf into the Kur, firſt watering one of the moſt beautiful and fertile countries in Perſia, and worthy of the large and flouriſhing city it formerly contained, we arrived on the ſpot at two o'clock in the afternoon, where we pitched our tents on the margin of a rivulet, reſolved to take a minute ſurvey of the curioſities it offered.

Perſepolis, a city celebrated in ſacred and profane hiſtory, was likewiſe called Elymais, as we are told in Scripture, in the ſixth chapter of the firſt book of the Machabees, and the ninth chapter, book ſecond, where it is deſcribed under both names. Some, indeed, contend that Shiraz, the capital of Perſia Proper, or Farſiſtan, is the ſame with Perſepolis, but certainly ſuch are in error, Shiraz not being a city of ancient foundation, and, moreover, being ten paraſangs or leagues diſtant from theſe ruins, in a ſouth weſtern direction, which indiſputably was the ſite of that ancient city. Their poſition is in a beautiful and wide-extending plain of a round figure, encircled almoſt on every ſide by ſmall hills in form of an amphitheatre, the diameter of which may be about four leagues. At the extremity of this plain, which we croſſed from the eaſt, the ruins are diſcernible, at the foot of the mountain on which according to Diodorus the Royal Palace of Cyrus was built, with this exception, that Diodorus ſtates it to have been built at four plethres (four hundred feet according to ſome) from the mountain, whereas the ruins are immediately contiguous to its baſe. The term Minar applied to theſe ruins by the Perſians is from the reſemblance of the columns to certain towers of that name, whence in Mahometan cities the hour is called to ſummon the people to prayers; the term chehil meaning forty, which was, no doubt, the number of the columns ſtanding at the time the appellation was originally given. Theſe ruins front the plain towards the weſt, and have at the back of them the mountain towards the eaſt. From the remains it is impoſſible to comprehend what was the form or extent of the building, as well on account of its ruinated ſtate as the deſtitution on the part of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood of any hiſtory which might throw light in paſt times. It might have been either a temple or a palace; but I am rather induced to conjecture it to have been a temple. I ſhall, however, give as good a deſcription of it as I can, and aſſign the reaſons for my opinion.

At the foot of the mountain, called by the inhabitants of the country Cuh i rahmet, or the Mountain of Mercy, and by the ancients, according to Diodorus, the Royal Mountain, turning your back on the plain and the weſt, and fronting the mountain and the eaſt, you ſee before you two large marble ſtaircaſes, one of which fronts the ſouth, the oppoſite one the north, both exactly ſimilar. Theſe ſtaircaſes are thirty feet wide, and ſteep after the manner of the Perſians; the wall for the ſupport of them terminating in a point, and riſing a foot above each ſtair. Each ſtair is a foot and a half broad, and three or four fingers' breadth in height; ſeventeen of them alone are ſingle blocks. Each ſtaircaſe has two flights, the one higher and broader than the other; the ſecond flight of that which fronts the ſouth facing the north, and that of its oppoſite the reverſe; and theſe two upper flights are uncovered and ſeparated from each other by a wall of large ſtones, which ſupports both the one and the other. In one of the firſt flights there might be about fifty-three ſteps; I ſay about, for being broken it was impoſſible to count them exactly. At the ſummit of this flight is a large landing-place, ſquare and proportioned in ſize to the ſtaircaſe; this, with the walls and the whole of the edifice, is of large blocks, hard and well poliſhed, and calculated, as Diodorus obſerves, to laſt for ever. It appeared to me, however, to be rather built of ſtained marble than white; although that of the ſtairs approached very nearly to black. In the ſecond flight I reckoned about forty-eight ſtairs, and at the top I came to a kind of large even

ſquare, in the midſt of which I perceived the ruins of a building. I was unable to comprehend whether or not this was a grand and ſuperb corridore, with a porch or veſtibule leading to ſome other apartment of this edifice, as there was no veſtige of any ſuch remaining. The firſt objects which preſented themſelves were two monſters with the body of a horſe, and the head of a man. The body was, as it were, barbed over with mail, like the flat heads of large nails, repreſenting the armour of iron plates related by Quintus Curtius to have been worn by the horſes in the army of Darius. The head, from which depended a large beard and long hair, was covered with a handſome round cap with a flat top to it, ſurmounted by a large round ball. Theſe animals had wings reſembling thoſe given to griffins, and their faces were turned towards the top of the ſtairs. On their ſhoulders they upheld a large ſtone wall, as thick as the breadth of their back allowed, ſo that theſe monſters were merely the ſupporters of two walls, on the top of which whether there were any other figures or pieces of architecture I could not diſtinguiſh. The ſize of theſe monſters was proportionate to their baſe, which was twenty-eight of my feet, and the diſtance from each other leſs than the length of that baſe. Behind theſe were four ſtraight columns oppoſite to each other, of ſimilar proportions and at equal diſtance, two by two, the ſame as the monſters; two of which remain ſtanding, and two proſtrate on the ground. Beyond theſe columns are two other monſters ſimilarly diſpoſed to the former, but with a varying aſpect, their looks being directed to the mountain and their backs towards the columns, encloſed as it were by the four monſters; whence one may readily conjecture, that this was the ſite of the building ſupported by theſe four monſters, two at each extremity, and the four columns in the middle. Nevertheleſs there is no mark of there having ever been any ſtory above, or even any covering. The ſquare or expanſe in midſt of which theſe monſters are placed is very extenſive, and terminates with the mountain, ſo that as it could ſpread no farther towards the eaſt, the remainder of the building ſtretches towards the ſouth in manner following: From the middle of this large place going to the ſouth, I diſcovered on the left a large ſquare reſervoir of marble even with the floor, which poſſibly ſerved to hold water to waſh with, each ſide of it was about twenty-four feet long, two palms in thickneſs, and ſeven feet in depth. Farther on, I came to another double ſtaircaſe, likewiſe of marble, by which you aſcended from eaſt to weſt, and from weſt to eaſt, each of them of thirty-one ſteps, not quite ſo large but little ſmaller than the firſt. This double ſtaircaſe is in the middle of the front of an interior apartment of greater extent than the ſtaircaſe, ſo that there is a conſiderable vacancy beyond at the foot of the ſtairs along the wall, which ſerves for their ſupport. In this ſpace, which by a diviſion is ſeparated into two rows, one above the other, on both ſides are ſeveral figures in proceſſion, all of them having their faces directed towards the ſtairs, as if about to aſcend and enter the houſe. Before the double ſtaircaſe, in a large ſpace, which ſeems a frontiſpiece worked between the two ſtaircaſes, were other figures in relief, of much greater ſize, confuſedly grouped together without diviſion. Time, which ſpares nothing, had levelled with the ground, and prevented all reſearch into what they could have been. I was alſo at loſs to comprehend what was repreſented by the proceſſion of the other figures, but conceived them meant to pourtray the pomp of a ſacrifice, (particularly ſhould this ſuperb edifice, as I conjecture, have been a temple,) the ſuite of a triumph, or a King deſirous of ſhewing himſelf with magnificence, as Xenophon deſcribes Cyrus to have done at his departure, or poſſibly the order and pageantry uſed in making preſents, as mentioned by Elian to have been anciently the practice, and as is the cuſtom now. Whichſoever it may be, the figures are ranged in this manner at the two extremities of this front. That towards the eaſt, as well as that to the weſtward, is the figure of

of a large lion tearing to pieces another great animal, which on one ſide is a unicorn, and on the other a wild goat, if my memory ſerve me truly. Near the lion is a long inſcription, which fills the whole ſpace of the wall from the greateſt height of theſe figures to the bottom; as, however, the characters are utterly unknown, no one has been able to tell the language in which they were written. All that I can ſay, is, that they are of prodigious ſize, not joined together to form a word, but ſeparate like the Hebrew characters, and farther apart, which makes me conceive that each character is a diſtinct word. I have copied from among them, five of thoſe which moſt frequently occur in the beſt manner I was able. As, however, the lines were completely filled, I was unable to aſcertain whether they were written from right to left after the eaſtern manner, or the contrary as we are wont. The five characters which I copied are thus formed.

The ſecond is compoſed of four figures of ſimilar ſhape, wedge formed or pyramidal, three of them perpendicular with the point downwards, and the fourth beneath them horizontal: I am induced to believe they were read from left to right, after our manner from the baſe being at the left, the point towards the right, and the point always being downwards; the ſame appears in the fourth character, compoſed of a ſingle pyramidal figure ſloping from left to right, and likewiſe in the ſmall wedge-like figure in the middle of the third character. If it be objected that the pyramidal figure may begin from the point and not the baſe, in anſwer it may be aſſumed, that if ſo, the point ſhould begin at the top, and not the baſe as is the caſe in every inſtance; ſince in all characters their beginning, the head, is univerſally from the upper and not the lower part. Theſe, however, are merely conjectures of mine, which poſſibly may be wrong. I have further remarked, that all theſe characters are compoſed of the ſame wedge-like figures, and angular ones of a much ſmaller ſize, and that the number and poſition of theſe alone conſtitute the diverſity of the letters. After this inſcription the perverſion of the ſmall figures in relievo ſucceeds, ſome of which repreſent men of low condition, being meanly clad with long pantaloons like thoſe worn on the ſtage, and their ſmall caſſock fitting cloſe to the waiſt, where it is faſtened by a band, and hanging in folds and increaſing in width below to the middle of the thigh, forming altogether a dreſs which cloſely reſembles that of the inhabitants of the province of Mazanderan of the preſent day, as well as that of the people who inhabit the ſea coaſt. The coſtume of theſe portraits however differs from the dreſs of the preſent day in this reſpect: the figures have long hair and beards, and in lieu of a turban the head is encircled by a narrow band almoſt reſembling the ancient crowns worn by the Emperor of Rome. Theſe men alſo carry a large ſtaff ſomewhat reſembling a half pike, which is not borne on the ſhoulders, but upright, the point upwards. In the other hand they hold various other things; ſome, inſtruments of muſic, round and compoſed of two circles, almoſt reſembling the bracelets of our women; others baſkets of fruit, meat and round balls; ſome, again, are leading two lambs or ſheep with crooked horns, and others a camel, an aſs, a mule, a bull, a calf, or a horſe. The leading ſuch animals makes me conjecture the proceſſion repreſents that preparatory to a ſacrifice; as moſt of them are of thoſe formerly ſlain as victims by various nations at the altar, and the horſe in particular by the Perſians to the ſun, as related by Xenophon and many other authors; and, if the proceſſion of a ſacrifice, we may fairly conclude that the edifice was a temple. As I examined the reſt of the proceſſion, I noticed ſome who carried certain hammers in their hand, and others ſomewhat ſuſpended to their ſaſh, which terminated in a point behind and before in form of a triangle, except that the lines were ſpherical and not ſtraight. This I apprehend is to repreſent the ſkin of ſome animal for holding water, although the

ſhape of it vary from thoſe uſed in Europe now. Others, again, carried large ſhields which covered the whole of their body, while ſome accompanied on foot carriages with two wheels drawn by a ſingle horſe. Both Xenophon and Quintus Curtius make mention of theſe carriages conſecrated to Jupiter and the ſun, and relate that Cyrus as well as Darius had ſuch led before them when they travelled in the country. Among theſe figures are ſome few which appear to be of ſuperior condition to the reſt, who, otherwiſe dreſt in the ſame manner, have a kind of a hood narrowing to a point as low as the middle of the back, and thence deſcending to the ground; while others wear a ſmall pointed cap plaited round; but the moſt remarkable and diſtinguiſhed among them have robes which reach to the feet, the lower part of which is in folds, and a jacket which covers the upper part has ſleeves down to the middle of the hand; they have moreover a collar round the neck, thus ſanctioning the teſtimony of Agathias, who ſtates ſuch to have been worn in his time by principal perſonages among the Medes and Perſians. At the girdle they wear a dagger, ſimilar to the cuſtom of the Arabs even now, the blade of which is broad and curved like a ſcythe, the handle cloſe to the breaſt. This weapon is undoubtedly the Acinax of the Perſians noticed by Horace, and ſome of our ancient authors. Beſides this, they have a ſtaff in their hand, leſs as a ſupport to their age apparently than a mark of authority, ſimilar to that borne by the field marſhals. One of their number marches before the whole band and leads on with the left hand the firſt of thoſe who follow him with their pointed caps and hoods. Of theſe who ſeem the moſt diſtinguiſhed and walk firſt towards the top of the ſtair-caſe, leading on the whole proceſſion, in addition to the dreſs I have deſcribed them to wear, ſome have a round cap larger at top than at bottom, and much reſembling that of a Roman ſenator, except that it has no rim, being fluted and plaited equally all the way round to the middle, where the plaits are joined to a button ſomewhat prominent at the top. Beſides the pike which they carry in the hand, they have a bow over their ſhoulder, through which the arm paſſes, with a quiver full of arrows hanging at their back. The dreſſes of ſome have large ſleeves flounced after the manner of the ſhirts of the Arabs. Between the figures which form the proceſſion ſeveral cypreſs trees appear at intervals, which only ſerve as an ornament, and are of no better execution than the perſonages or the animals. The value indeed of this work conſiſts in the antiquity of the dreſſes being correctly repreſented, and the magnificence of the ſtone of which the building is conſtructed, rather than in the brilliancy of the execution, which is not by the hand of a maſter.

Aſcending this ſecond ſtair-caſe, and fronting the ſouth, I came on a large floor, at the entrance of which is a vacant ſpace which reaches from one extremity of the building to the other, from eaſt to weſt, between apparently a portico or ſhort ſtreet of columns, of ſuch prodigious dimenſions that one could ſcarcely be claſped by three perſons. The chief of theſe are proſtrate, no more than five and twenty ſtanding on their baſes, the number of them being much diminiſhed ſince the name of Chehil minar or forty pillars was given to this ſuperb edifice, that number preſumptively ſtanding at the time it was given. Time, that great deſtroyer, has ſince then levelled fifteen, the baſes of which are yet to be diſcerned, and is daily undermining thoſe which remain. The plan of them is as follows. In the firſt place, at the entrance of this large porch, are two rows of columns which fill the whole breadth of the front of the edifice from eaſt to weſt. A little beyond, towards the ſouth, is another empty ſpace capable of having contained two other rows of columns, at proportionate diſtance from each other. The middle contains ſix rows of columns running from north to ſouth, and two of the whole breadth placed from eaſt to weſt, with two others oppoſite to them which extend

eaſtward to the mountain on the left, ſo that the ſix rows in the middle are encloſed on four ſides; the diſtance from one column to the other is twenty-ſix feet. They are not all of ſimilar dimenſions or elevation, ſome being higher than the others, which makes me conceive that they did not ſerve as ſupport to a roof, particularly as there is not the ſlighteſt veſtige on the floor of any having fallen in. I conclude, therefore, as it appears to have had no roof, that this edifice cannot reaſonably be imagined to have been a royal palace. Beyond theſe columns towards the ſouth you come to a large place fifty paces in length, where are two apartments, the one on the right hand fronting the plain, the other on the left towards the mountain. In the entrance of that on the right is a ſmall marble court: neither of them properly ſpeaking are chambers, but ſquare open apartments without any roof and encloſed not by walls but door and window frames of marble, ſo diſpoſed that each face of the ſquare has a large door in the middle, and one ſmaller on each ſide of it, or a ſmall door in the middle with a large one on each ſide, beſides other openings ſimilar to our trellis work and Venetian blinds. The plan of theſe ſmall ſquare places, full of doors and windows, lead one to imagine that they were formerly rooms, particularly as thoſe of the Perſians are conſtructed after the ſame manner even at preſent; but the want of any dome or roof, or the trace of ſuch having ever exiſted, makes me incline to think otherwiſe; neither can I conceive it to have been a burial-place, as there is no tomb viſible nor any ſign of interment. May it not, therefore, have been a temple in which prayers and ſacrifices were offered to the Gods under the canopy of heaven alone, as was uſual among many ancient nations, and is ſtill common with Mahometans. In the interval between one of theſe grand portals, in the middle of the front and the ſmall ones on the ſide, is the figure of a perſon of diſtinction in a dreſs which reaches to the ground, the robe being plaited from the waiſt downwards, and the ſleeve large and flounced. He holds a ſtaff in his right hand either as a ſupport or a ſymbol of authority, and wears in his head one of thoſe round caps, flat on the top, which I have before deſcribed, but without the ball above; his hair and beard are long, and his poſture denotes his intention of entering, his eyes and face being turned towards the ſouth. Behind him is a ſervant, bare-headed, and his hair faſtened by a band; in one hand he holds a large umbrella over the head of his maſter, and in the other a ſtick curved at the end like the crozier of our biſhops, which he carries upright under the umbrella behind the head: if the firſt figure be that of a King, this may repreſent a ſceptre, or ſome mark of diſtinction, if it be a prieſt; one of which I doubt not it is. In the other great portals, on the ſides fronting the riſing and ſetting ſun, are repreſentations of men wreſtling, or fighting with lions, dreſt in their long plaited robes like the other figures I have deſcribed. At the back of this ſquare incloſure, in another open ſpace, which is paved, and ſeems to have been a ſmall court, are two large pillars erect, with inſcriptions on them, the characters of which I was unable to decypher on account of their height from the ground. Beyond this court, I came to another, much larger, but of ſimilar architecture, in a large vacant ſpace built upon on the oppoſite and not on the ſame ſide with the edifice, where was a figure of a man of quality with his umbrella exquiſitely well repreſented, on one of the ſupports of the great gate in the middle, the poſture of whoſe body varied from the direction of the ſight, that is to ſay, while looking towards the north, as if going to the inſide, his body fronted the ſouth as if about to go out, whence it ſhould ſeem that this was the moſt interior part of the building. Proceeding from this encloſure continually towards the ſouth, I came to another place ornamented with ſix rows of columns grouped in a ſquare, in the midſt of which, under ground, that is to ſay, under a pavement of large ſtones, I diſcovered a conduit of water. Each of

theſe columns was about four feet in diameter, and four breadths diſtant from its next, with the appearance of a former portico or large wall of ſtone, with windows all around them; this was the extremity of the edifice towards the ſouth: beyond, nothing is viſible but pieces of maſonry and immenſe foundations which juſt appear above the ſurface. I had forgot to mention, that at the firſt entrance of the ſecond hall, which ſucceeds the ſecond ſtair-caſe towards the eaſt, diſtant from the foot of the mountain, and correſponding to the firſt columns, there is another ſquare encloſure of the ſame form as the reſt. It is entirely away from the building, and was originally contrived in all probability merely to fill up the void between it and the mountain.

We paſſed the whole of Thurſday, 14th October, under our tents and about the ruins of Chehil minar, whence I rode about a league on horſeback towards the north to ſee ſome ancient figures at the bottom of the mountains which ſurround the plain, called by the inhabitants Nakſhi Roſtan (the pictures of Roſtan), conceiving them to be repreſentations of Roſtan and ſome of his memorable actions. This Roſtan is an ancient, here highly celebrated by the Perſians for his proweſs and gallantry, who lived, as they ſay, under the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyſes, and the various regiments; and individuals who pride themſelves upon being called after his name ſufficiently teſtify that what is related of him is not wholly fabulous. Paſſing therefore through a town called Mehrchouſcon, the neareſt to the Chehil minar, at a league beyond it, I arrived at the ſpot. Here at the bottom of the mountain I ſaw a large ſquare cut in a rock of hardeſt ſtone. In this pannel were various figures cut in relievo of gigantic ſtature: one repreſented a Knight on horſeback dreſt in long folded robes, his head covered with a cap ſimilar to that I had noticed at the Chehil minar on the image of a perſon of diſtinction, who held in his left hand a club ſuch as that given in our portraits of Hercules, and in the right a ring, which another Knight, dreſt nearly like the firſt, is endeavouring to wrench from him. The only differerence between the dreſs of the two Knights conſiſts in the latter having nothing on his head, and his hair hanging down of ſome length; the horſes of both are cloſe together. In another place, a Knight on horſeback, dreſt like the firſt, has his left hand placed on the guard of his ſword, which is not curved like thoſe of the Orientals of the preſent day, but ſtraight and pointed like ours, while with the right ſomewhat raiſed and extended, he holds that of a man on foot, ſtanding upright before him. Behind this perſon is another, his head bare, who kneels before the horſe of the Knight. In another part, again, I ſaw certain matrons and young ladies of whom the inhabitants relate a number of fables, pointing out one as the miſtreſs of the valiant Roſtan. There are alſo many ſepulchres cut in different places in the rock. Aſſuredly no method more certain could be uſed to perpetuate the memory of an individual than by means of theſe figures, which, cut in the live rock, and ſecured againſt the injuries of time and the violence of man, bid fare to endure as long as the mountain itſelf. Diodorus relates that Semiramis, after cutting a perpendicular front in a rock near the ſpot, where ſhe cauſed her immenſe garden to be planted in Media in order to commemorate in perpetuity the execution of this work, cauſed her likeneſs with thoſe of her guards to be cut in it. Near the relievos I have deſcribed, I ſaw in different parts certain works which bore evident marks of being ſome ancient places of ſepulture. In the firſt place, two pedeſtals, ſquare, with the angles ſomewhat ornamented, and a hole in the upper ſurface to preſerve the aſhes of the dead, if the Perſians were wont to burn corpſes; of which, however, I do not remember ever to have read. Theſe two pedeſtals, which are but a little apart from each other, are not detached from the rock, but have been roughly chiefſlled out of it. On another

ſide of the mountain, which is more perpendicular, even, and ſtraight, looking like a wall, I perceived above ſeveral openings reſembling windows, ſome larger than others, and capable of holding a man. I cannot conceive what purpoſe theſe can have ſerved, unleſs as receptacles for the dead, according to Diodorus, who ſays, that the ancient Kings of Perſia were buried in grottoes cut in the top of mountains, in which they were not depoſited by hands but by means of machines. Finally, in different places on the ſlope of mountains, I ſaw repreſentations cut on a perpendicular and very even front, and framed about by the ſtone of the front, of a houſe with a door in the middle, and ſeveral columns on each ſide ſupporting the architrave, frize, cornice and frontiſpiece, according to all the rates of architecture and figures cut in the frontiſpiece, which, however, from their being ſo very much above me, I could not minutely diſtinguiſh. The ſubject, however, appeared to be a man leaning on a bow, one of the extremities of which was in his hand, and the other on the ground, with his eyes directed towards an altar, as if he was either about to offer up a ſacrifice or conſult an oracle. Above theſe figures, thoſe whoſe ſight was better than mine, told me they perceived among the reſt a figure which appeared to them to be meant for the devil. This might poſſibly be, and the perſonage be Jemſhid, or as ſome call him, on account of his beauty, Choſhid, which in the ancient language of Perſia means the ſun, who reigned in Perſia, a long time before Cyrus the Great, and who is ſtill held in remembrance for having been a famous magician, having had power over malignant ſpirits, on which account the Perſians likewiſe call him Diubend or the devil's link. The Perſian hiſtorians relate that this Prince cauſed a number of ſtatues or effigies of himſelf to be made and diſtributed all over the kingdom, with expreſs command for his ſubjects to adore them. I ſhould readily conceive that this might be Nebuchadnezzar, whoſe dominion might poſſibly have extended to ſome parts of Perſia, were it not that Jemſhid is of greater antiquity than either the Nebuchadnezzars, Daniel, Judith, or even Shalmanaſar. The gates cut in the repreſentation are ſhort at the top, are formed of the ſame live rock with the reſt, and are about a third part open at the bottom, wide enough to allow of entrance, by ſtooping, to the interior, which is empty. And, as there are two ſimilar repreſentations of like architecture in the mountains of Chehil-minar, into one of which admiſſion is eaſy on account of the aſcent up the rock not being ſo ſharp nor equally perpendicular, I entered it the evening before I viſited the ruins. The account given by Diodorus of the ſepulchres of the Kings, I found exactly correſpond with my obſervations; theſe are, as he deſcribes them, cut in the body of the mountain, of a ſquare figure, higher than the ſtature of a man, and with three large niches. In the middle of this grotto I ſaw a long ſtone lying on the ground ſealed acroſs the middle, which poſſibly might be the place of the tomb, if the niches were not. In theſe, I ſaw other large ſtones badly poliſhed, the uſe of which I was unable to conjecture. Theſe niches are much deeper than the reſt of the cavern; and the channel that I ſaw on the outſide cut in the rock, which ſeems to be a conduit for water, made me judge that they might be reſervoirs, yet of what utility could water be in ſuch places? I ſaw likewiſe under the mountains a large ſquare chamber, ſomewhat elevated in form of a tower built of marble, and encloſed on all ſides with only one door at the top, in an almoſt inacceſſible ſpot, which I conjectured, was alſo a ſepulchre. Theſe buildings, cut in the rock, and erected at the foot of the mountains, make me imagine, firſt, that the city filled the whole of the plain, and ſecondly, that its inhabitants did not poſſeſs the ingenuity requiſite for tranſporting large ſtones to any diſtance, as the moſt ſuperb buildings and moſt excellent ſculpture are either on the mountain itſelf or at his foot; unleſs

unleſs, indeed, the planners were actuated by a deſire particularly with reſpect to the figures of making them laſt for ever, and preſerve them in better condition than by any other means could be done.

After two days' examination of and reflection on the curioſities I have deſcribed, on Thurſday three hours after ſunſet we left Chehil-minar after ſupper, and proceeded towards the city of Shiraz, the capital of the province of Farſiſtan, and the chief reſidence of the governor Imanculi Khan. By the neareſt road Shiraz is ten leagues diſtant, but on account of a bridge being broken down which laid on our way, we were obliged to go two leagues about to croſs the Kur, by another bridge, Culla Bend Emir, two leagues from Chehil-minar. We travelled all night long, wandering about on each ſide, on account of the abſence of the moon, and the whole of theſe plains, which are ſowed with rice and other grain, being watered and interſected by a number of ſmall rivulets, of which we had to ſeek the fords: at length, on Friday morning, a little before day, we paſſed the bridge of Bend Emir. After croſſing the river, we rounded a mountain which we kept on our left for ſome time, and deſcending a pretty deep valley, at length arrived at a village called Zercon, only ſix leagues diſtant from Chehil-minar, although by our wandering we had journeyed much more. Here we reſted in a houſe, the maſter of which afforded us great accommodation. At the ſecond or third hour of the night we mounted our horſes anew, and rode onward till ſunriſe, by which time we reached the gardens of Shiraz, on Saturday, 6th of October. Shiraz is ſituated in a ſmall plain, entirely ſurrounded by hills. On entering it by a narrow paſs between the mountains, we rode beneath a large arch ornamented on the ſides by different figures of lions and other animals, and having a number of inſcriptions by various hands. This arch goes over the whole road and joins one mountain to the other. It has, in conſequence, obtained the name of Tenghel Ekbar, or the paſs of the Moſt High. On leaving this paſs, we entered upon a long, broad, and ſpacious cauſeway, adorned by gardens on each ſide, and embelliſhed by a number of buildings, which form the chief ornament of Shiraz. We were much delighted with the proſpect about us, but our pleaſure was increaſed on reaching, midway to the city, the margin of a large canal eighty-three paces in length, by fifty in breadth, the water in which was level with the ſurface of the ground. The canal was divided by the road, which here has walls on each ſide of it, with arches on them, allowing a view of the water. Hence we continued our way as ſtraight as a line to the city. A little beyond the canal we perceived a ſmall and ancient moſque, ſomewhat away from the road on the left, called from a perſon who filled that office, by whom it was built and who was buried there, the moſque of the Calanter. Near this place is the muſſelè, or place where public prayers are read, on a ſtream of clear water, which runs from the canal, and which is covered and ſhaded by large green leafy trees, whoſe agreeable ſituation induced us to unload our baggage here and reſt ourſelves till we could hire a houſe in the city to ſuit us. This having effected, we entered the city by the handſome cauſeway, paſſing through the middle of the meidan, or public ſquare, which is rather without the walls, and is a favourite place of reſort for the gay, as well as over an elegant ſtone bridge, not over a river but a ravine through which, in the winter, or after rain, the water flows, which ruſhes in torrents from the neighbouring mountain. After paſſing the gates, we came to a long ſtraight ſtreet, at the end of which we found a large bazar or market, vaulted over according to the cuſtom of the country, furniſhed with ſhops all round, and on one ſide of it we took up our abode, in a houſe that had been got ready for us belonging to one Huſſein

Bey, a native of Bagdat, but who, from infancy, had lived in Perſia, where he had a wife and children.

We had no intention of making any long ſtay in this city, but ſimply to reſt here awhile. Wherefore, we had ſcarcely arrived ere we began ſeeking for new muleteers to take us forward, as thoſe which had brought us to Shiraz were engaged to go no farther. While, therefore, our baggage was loading, I employed myſelf in examining every thing remarkable.

This city is large, and one of the beſt and moſt populous in the empire. It is not, however, of any great antiquity, as is eaſily perceived by the inſcriptions about it, its architecture, and other indices, which plainly ſhew it to be a work of the Mahometans, who are incurious architects. In ſhort, it contains within its walls nothing that is elegant, nor can boaſt of any thing whatſoever that is extraordinary. Its ſtreets for the moſt part are narrow, crooked, badly paved, the houſes badly built. The palace of the khan is not far diſtant from the houſe where we were lodged, and fronting a large ſquare. It is incloſed by walls, with vaulted galleries around, which have a good effect. Oppoſite to the gate of the caſtle, at the entrance of this large ſquare, is a ſmall houſe, whence every evening muſic is given as in Hiſpahan, and whither the officers belonging to the Khan repair to pay their court according to the general cuſtom of the Perſians. In another neighbouring ſquare is a public college for education, newly built, called Medriſſè, the handſomeſt and moſt flouriſhing of any in the kingdom. This new ſtructure is erected on the ſpot where criminals formerly were executed, and in a ſmall vacancy in front of it mountebanks erect their ſtages to divert the people. There is another ſquare, the moſt ſpacious of any in Hiſpahan, called the bazar or horſe-market, in which is a royal palace and a large garden, and this undoubtedly is the moſt elegant and ſuperb houſe in the city, where the Engliſh dwell, ſome of them being conſtantly here for the regulation of their affairs. Near the palace of the Khan, below the ſmall houſe, whence muſic is given to the public, is another covered market, the beſt fancied and moſt handſomely built of any in the city. Of all the numerous moſques, I ſaw but one deſerving notice, lately built by one Aga-riza, a rich Mahometan from India, who carried on an immenſe trade in Perſia, particularly with Shiraz. Finally, the laſt thing which I ſaw deſerving notice was an animal (a hyæna), called by the Perſians caſtar, as ſtrong as a large maſtiff, but which had not grown to its full ſize. It was of the colour, form, and appearance of a tiger, but had the muzzle of a hog. I am told that it will eat human fleſh, and to obtain it makes its way to the tombs it finds in the country, for the carcaſes they contain.

Having nothing more to write of to you reſpecting Shiraz, I ſhall finiſh this with an account of my affairs and family, premiſing that all of us enjoy good health, and that our travels have hitherto been pleaſant. For myſelf I have recovered my ſtrength and appetite to ſuch a degree, that I can occaſionally eat a large fowl for my breakfaſt. The little time we ſtayed in this city did not allow us to make any acquaintance. One Armenian Chriſtian alone, out of reſpect to the maſter of our houſe, came to viſit us, and ſhewed us great civility. To-morrow we mean to depart. With my moſt humble ſervice which I proffer to yourſelf, I beg you to preſent my beſt reſpects to all our friends at Naples.

LETTER

## LETTER XVI.

*From the Gardens of Shiraz, 27th July* 1622.

IF I have ſuffered nine months to elapſe without writing to you, attribute it not to fault in me or forgetfulneſs, — no, your image is too deeply engraven on my mind to allow of time effacing it: I have met with a misfortune, weighed againſt which, every other calamity were light; — I have loſt my dear wife, Madame Maani, whoſe life was my only bleſſing, whoſe death makes life a burthen. You will moſt likely have heard of my loſs by means of the Carmelites, who, no doubt, will have communicated the event to Rome. I am ready to imagine that your commiſeration will have been deeply excited, and that although you know her but by her fair report, you will much have lamented the premature death of ſuch a perſon, and in whoſe eſteem you held ſo high a place. However, it is paſt; it was the will of God, and ſhe, I hope, in heaven, reaps the harveſt of her worth: for me, in this vale of miſery, deprived of my dear partner, I wander about a wretched inſtance of human calamity. I have travelled about a great deal, in great meaſure without other object than to ſeek a remedy for the wound I have received.

On the 22d October, laſt year, all of us being in perfect health, we left the city of Shiraz by the ſame gate at which we entered, with deſign of taking the road to Ormuz; and in order to prepare for our departure with leſs embarraſſment, we pitched our tents near the moſque of the Calanter, on the banks of the canal, where I am at preſent. We hired for our journey ſome excellent camels, as well for the tranſport of our luggage as to carry our litters; and on Sunday, the 24th of October, every thing being ready, as night began we quitted our ſtation, and turning our backs on Shiraz, proceeded towards our deſtination nearly in a ſouthern direction. After travelling three leagues, we paſſed a bridge over a ravine, through which flew occaſionally the torrents which guſh from the mountains, but which when we paſſed was dry. A little beyond the bridge is a caravanſerai, which, although entire, is without inhabitants, as well as a ruinated caſtle in the neighbourhood, owing to the want of water. Here the road divides; that on the right hand, which is the moſt frequented, leading to Lar, the moſt eaſtern and leaſt beaten going to Paſſa, which is that we took, it being a leſs dangerous road to travel in time of war. As, however, there was no place where we could lodge except at a conſiderable diſtance, we unloaded our camels in a handſome plain out of the high road, where we ſtopped the remainder of the night, and almoſt all the following day, which was the ſecond of our journey. Two hours before night-fall we departed hence, and continued travelling till day-break between two long mountains and two ſloping hills; beyond them, near the foot of one of which on the right, the road runs; the other being at ſome diſtance on the left, in a large plain almoſt entirely white and covered with ſalt. At length, after journeying four leagues, we arrived at a place called Jiganli, where, on the banks of a rivulet of good water, we ſaw a few houſes, inhabited by Turkmans, and a race of people called Behi, who, by means of the water of this ſtream, fertilize their fields and cultivate cotton. We left Jiganli two hours before ſunſet on Tueſday, and travelling ſix leagues during the night, halted at a large town called Selviſtan, or the cypreſs plantation, on account of the number of theſe trees growing there, which, however, was formerly much greater. Without the town is the tomb of a certain Sheik, Iſuf, held in veneration by the Mahometans, near which we pitched our tents. This town of Selviſtan, and ſeveral others around, notwithſtanding they be incloſed by the territories under the government of Imanculi Khan,

Khan, of Shiraz, are not dependent on him, but on Nadir Khan, who holds them directly from the King. About an hour before the fall of night we continued our way, travelling over very pleaſant hillocks covered with thoſe ſmall trees called chaclacuchi by the Perſians, and others of various kinds. Behind us we left a caravanſerai at which caravans are wont to reſt, when, ſolicitous of getting forward, journeying altogether five leagues and a half, and halting two hours before ſunriſe, repoſing with our beaſts under a large tree of chaclacuchi, in an open country incloſed by mountains, without any covering but the ſky. We remained the whole of Thurſday under this chaclacuchi, which was a male tree that did not produce fruit, but only large grains reſembling thoſe of the laurel, which grow, five or ſix in a groupe, on the edges of its leaves, vaulted, and curved like a bow; and in theſe grains ſmall flies are engendered. In other reſpects, theſe chaclacuchi reſemble the female trees, of which I have previouſly given you a deſcription. Here I muſt obſerve, that there prevails univerſally in Perſia a practice of diſtinguiſhing a difference of ſex not only in trees and plants, as is the caſe in ſome inſtances with us, but alſo in every thing elſe, as well natural, ſuch as vegetables, meat, fruit, and the like, as artificial, ſuch as flax, ſilk, cotton, and even in the elements, as in water and air; calling male, as related by Seneca to have been uſual with the Egyptians, that of its kind which is the ſtrongeſt and moſt robuſt, and that on the contrary the moſt tender and delicate, the female; thus, according to their philoſophy and obſervations, which are far from bad, they judge to what uſe each ſex is adapted. For example, female water is better for drinking and more ſalubrious than male, being more delicate, and particularly ſo for perſons of handſome complexion; of ſome animals, the fleſh of the male is ſuperior to that of the female for perſons of a ſtrong ſtomach, poſſeſſing more ſubſtance; and, on the contrary, that of the female for perſons of weak habit, being moſt eaſy of digeſtion. Male air is fitteſt for the breathing of men of robuſt make, female air for children, and thus of other things. This I have deemed a matter curious enough to make public.

Thurſday, two hours before night, we left our covert to travel in the dark, among hillocks covered with the ſame deſcription of trees laſt-mentioned, and, after ſix leagues, arrived on the territory of the great Paſſa. Here we arrived at two o'clock in the morning, and trod upon the remains of the ancient Paſſagarda, which, according to Pliny and Quintus Curtius, was the place of ſepulture of Cyrus the Great. On coming to this ſpot, on one ſide is an old cypreſs tree, the handſomeſt and largeſt I ever beheld, whoſe trunk alone, which ſpreads into various large branches, is of ſuch prodigious ſize that five men together cannot claſp it, and whoſe branches ſpread from their trunk at leaſt five-and-twenty of my feet. Its height is proprotionate to its ſize, although it does not terminate in a point like the generality of cypreſſes. Its dimenſion is a proof of its antiquity, and the cauſe of the reverence ſhewn it by the Mahometans. From a ſmall ſtem of one of its branches runs a certain fluid, which is a kind of gum that the Perſians, particularly the ignorant among them, look upon as miraculous blood, ſeeing it exudes on every Friday, which with them is a holy and ſacred day. And in a large hole in the middle of the trunk, capable of containing two perſons, they are accuſtomed to light candles as in an auguſt and venerable place, according to their uſage of holding large and ancient trees in eſteem, deeming them the retreat of the ſouls of the bleſt. On this account they call them pir, which ſignifies an old man in Perſian, and in Arabic ſheik or iman. This veneration of the Mahometans for large and ancient trees is, no doubt, a remnant of Paganiſm, as ſuch were in high eſtimation among the Gentiles.

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On the following day, upon advancing farther into the territory of Paſſagarda, I diſtinguiſhed little remarkable but palm trees, which are not found in the other provinces of Perſia. I ſaw, moreover, a great quantity of orange trees and double narciſſi, which elſewhere would be eſteemed a rarity in the month of October. We did not quit the territory of Paſſa till after the firſt hour of the night, and on leaving it came to two roads, one of them leading to Lar, which we left on the right, the other, which we took, towards the eaſt. This being leſs frequented, we wandered from, regaining it with difficulty after a five leagues' ride, when we reached a town by day-light, called commonly by the people of the neighbourhood Timariſtan or, for abbreviation's ſake, Temiſtan; a little below which place we unloaded our baggage, as well to eaſe our animals as reſt ourſelves. Here our wheat bread became ſcarce, the inhabitants of the towns towards the ſea uſing none but barley; adviſed of which, we had laid in a ſtock ſufficient to laſt us at leaſt for ſeveral days. Night beginning to diffuſe its cool occaſioned us to leave Temiſtan, to travel by rugged deſcents, which gave us a great deal of trouble, till more than three hours after ſun-riſe the next day, which was Sunday the 31ſt of October. In the night we had travelled eight leagues, and diſmounted at a town, conſiſting of about thirty houſes or huts, built in the midſt of a large plantation of palm and date trees, and called Zizevan. An hour after ſun-ſet we continued our journey for five leagues in the dark, paſſing through ſeveral hamlets with much inconvenience, on account of the rivulets full of water which croſſed the road, without any bridges over them, and which our camels found great difficulty in fording. Paſſing through theſe hamlets we left behind us the city of Darabghierd, which ſtill retains the name of Darius, who is the founder, and which is the chief reſidence of Shemſeddin Khan, who is governor of ſeveral towns in the neighbourhood, which he holds direct of the King, as well as his command over a number of ſoldiers. He is called a cazaque. On Monday the 1ſt of November we halted at noon under ſome date trees, at the entrance of a large town called Dekair (that is to ſay, good town), the houſes of which are not joined to each other, but ſeparated by intervals, being mixed in a wood of palm trees, the fruit of which, with barley bread, ſerves as food for the inhabitants. In the evening a large company of ladies from the town, who had been into the country, according to the cuſtom of the Mahometans, to pray at the tombs of their anceſtors, came to our tents, where accidentally I was alone, entering them with great familiarity and without invitation, with their veils up and their face uncovered, which is very unuſual among the Mahometans, eating with avidity of my wheaten bread, which to them was a delicacy, and converſing with much freedom. We remained here till the following Tueſday, not leaving the place till an hour before night-fall, receiving in courſe of the day a ſecond viſit from theſe ladies, for whom Madame Maani ſerved up a collation which to them muſt have appeared both ample and ſuperb; after which we travelled three leagues through a deſert country, reaching by midnight the banks of a running ſtream, where we halted under an old wall in this vaſt ſolitude, called Moghokiel, and where at day-break I pitched my tents near a pond whence the rivulet flowed, and whither the cattle of the neighbourhood reſort to drink. This place we left an hour and a half before ſun-ſet, and after journeying three leagues reſted at midnight under large giz trees, about which were a quantity of myrtles and running water, half a league before the ſepulchre of their Imanzade, a little beyond. On Thurſday, in the evening, we left this place, and travelled through a paſs between low but very ſteep mountains, like walls on each ſide; at the entrance of which is a ruinated caſtle, built for its defence at a time when the country was not under the domination of Perſia, but that of a particular Prince, Khan of Lar, at whoſe deceaſe the Sovereign of Perſia made himſelf maſter

of his dominions, and deſtroyed the fortifications which guarded the paſs. On Friday by day-break, after having journeyed five leagues, we reached a large town of two thouſand houſes, badly conſtructed, and confuſedly built among palm trees called purg, but written furg, where we diſmounted, and unloaded our camels in a convenient ſpot at a diſtance from the buildings. We reſumed our journey an hour before ſun-ſet, and after two leagues riding, being apprehenſive of having miſſed our road, and fearful of loſing ourſelves in theſe deſerts, we waited till the moon or day ſhould light us on our way. It wanted but an hour to dawn when we recommenced our journey, at firſt by favour of the moon and afterwards the ſun, travelling for five leagues through difficult paſſes, keeping the mountains on the left, which we had occaſionally to aſcend and at others to go down. In the morning we found ourſelves in a very narrow paſs; at length, towards evening, we reached a wood of palm trees in a valley at the foot of the mountains, in front of a town called Taſcut or Taſcivit. The moon riſing about midnight, we continued our courſe for five leagues by a very even road, keeping almoſt always on our left this long chain of mountains, and another at a greater diſtance on our right, till we arrived at a ſmall village of ten or a dozen houſes, near which we halted about noon in a ſmall wood of palm trees, to take repoſe under a large tree of a ſpecies I had not ſeen before, called by the Arabs, nebe, by the Perſians, konar. It yields a ſmall fruit with a kernel, reſembling our cherries but ripening ſooner, of a yellowiſh colour inclining to red, and of no unpleaſant taſte. It poſſeſſes, moreover, this property, that its leaves, reduced to powder and ſoaked in water, produce a lather, and ſerve inſtead of ſoap, and is the only thing uſed by the ladies of the country for waſhing their faces. We took with us a bag of it to ſhew in Italy, as it will keep any length of time. After minutely examining the fruit and leaves of the tree, I recollected that in a handſome and large vineyard belonging to my uncles, the Alberini, at Rome, there are two large trees by the ſide of a fountain, of the ſame ſpecies, which conſtantly preſerve their verdure, and are the only ones of their kind at Rome. The little village of Seid Geuder, where we took up our abode, is dependent on the large town of Tarom, called by ſome a city, on account of its being the chief of ſeveral neighbouring towns, although at preſent in a very ruinous ſtate. We did not chooſe, for reaſons that we had, to go thither ourſelves, but ſent our people for proviſions; who brought us back intelligence that the Portugueſe had put to death a great number of Kizilbaſhi, and ſet many places on fire belonging to the Perſians on the ſea ſhore. The inhabitants of Tarom did not appear to be very ſorry for this, on account of having been vaſſals and much attached to the deceaſed Prince of Lar, now ill treated by the Kizilbaſhi, and never well inclined to the King of Perſia or his empire. This rupture, which was the beginning of open war between the Perſians and Portugueſe, was not very agreeable to me on account of the obſtacles I foreſaw it would throw in the way of my travels. The whole country about Tarom, as well as its proper territory, is entirely covered with palm trees, under which, as well as through the remainder of the country, they ſow an abundance of cotton as well as other ſeed. As for wheaten flour, it is not to be met with, except in large towns, where it is eaten by the rich alone; the chief food of the inhabitants being dates, in which article they carry on a conſiderable trade. The chief part of the population is very poor and wretched. Here, for the firſt time, I noticed the ſhoes or rather ſandals worn by the people being made of woven palm leaves, of which the ſole is made tolerably thick, the upper part conſiſting only of two ſtrings interwoven with ſimilar leaves, which claſp the foot pretty tight, and join in the middle towards the point, which they paſs between the great toe, and thus keep the ſandal firm on the foot. Among the villages on the ſea ſide this ſort of ſandal is in general uſe. A pair of them I have bought

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to ſhew as a curioſity in Italy. I made, likewiſe, another obſervation, which was, that the dreſs of theſe villagers, except the hair of the head, which, as with all Mahometans, is ſhorn and covered with a ſmall turban or one of their little pointed caps, perfectly reſembles that of the figures of low condition which I had noticed at Chehil-minar.

To continue the courſe of our journey: as we arrived rather late on Sunday the 7th of November at our halting place, we did not leave Seid Geuder the next day, on account of the heat becoming ſo extreme, that notwithſtanding it was one of the coldeſt months of the year, for coolneſs ſake I ſtripped to my ſhirt, as I had been accuſtomed to do in Hiſpahan in the midſt of ſummer. The nights, indeed, were ſomewhat cool, and ſhewed us the difference of the ſeaſon. From this ſtage we did not ſet out till Monday at midnight, and in the interval ſent to Tarom for barley-meal and chopped ſtraw for our camels, which unlike thoſe of the Arabs require ſubſtantial food, and are not ſatisfied with graſs; we likewiſe furniſhed ourſelves with other proviſions which might be requiſite on our journey, with which we traverſed a large plain from one extremity to the other; and after paſſing a ſmall river which croſſes the road, the water of which is ſaltiſh, and which, on that account, has obtained the appellation of Abſhur, or ſalt water, we reached on the following Tueſday two or three hours before noon a ſmall hamlet of ten or twelve houſes, well ſhaded with trees, called Pelengon, that is to ſay, the panthers, poſſibly from thoſe animals being found in its neighbourhood. Beſides the giez, which I had frequently ſeen in other places, I remarked among thoſe trees a plant unknown to me, called by the natives charg. It is a ſhrub which grows to a great height, and from the root throws out around ſeveral ſmall branches, or rather ſucklers, covered with large thick oval leaves, cottony, and full of a kind of milk, as is the whole of the plant; which milk is of ſuch a malign nature, according to the relations of the people of the country, as to blind upon its being rubbed on the eyes. Its leaves grow in pairs, one oppoſite to the other, in ſuch quantity that the whole branch is covered with them to its tip, in ſquares, and pointing four different ways. At the extremity of theſe ſmall branches grows a handſome cluſter of flowers of a white colour, duſkyiſh without, and within of a reddiſh violet, reſembling the columbine. This ſhrub produces no fruit fit to eat; I am, however, inclined to believe it poſſeſſes medical virtues, as the people of the country apply the leaves with ſucceſs to bruiſes. They likewiſe eat a ſmall ſeed growing in the middle of the flower, and poſſeſſing the quality of the poppy, which they have been for ſome time accuſtomed to eat daily, in common with moſt of the Perſians, in ſuch quantity that it is ſurpriſing it ſhould not kill them, ſome eating as much opium as would equal a walnut in ſize. They are of opinion that it is good for their health, and relieves the ſpirits, making them forget all care; this it actually does, ſeeing it poſſeſſes a great ſtupifying quality. However, they are ſo greatly addicted to the uſe of it, that it cannot be diſpenſed with; it being to them the greateſt puniſhment to be obliged to abſtain from it a ſingle day. Thoſe who endeavour to break themſelves of the uſe of it, cannot do this but by taking in its ſtead an immoderate quantity of wine or other intoxicating liquors, and even then feel themſelves uneaſy without it. In the town of Gelengon, we found a rabdari, or keeper of the highroads. He was captain of a company whoſe rendezvous was at another place, two leagues beyond. He examined our baggage, but in the moſt obliging manner poſſible, not opening our trunks or packages, and was ſatisfied with a ſmall tax, which was his due, amounting to four abbaſſins, equal to four Roman teſtoons. For this ſmall tribute he not only let us paſs, but moreover ſent a man forward to eſcort us part of the way, and direct us on our road. In this you have an inſtance of the lightneſs of the taxes in Perſia; in recompence and for this trifling exaction, alſo, they are obliged to keep the way free from thieves, and, if any thing be loſt or

ſtolen, are obliged to make it good to the owner out of their own purſe. When we began our journey night had already ſet in two hours, and we had gone two leagues when we reached the office of the rabdari; when, as the moon was not yet riſen, and our road, which laid through the mountains, was difficult and unpleaſant, we halted at the entrance of this paſs, at a ſpot called Dertenghi-chebar-rud, or the narrow gate of the four rivers, on account of its being the paſſage in time of rains through which four torrents, which guſh from various parts of the mountains, diſcharge their waters. When we paſſed it was only a ſmall rivulet, which is never dry. This name of Derteng, or narrow gate, is common in Perſia to other ſimilar paſſages between mountains. One, among others, I ſaw on the confines of Perſia, on the great road from Bagdad, of the ſame name; the Perſians thus imitating the Latins, who, with the ſame meaning, give ſimilar names, ſuch as the Portæ Caſpiæ, Portæ Caucaſiæ, Portæ Ciliciœ, &c. When we entered this narrow paſs, in the bed of one of the torrents, we had two hours of daylight before us, and kept the river continually on our right till we arrived at a ſmall rivulet of ſalt water, which we found running by the ſide of the bed of the torrent between the mountains, and on its banks a number of plants with long narrow leaves, the fruit or ſeed of which grows in a pod of ſome length, almoſt like that of the caſſia, but not ſo thick. The people of the neighbourhood maintain that this plant is venomous; in Perſia it is called char zabrè, or aſſes' poiſon; poſſibly it is the ſame with the oleander, ſo common with us: as, however, I am a novice in botany, I cannot judge in this inſtance any more than in that of various other plants and ſhrubs which I ſaw without knowing what they were. At length, after travelling no more than two leagues, the ſun having nearly reached its meridian, we found the heat ſo exceſſive that it obliged us to halt on a ſpot where travellers are uſed to ſtop, under the ſhade of a large giez tree, called giez mir azard, on account of Mir Azard, a notorious robber, having been ſlain here. An hour before night-fall we continued our journey, travelling throughout the night by a bad road and difficult paſſes, ſtill among the mountains and in the bed of the torrent. On Thurſday by an hour after day, having journied four leagues, we reſted at the ſide of a pond banked in, which the people of the country keep as a reſervoir for the ſupply of the neighbourhood, as far as to a town pretty diſtant, called Guhnè, where I remarked another tree covered with thorns, which bears no fruit but only leaves, which are eaten by cattle; it is called by the inhabitants kahur. I took it for an acacia, ſuch as I had ſeen in Arabia Petrea, which yields the gum arabic, although when I ſaw that in Arabia its leaves were much ſmaller than thoſe of this tree. The Perſians are at no pains in collecting the gum of the kahur, poſſibly from their ignorance of its value. At night fall we recommenced our courſe, and after three or four leagues over an even and pleaſant road between the mountains reſted two hours before day under a tree, near ſome ſaltiſh water, the only which we could obtain that was good in a place called Curi-hazi-gon, or the merchants' tomb. A little after ſunſet we remounted our camels, and after travelling about four leagues on a road not ſo agreeable as the laſt, yet not very bad, ſtill among the mountains, we came to a wood of palm trees, where were ſome huts which people inhabit at the time of gathering the fruit, a little before dawn on Saturday. Here we met with a ſpring of freſh water. The name of the place is Ser Zebi-rizevon. At ſunſet we left this place, after regaling and fully ſatisfying ſome other rabdaris who dwell here. The following Sunday, after travelling four leagues by a much leſs tireſome road than the preceding, although not very excellent, we diſmounted an hour before day light at a ſpot which is one of the quarters of ſome rabdaris belonging to the band we met with the day before. We ſhewed them a paper ſigned by their comrades, with which they were content; and as this

place

place was inhabited by rabdaris alone, and afforded neither convenience for ſleeping nor proviſions, we travelled two leagues farther on, by a level road, keeping conſtantly the mountains in ſight on both ſides of us, and after ſix leagues travelling, three hours after ſunriſe in the morning, we reſted ourſelves on the banks of a ſtream of freſh water, called Abi Dunger, the extremity of the principality of Lar, and the frontiers of the country which belonged to the King of Ormus, before his country was wreſted from him. On the ſun ſetting we reſumed our journey, and ſhortly came to a ſmall river of ſalt water, called by the villagers in their language Rud Shind, or the ſalt rivulet. After paſſing this rivulet we continued our road to the firſt town, called Chuchiululion, which we entered on Monday, the 15th of November. This is a town conſiſting of more than forty houſes, away from each other in a wood of palm and other trees. This town is the firſt of the province of Moghoſtan, or the country of palms. Here the heat is ſo great that, notwithſtanding it be the middle of November, I ſleep in the open air without any canopy whatſoever, and in my ſhirt, without ſuffering any inconvenience from this indulgence. I ſee little boys, the children of the poor, run about at this ſeaſon entirely naked, ſave a band of linen to conceal their diſtinction of ſex; and thoſe even in ſuperior circumſtances wear ſimply the lighteſt dreſs imaginable; the women, in general, wear only a ſhift, which covers half the arms and the body to the waiſt, and from the waiſt downwards wrap themſelves round with a large piece of ſilk or cotton of different colours, which breadthwiſe reaches to the feet, and is long enough to wrap round the body twice, but altogether is not of more conſiſtence than a petticoat. On their feet they wear ſandals of plantain leaves, but no ſtockings. Their head-dreſs is a piece of ſilk or cloth, ſimilar to that worn round the lower part of their body but ſmaller, which, thrown over the head, hangs down in part on the ſhoulders behind, and falls over the face after the manner of the Perſians. On their arms they wear a number of bracelets from the wriſt to the elbows, which are not covered by the ſleeves of the ſhift, and ſimilar ornaments round their legs. Theſe are made of different metals; ſtraw which looks like gold, amber, cryſtal, and the like, and are compoſed of ſmall round flat pieces joined together. All of them, likewiſe, the rich as well as the poor, wear pendant from the noſe, not large rings as is common with the Arabs, nor ſmall neat ones on the ſide, as is uſual with the Perſians, but a piece of gold, either plain, enamelled, or ſet with precious ſtones, of a rhomboidal figure, rather narrow, and ſomewhat leſs long than their noſe, which hangs ſomewhat on one ſide. Owing to the exceſſive heat of the ſun the people are of an extreme dark complexion, but have very regular features, and are well made. We had intention of embarking ſecretly at Benderi-deſer, but we learnt that the Portugueſe had landed there and deſtroyed the place, ſo that we gave up all hope of reaching Ormuz, from that port particularly, as the Khan had prohibited all intercourſe between the ſhore and the iſland; that in conſequence all the craft had been drawn on the ſtrand, and that military were ſtationed at all the places whither veſſels were accuſtomed to reſort, to prevent their landing. The intelligence which we received at Chuchiululion determined our waiting there for an opportunity of taking water unperceived. The chief of the town informed us, that barks frequently came to different ſpots which were not guarded, to procure provender for their camels, and that our only means of getting away would be by one of theſe; we in conſequence promiſed him a handſome reward if he would aſſiſt us, which induced him to ſend his brother and another perſon to watch for any boat which might arrive; for, notwithſtanding the interdict of the King, the inhabitants of this part, who carry on a conſiderable traffic with thoſe of Ormuz, beneficial to each, ſtill maintain correſpondence. Two perſons were deputed on this errand, in caſe of finding a bark that one might

might remain, while the other ſhould return to us with advice of where it was. On the 16th of November theſe two men departed at night, and we remained at Chuchiululion, retaining the camels we had hired.

In the mean time we ſwam in joy; Madame Maani, who paſſionately deſired to have a child, communicated to me the pleaſing intelligence of her being pregnant, and fancy pictured the happineſs I ſhould find when, after terminating my travels, I ſhould at length reach Italy and home. Our joy, however, was ſomewhat damped upon the return of our meſſengers with an account that there was no likelihood of any more boats venturing on ſhore.

We waited yet ſome time at Chuchiululion, till apprehenſive of cauſing uneaſineſs to the chief of the town, and underſtanding that the Sheheriari, which is the title of the governor of Moghoſtan, dependent on the Khan of Shiraz, was every day expected to paſs, from whom I might meet with impediment, I reſolved on leaving that town and retiring to a place of ſafety, in caſe of the paſſage being ſtopped. Hearing, therefore, that the Engliſh caravan with ſilk had taken refuge in Mina, the capital of Moghoſtan, not to be expoſed to the attacks of the Portugueze by their venturing unprotected near the coaſt, we bent our way thither. After travelling five leagues on the road we came to a village of huts, built among palm-trees, called Duzrach, where we arrived in the morning two or three hours before day, leaving it again an hour before night-fall; and on Friday the 3d of December, having journeyed four leagues, we reached the ſmall fortreſs of Mina, built on a hill, under which is a village of huts in a wood of palms, where we unloaded our camels, and took repoſe beneath the trees, waiting for ſunriſe, to ſeek where the Engliſh were lodged.

At break of day we learned that theſe gentlemen were lodged in a large houſe in the neighbourhood, which had a garden attached to it, and was the palace of the Khan of Shiraz. We ſent thither to enquire for their interpreter Jacob, who formerly lived with me, and who acquainting the Engliſh with our arrival, they deputed to me Mr. Robert Gifford, an old friend of mine, and a Catholic, with offers of ſervice from their chief, prevented by indiſpoſition from waiting on me himſelf. He informed me at the ſame time, that all hope of paſſing to Ormuz through their means was vain, as the orders of the King were ſo ſtrict that a bird was not ſuffered to go thither, much leſs a boat; that, however, if I choſe to wait till the termination of the inveſtiture of Ormuz by its capitulation, or a peace, which might ſoon follow the arrival of the Engliſh ſhips of war, then expected, they would uſe all their influence in getting me a paſſage to ſome port of Arabia; if not direct to the ſettlements of the Portugueze, at leaſt to thoſe of their neighbours and friends: and that finally, as a laſt reſource, they would take me to Surat in India, whence I might either proceed with them to England, or travel thence by land to Goa. Seeing no remedy, therefore, I was conſtrained to abide at Mina, where, with permiſſion from the Engliſh, in order to be more comfortable, I built myſelf a large houſe, after the manner of the country, of branches of palm interwoven, as our ſmall tents were not proof againſt the rain, which fell unexpectedly on the two preceding nights, and in ſuch abundance as to wet every thing beneath them, and oblige Madame Maani to fly in her ſhift for ſhelter to the litter. My houſe, which in that country was a capital one, was completed in a day, and coſt, materials and labour together, no more than thirty ſhahi, or a ſequin and a half (15s. ſterling). On the 16th December I took the latitude of Mina, which I found to be 26° 35′ N.

We ſuffered all of us from the bad air of Mina, and Madame Maani, being attacked by a fever, was prematurely delivered of a dead child, to our great affliction. Her fever, however, in ſpite of every remedy continued to increaſe, and in eight days after

ſhe

ſhe paid the debt of nature, on the 30th December. Picture to yourſelf my ſufferings on the occaſion; the anguiſh of my mind increaſed the illneſs which conſumed me daily, and finding ourſelves ſo unpleaſantly ſituated here, as much from the malignity of the climate as the total abſence of all comforts and even of many neceſſaries, we reſolved on removing to Lār, notwithſtanding it was ſome days' journey diſtant; and having had the body of my much lamented wife embalmed, I intended it to be entombed where, when it may pleaſe God to take me, my bones ſhall be laid, I obtained permiſſion from the governor of the province to tranſport it wherever I might chooſe to go. The firſt and ſecond day after our departure we encamped in a deſart country, as our guides would not take the neareſt way by the ſea-ſide, that they might avoid the bad and marſhy roads they would otherwiſe have to paſs, by which we came; but after croſſing the Mina river, they ſtretched away from the ſea, lengthening our journey one day by this circuit. On the third we arrived at Chuchululion. Thence, taking a different road to that by which we firſt arrived there, the fourth day we reached Iſſin; the fifth, after croſſing a ſalt river, Kuſhiar; the ſixth, Kahuriſtan, called ſo from the profuſion of kahur, or acacia-trees growing about it; here, on account of the violence of my fever, we halted two days; on the eighth we arrived at a caravanſerai, called Guri bizirgon, or the merchant's tomb, in the neighbourhood of that at which we lodged on coming; on the ninth, after taking another road, we reſted at a caravanſerai, called Tenghi dalan, in a flat country; the tenth at Chormud; the eleventh at a caravanſerai, called Boadini; the twelfth at another, called Baſili, or Vaſili; and on the thirteenth, which was the 30th of January, arrived at Lar. For my part, on reaching Lar, I was more dead than alive; my ſervants, however, were recovered by the change of air. At Lar I was placed under the care of an admirable phyſician, who ſhortly diſmiſſed my fever, and with his medicines and diet recruited my ſtrength.

The phyſician who preſcribed for me, whoſe reputation was great, perceiving by the converſation we had together that I was not an ignorant man, made a favourable report of me to ſeveral men of letters with whom he was intimate, and who ranked high in this city. Being a quiet place without any court, its inhabitants void of ambition, undiſtracted by commerce, and not alarmed by the din of war, or peſtered with military, are, as a conſequence, prone to literature; and to ſuch a degree that I can truly affirm, in no place whatſoever in Aſia where I have been, nay, I may ſay in the world, have I met with individuals ſo learned and deep read in ſcience as thoſe of Lar. My acquaintance was much ſought after, and much courteſy was ſhewn me by them, as well during my illneſs as after my recovery.

About the 20th of February I left my bed, but ſtill was ſo weak that I could not walk acroſs my chamber without the aſſiſtance of a ſtick. At this period there fell a little rain, the only time it had rained throughout the year; whence you may judge of the temperature of this climate.

The city of Lar is the capital of a great province, or kingdom, formerly poſſeſſed by a ſovereign who made himſelf independent, either juſtly or unjuſtly, till Abbas the reigning Shah made war againſt him, about three-and-twenty years ago, rather from the pride of conqueſt than cupidity; and, after dethroning the Prince, carried him away priſoner to court, whence, after ſome ſlight reproaches, he ſent him back to Shiraz, to the Khan of the province, who had had the management of the war. This unfortunate Prince died on his way thither. Since that period this country has become united to the empire of Perſia. Lar is at preſent the reſidence of a Sultan, dependent on the Khan of Shiraz. The palace of Ibrahim Khan, who was formerly the ſovereign

of this ſtate, is at preſent unoccupied, being reſerved for the Khan of Shiraz on his occaſional excurſions hither; it has a ſquare in front of proportionate ſize. The bazar begins at the extremity of the ſquare oppoſite to the palace, and is extremely long, extending in a right line; is well built, arched over, of ſufficient height, well proportioned, airy, and light. In the middle of the ſtreet is a dome, oppoſite to which two other ſtreets diverge, which make part of the bazar, forming a croſs. Beyond the market, at the end of this large ſtreet, on the right hand, at one of the extremities of the city, I ſaw a caſtle built on an eminence, which projects ſome diſtance into the plain, on each ſide ſurrounded by walls alone, and of little conſideration.

On the 7th of March I took the latitude, which I found to be 27° 17′ N.; a great mathematician of this city, however, informed me, that the latitude was 27½, ſo that poſſibly my obſervation was not ſufficiently exact. I noticed, that the greateſt cold experienced here alſo is at the beginning of March; it is, however, very tolerable, and laſts for ſo ſhort a time, that before the concluſion of the month the city is ſcarcely habitable, on account of ſwarms of flies. At this period alſo orange-flowers, jaſmine, and roſes make their appearance, and barley ſhews itſelf in the ear. Water is very ſcarce in this city, the only obtainable being rain-water; which, as it does not rain in this part ſometimes for years together, the inhabitants preſerve when it falls in immenſe reſervoirs, capable of containing ſufficient for ſeveral years duration. On the 21ſt of March, the feſtival of Neurouz, or New Year's Day, I noticed that a number of ſhops were ſhut, as well on that as for ſeveral ſucceeding days; upon enquiry, I found that none were allowed to exerciſe their calling until they had firſt made their gift to the new governor, and obtained permiſſion. Upon this being obtained, one of each trade parades the ſtreets, accompanied by fifes or flutes in token of joy. I ſaw a butcher, before whom certain people carried on their heads whole ſheep ready cooked, and covered with laurel. This cuſtom of baking whole animals at once is common in this country, and on ſome occaſions they bake one within another; for example, a capon in a ſheep, a fowl within a capon, and within the fowl again a ſmaller bird: ſuch a diſh is called perian. This practice is very ancient, Herodotus mentioning it to have been practiſed in his time. The people here are grievouſly burthened with taxes, and in conſequence hold the King and the Kizilbaſhi in utter abhorrence.

At a feaſt, to which I was invited by the Cãdy Rokneddin, I ſaw a ſpecies of orange, which I had never before beheld either in Aſia or in Europe. Theſe oranges are large and handſome, of a flame-colour externally, and deliciouſly ſweet; what, however, is moſt remarkable about them is their rind, much thicker than that of oranges in general, which is very tender, and is better eating even than the inſide itſelf, being of a very pleaſant ſpicy flavour. I have preſerved ſome of the ſeed of them, as well as of ſweet lemons, but doubt whether they may keep to Italy.

On Wedneſday, 8th of June, I left Lar in the night, on account of the extreme heat of the weather not admitting of our travelling by day; and, after traverſing a mountain difficult to paſs, halted in the morning near a town called Kurdeh, on the margin of one of the large reſervoirs which they are accuſtomed to make in this country. The fields, on account of a want of water, although they had been, were not at preſent in a ſtate of culture. The wind which blew was ſo hot and burning, that it left traces of its courſe. On account of the violent heat having pulled off my trowſers, my legs thus being bare became inſtantly red and inflamed, and cauſed me to experience ſo much pain that I was unable to put my feet to the ground, although at the ſame time it was venomous the wind felt refreſhing. My ſervants experienced ſimilar effects from its influence with myſelf. The Perſian almanacs diſtinctly point out the time of its prevalence,

lence, and call it bad ſeman, or the poiſonous wind. Its baneful conſequences, however, are confined to the more ſouthern provinces. An hour after ſunſet we continued our journey two leagues, as far as to a caravanſerai in the neighbourhood of a town called Bir. We were conſtrained to make very ſhort ſtages on account of the dearth of water through the country, none being to be found except rain-water preſerved in ciſterns. The next night, after riding two leagues, we ſtopt in a narrow valley between ſome low mountains, where was a ciſtern, the place was called Ghielu Ghiendè. Saturday night we travelled three leagues, and reached a place called Jezdcheſt, inhabited by people who live in black tents like the Arabs, changing their quarters in ſearch of herbage, but never removing from a ſpace comprized within a ſquare of two leagues. Theſe people are Perſians, and our guides, whoſe tents were pointed out to us with thoſe of the reſt, formed part of their number. At night-fall, continuing our way, we encamped on Monday morning in a deſart country, by the ſide of a pond, near certain ſepulchres, which ſhewed the place to have been formerly inhabited; after paſſing the day here under our tents we departed in the evening, and travelled an equal diſtance with what we had done the night before, that is to ſay, four leagues; ſtopping at a place called Beni Miri. The following evening we journied on four more leagues, reſting at a ſmall walled town called Neſirabad; the next day with difficulty, owing to our camels being weak from want of their accuſtomed barley and bran, we reached a town called Charcuon, belonging to the Begum, or great Queen, and conſequently independent of the Khan of Shiraz, notwithſtanding it laid within his diſtrict. Here we diſcharged our camels, entirely exhauſted. Thurſday night we left Charcuon early, but did not arrive at Paſſa till very late, owing to our guides having miſſed the way. On our arrival at Paſſa I reſted beneath the ſame tall cypreſs I had done in coming, but not with equal comfort; I had loſt what made the deſart cheerful; my Maani was no more. Looking over ſome garden walls, I perceived, baſking in the ſun, an extraordinary number of tarantula, or lizards, four times as large at leaſt as the largeſt I had ever ſeen in our country.

On Sunday, 19th of June, a little before dawn, ſomewhat fatigued from having travelled five leagues the preceding night, we reſted in one of the ſmall towns within the juriſdiction of Selviſtan, called Haſan Havaſk, or of good air. Beginning again our courſe at night we made ſix leagues, and halted among the Turkmans of Giganli, near the ſpot where we pitched our tents before. The next night, four leagues brought us to the bridge of Paſſa; and thence two or three leagues more to Shiraz, where we arrived on Wedneſday, 22d of June. I did not chooſe, however, to enter the city, but turning a little out of the high road into that which leads to Hiſpahan, I diſmounted near the moſque of the calantar under the trees by the water ſide.

On the 1ſt of July, I rambled a ſhort diſtance from where we took up our abode, to ſee the tomb of Kogia Hafiz, an illuſtrious poet of Perſia, whoſe odes are in great celebrity. In a tolerably ſpacious garden, ornamented by ſeveral works of architecture, the chief which preſented itſelf reſembled a ſmall chapel with a dome; within this place this exquiſite poet is entombed. The ſepulchre is large, and engraved all over from the top to the bottom with various characters, and is loaded with epitaphs even about the baſe. The front is taken up with a moſt excellent epigram on his name. On one ſide of this ſepulchre are others of two diſciples of Hafiz, and on the other, that of a certain Seid, whoſe name I have forgotten. The whole of the exterior court is full of ſimilar tombs of leſs repute; however the whole edifice was built in honour of the poet, and is called by the Mahometans Ziara. Such in Perſia is the eſtimation in which men of

of letters are held. Near where he is entombed, his book is preſerved as a monument of his mind, which is called the Divan, and is written in letters of gold. It is not, however, that which was written by himſelf, and which formerly was preſerved here; the King having cauſed that to be removed into his own library. I viſited here likewiſe the tomb of Sheik Saadi, another famous poet, who beſides a Divan, or collection of poetry, wrote the Guliſtan, and the Boſtan.

Many happy days and years to Signior Marius! Long may he live for himſelf, and for the public; and with him all our common friends, whom I ſalute affectionately.

## LETTER XVII.

*Combru.*

THE laſt I wrote to you was from the gardens of Shiraz, on my way to Hiſpahan, for the purpoſe of taking my departure thence to Europe by the way of the deſart and Turkey; I have been prevented, however, from purſuing this plan, owing to the impoſſibility of my meeting with camels for my baggage, owing to their being all employed in tranſporting the booty made at Ormuz; I, therefore, waited at Shiraz until by a courier I underſtood that the Engliſh were about to embark for Surat with their ſilk. Having therefore ſo good an opportunity of viſiting India, I abandoned my firſt project of travelling through Turkey to Europe, as being replete with inconvenience and danger, and reſolved on viſiting the ſea-ſhore a third time from Shiraz. I believe I omitted to ſtate to you before that the Shiites, contrary to the opinion of the Turks and the Sonnites, hold it lawful to marry for a limited time; at the expiration of which the parties are free to ſeparate, or, if ſatisfied with each other, may contract a laſting marriage. Such females as thus have married for a time and ſeparated are not, on that account, the leſs eſteemed. Moſt of the marriages at Shiraz are after this manner; and ſuch is ſaid to be the diſpoſition for changing of the women of this city, that a curious tale is related, which is conſtantly in every one's mouth; of two women who were intimate friends meeting together, one aſked the other how long ſhe had lived with her preſent huſband, and being anſwered two months; "Poor creature," ſaid the firſt; "and how is it poſſible you could endure one man ſo long!"

On the 20th of Auguſt Shiraz was in a tumult of joy, upon the news arriving of the Shah having made conqueſt of the city and province of Canduhar. It ſeems it capitulated ſubſequent to the garriſon, and the chief of its inhabitants having abandoned it with their property.

On the 26th of Auguſt I left Shiraz for the ſea-ſhore, intending to paſs by Darabghierd, which I had not yet ſeen; and continued the ſame road we had travelled before as far as to Zirevan, arriving there on the 5th of September. On the evening of that day we took the road leading through Darabghierd, leaving that which led through Deh Chair, by which we paſſed the year before, and arrived there by day-break, having travelled four leagues. All I can tell you of Darabghierd is, that, from the form of its habitations, and a number of palm-trees growing in the place, it has more the appearance of a borough than a city, nothing but its great extent and its numerous population giving it a ſuperiority over the neighbouring towns. It has only one remarkable beauty, which is a ſtream running through the great ſquare and market-place, in the former of which it traverſes a ſmall baſon of water of a round form. The meaning of its name, Darabghierd is, Darius encloſed it with walls (*cinxit Darius*). The day of our

our arrival was ſpent in receiving viſits; and upon the approach of night we mounted our camels, and arrived on Thurſday at the peach-garden of Moghokiel; and on Friday at the moſque of the tomb of an Imanzadi. On Saturday we halted under the palm-trees of the village of Furg, and reſted on ſucceſſive nights at the town of Taſkvie, Seid Geuder, where we ſtopped all Tueſday, Peturgen, Dertenghi chehar rud, Guhnè, Guri Bazirgon, and thence at Serzehi rizevon, where we found no inhabitant, every one having fled from fear of the ſoldiers, who in this quarter conducted themſelves very indifferently to what they are uſed when under command of the Shah. Here we quitted the road of Abibungher, and took that which runs ſouth to Combru; we paſſed in the night through a town called Chah Chakor without halting, making five leagues from our place of departure, at the end of which we encamped under the ſhade of the luli dagheli, a tree whoſe branches hanging to the ground take root and produce a new tree, and this ſo repeatedly as to form a foreſt of arches, ſufficient in ſome inſtances to ſhelter an immenſe number of people. Its leaves are thick, oval, ſomewhat reſembling thoſe of the quince, but much thicker and larger. Its fruit is very ſmall, of a greyiſh ſcarlet colour, but when quite ripe inclining to black; the wood of it is extremely light.

In the evening we left this natural houſe, and arrived at Combru two hours before day-light, on the 21ſt of September. This place is large, ſpacious and well peopled on the ſea-ſhore, and having now changed its maſter, has likewiſe changed its name, being now called Port Abaſſi. In this city people of whatſoever religion they may be or country, who reſort hither to trade, are welcome, and have the free exerciſe of their religion. We lodged here in the houſe of a Jew, in which we met with every convenience and accommodation as well in board as lodging.

While remaining at Combru for the arrival of the Engliſh, on the 4th of October the city experienced four or five dreadful ſhocks of an earthquake, which were repeated the ſucceeding night ſo violently as to throw down ſeveral houſes, with one of the towers of the fortreſs.

I ſend you this by Mr. George Strachan; who for benefit of his health, affected by his reſidence at Mina, is about to go home to Lar, and afterwards to Hiſpahan. Mentioning Lar, I have to obſerve to you, that the coins of that province being of pure metal, difficult to counterfeit, and taken by weight, paſs currently all over the Eaſt. I ſalute you and all my friends; to whom I beſeech you to make my reſpects.

The author remained at Combru till the 15th of January 1623, when he left Perſia, embarking on board the Whale, an Engliſh ſhip bound for Surat.

## AN ACCOUNT OF GEORGIA.

Preſented to His Holineſs Pope Urban VIII. by Pietro delle Valle in 1627.

THE country at preſent called Georgia comprehends all that known to the ancients under the names of Colchis and Iberia, with part of Armenia, and poſſibly of Albania. This tract, according to Strabo, includes the country of the Muſcovites, for it extends in length from the moſt eaſtern extremity of the Black ſea, where it begins, to the Caſpian; it has towards the eaſt only a ſmall maritime diſtrict of Albania, belonging at this time to the King of Perſia; in which are ſituated the cities of Backu and Derbent, called by the Turks, Domircapi (Iron-gate), and deſcending a little towards the South, a ſmall portion of Shirwan, the capital of which is Schamachi, apparently a part of the ancient Media Atropatenis. A little towards the weſt Georgia is bounded by the Black ſea. North of it are the Caſpian mountains, branching from mount Caucaſus and ſtretching from one ſea to the other, inhabited at this time by certain barbarians and thieves, called Lezghi, chiefly Mahometans, and ſome very poſſibly ſtill idolaters or atheiſts. It is not improbable they may be the Soani or Phthirophages mentioned by Strabo. Finally, towards the ſouth it has for boundary that part of Armenia bordering on Media, and lower down on the moſt weſtern ſide, towards Trebiſond, if I miſtake not, ſome part of Cappadocia.

The whole of this country, throughout which the ſame language is common to all the inhabitants, was governed formerly according to their account by one King, until he divided his dominions among his four children, all of whom he made ſovereign Princes. With the eldeſt, however, to whom he gave the middle and better portion of the diviſion, he left a certain pre-eminence above the others, whence this Prince is even now reſpected by all the reſt, is conſidered as the elder branch, and is honoured by the title of Mepet Mepè (King of Kings), the other princes taking the ſtyle of Princes of Georgia only.

The number of Princes at this time is ſix; for in addition to the four of royal blood before mentioned, there are two others, who were chief miniſters of the Mepet Mepè, and governors of two conſiderable portions of his dominions on the Black Sea, who revolting, ſeized upon and made themſelves abſolute lords of the provinces they governed. Acquiring in proceſs of time, authority and reputation, they not only roſe to an equality, but formed an alliance with the others. At preſent they are all upon an equal footing, and frequently intermarry; remembrance is however yet kept up of the diſtinction of the Mepet Mepè, for when he mounts his horſe, the two princes formerly his vaſſals and miniſters, when by, are wont to hold the one the bridle the other the ſtirrup as an acknowlegement of his ſovereignty. As to the diviſion of the country ſince its partition into ſix diſtinct Sovereignties, the Mepet Mepè is lord of a dominion in the centre of Georgia, called in the language of the country Imeriti, the innermoſt, the ſtrongeſt part of the whole, and undoubtedly the Iberia of the ancients. The name of the reigning Prince of this part is Ghiorghi or George; on addreſſing him, for ſhortneſs ſake, he is not called Mepet Mepè, the only name he ſigns, but Ghiorgi Mepè or King George. The Turks, however, for what reaſon I am ignorant, call not only the country but the ruling prince Bâſh-yachivi, or bareheaded.

Eaſtward of this ſtate is another province called Kacheti, which, if I miſtake not, forms a part of the ancient Iberia, and probably of Albania. This is the dominion of a Prince deſcended from the youngeſt of the four brothers of the blood royal; his reſidence is the city of Zagain. Theſe princes, however, as well as the gentry of the country (for, unlike the uſual cuſtom of the eaſt, the Georgians are diſtinguiſhed by an hereditary nobility, and intermarry only according to rank as in Europe), theſe princes, I ſay, as well as the gentry called Aſnaures reſide chiefly in and prefer the country, looking upon towns as ſuitable only to people following trades and commerce, which they conſider beneath them; and ſo powerfully does this ſentiment prevail among the Georgians, ſuch even as are not Aſnaures, provided they be able to ſubſiſt otherwiſe, diſdain to live in towns, and deſpiſe all handicrafts and trade, leaving the exercife of theſe to foreigners, ſuch as Armenians, and Jews, the number of whom in the country is very conſiderable, and others of ſimilar activity.

As for them their chief occupation is arms, the eccleſiaſtical profeſſion, which, however few among them follow, or, in which many are employed, the culture of their own eſtates, which are extremely productive not only of fruits of all deſcription, but alſo of ſilk which they collect in quantities. Moſt of the inhabitants poſſeſs ſome portion of land, and ſo many being employed in the field was the cauſe why they were termed Georgians by the ancient Greeks (Γεωργοι), or huſbandmen. From this propenſity of its inhabitants, the towns in this country are few in number and inconſiderable, but the fields are well populated in every part, and covered with good houſes, although principally of wood. They have, moreover, a number of chambers, well conſtructed in themſelves, but commonly in but indifferent repair.

The Prince who formerly reigned over this province of Kucheti is ſtill living, but deprived of his dominions, as I ſhall hereafter relate, and is called Teimuraz: Abbas, the preſent King of Perſia, was friendly diſpoſed towards this prince, and on his wife dying ſent to him father John Thaddeus de St. Elizèe, a barefooted Carmelite, at preſent in Perſia, and at that time chief of the miſſion, with compliments of condolance. Prince Teimuraz, who is of the Romiſh communion, on that account, as well as from his being ſent by King Abbas, ſhewed him great civility, and was extremely affable to him; cauſing him to celebrate maſs in his principal church in preſence of the metropolitan, and intended himſelf to have been there on the occaſion, but by ſome means was prevented. He offered him alſo territory for the eſtabliſhment of a convent of his order, and to build a church upon in ſhort, the Prince himſelf as well as the metropolitan, whoſe name was Allah Verdi, a prudent man, and well affected to the Holy See, exhibited an extreme attachment and reſpect towards the Romiſh church.

Of the two Princes deſcended from the two other brothers of the blood royal, the one is Sovereign of a dominion ſouth of Kacheti and Imiretti. The name of the country is Cardel or Carduel. It forms part of the greater Armenia, the name of its capital Teflis. It formerly was ſubject, (and even in the memory of our fathers) to Prince Simon, who died afterwards in priſon at Conſtantinople, famous in hiſtory for the wars he waged againſt the Turks. This Prince, from the letters written by him to Paul III. of happy memory, if thoſe letters were truly of his writing, as I believe them to have been, was evidently well affected towards the Holy See. One of theſe letters, together with the note previouſly addreſſed by that Sovereign Pontiff to the Prince, is inſerted in a book publiſhed by Thomas de Jeſus, a barefooted Carmelite, and entitled *de procurandâ ſalute omnium gentium.*

Latterly, this ſtate was governed by Luarſab, a young Prince of great promiſe, the grandſon of the ſaid Simon, but ſome few years ago, while I was in Perſia, he came to a wretched

a wretched end, being put to death in priſon, where he had been confined for ſeveral years, without leaving any iſſue, not having conſummated with the bride to which he had been betrothed. His principality came afterwards under the dominion of another Prince of his houſe, his nephew, or couſin, but a Mahometan, and not as an abſolute Sovereign, but in vaſſalage under the King of Perſia, as I ſhall deſcribe.

The other Prince deſcended from the blood royal, held dominion over a country weſtward, comprizing a part of Carduel: it bordered upon Armenia, Cappadocia, and the frontiers of Media. At preſent, this ſtate no longer exiſts, as will appear.

The two laſt Princes deſcended from the miniſters of whom I have ſpoken, and not from the ancient Kings, poſſeſs dominions ſituated on the Euxine or Black ſea. The one towards the north is maſter of the country which lays between the Caſpian mountains and thoſe of Dadian, (a word importing vagabond, from the way of life anciently followed by its inhabitants, reſembling that of the Arabs), but of late years, ſince this cuſtom has been changed, the country is one of the fineſt and beſt cultivated in Georgia.

This province, the ancient Colchis, is called by the Turks, Mingrelia. The Prince which reigns over it at preſent is young, his name to the beſt of my recollection, Levan. In 1615, a Jeſuit from the eſtabliſhment at Conſtantinople, who viſited the Chriſtians of this country to inform himſelf of their diſpoſition, returned while I was yet at Conſtantinople. I was with him without other company for three or four days, he being taken ill on his return of a contagious diſorder which reigned in that city. The good father related to me that he had ſeen this young Prince, at that time, but twelve years of age; that the mother, who lived in a coarſe, ruſtic manner, governed during his minority; that he had inducted the Prince into the church, to offer up the head of a wild boar which he had killed; that the Prince had loaded him with kindneſs and ſhewed great attachment to him, but that for want of knowing the language of the country, and of any who could interpret for them, they were at a loſs to underſtand each other ,and incapable of treating on any matters. Nothing beyond has tranſpired of the journey of this Jeſuit, either owing to his dying of the plague, or his papers being loſt in a tempeſt at ſea. But I hope that his brethren at Conſtantinople, as they are ſo contiguous to this ſtate, that a voyage thither may be effected in a week, or even in leſs time in caſe of favourable weather, will not have given up the miſſion; poſſibly, indeed, they may already have either deputed miſſionaries, or be on the eve of ſending ſome.

South of Mingrelia on the Black ſea, and bordering on Cappadocia and Trebiſond, reigns the remaining Prince not deſcended from the ancient Kings. This ſtate called Guriel, is in my eſteem either a part of Cappadocia or Colchis. The Prince's name I think, is Jeſe. Of his family, I believe, is the Metropolitan now at the head of the whole of the Georgian church not ſubject to the King of Perſia. Over that part dependent on the latter which lays more towards the eaſt, there is another primate nominated by that Sovereign. The laſt ſucceeded to that Allah Verdi, whom I before have mentioned; and was living while I was in Perſia. A different one called likewiſe Allah Verdi, (if that name be not rather an appendage to the perſon holding the primacy), had a ſiſter, at preſent in exiſtence in Perſia, whither ſhe was tranſported together with numbers of her nation on occaſion of that famous tranſmigration of the Georgians, on which I ſhall touch as I proceed. This lady married the ſon of a ſiſter of the old Allah Verdi deceaſed. She has two ſiſters, one of which was goſſip with me, I having ſtood as ſponſor for three of her ſons brought thither on the migration from Georgia. They are at preſent living in Hiſpahan, where they have reſided a number of years in a very wretched manner, as I was witneſs to, ſuffering every privation rather than apoſtatize,

the King refuſing them any allowance, but upon condition of their changing their religion. They ſupported their miſery with great patience, notwithſtanding they had been educated in Georgia in profuſion and grandeur, and after having diſpoſed of all they had brought from their own country, they were ſupported by their labour, and occaſionally by alms from the monks at Hiſpahan. Theſe good fathers continually protected them as well as the other Europeans reſident there, each as long as we remained in that city relieving them to the extent of his ability.

Georgia has exiſted almoſt conſtantly from early time in the manner I have here deſcribed. As to temporalities, it has ever maintained itſelf independent, which is certainly a prodigy, its ſituation between the two great empires of Perſia and Turkey being conſidered, and the inveteracy they have conſtantly ſhewn againſt it, rather on account of the religion of its inhabitants, than for any other cauſe; that they ſhould ſo have upheld themſelves, divided by party differences as its Princes frequently have been, almoſt without knowlege of artillery, with few or no fire-arms, with ſo ſmall a number of ſubjects compared with their opponents, and what is above all, without the means of receiving ſuccour from any other power, owing to their inſulated poſition. Theſe collective circumſtances evince in their governors a great portion of courage; while, in ſpite of all attempts at oppreſſing them, with their ſovereignty they have even to the preſent day upheld themſelves, as have their ſubjects alſo, true votaries of the Chriſtian faith. On this account it appears to me not only that they deſerve great praiſe, but that the church itſelf is highly indebted to them for the bravery and proweſs they have exhibited in the wars they have waged at one time with the Perſians, at another with the Turks, frequently defeating their armies; and eſpecially for the conſtancy with which they have defended and preſerved the pure religion of Jeſus.

In the preſent age, either as a puniſhment for their ſins, or otherwiſe by permiſſion of the Moſt High, the Georgians have been ſorely oppreſſed; and that, more than to any other cauſe, owing to their diſorganization and feuds: hence, notwithſtanding they yet have conſiderable power, they have loſt a great part of that they formerly poſſeſſed. For, of the ſix Princes which I have deſcribed, one deſcended from their ancient Kings, whoſe dominions bordered on Armenia and Cappadocia in the neighbourhood of Tabril and the confines of Media, and who ſerved againſt his will, at one time in the armies of the Turks, at another in thoſe of Perſia, in their continual wars, had his territories by degrees incorporated with thoſe of the Turks, who finally ſeized upon the whole of them, under the vain pretext of his being the fomenter of theſe troubles. I am told that there yet exiſts a young Prince of his family who lives at the court of the Grand Signior, ſoliciting there in vain, as an indemnification for the dominions raviſhed from him, the government of ſome province.

Of late years, upon a freſh war breaking out between the Perſians and Turks, ſhortly before my travelling into Perſia, two other Georgian Princes of the ancient royal houſe were ſpoiled of their principalities; and, although not utterly ruined, were reduced to a wretched condition. Poſſibly, however, ſome new revolution, which is not unlikely to happen, may reinſtate them. Theſe two Sovereigns are the Princes Teimuras and Luarſab, both whom, their territories laying on the frontiers of Perſia, were in meaſure dependent on that empire. The greater part of the Princes of Georgia even were accuſtomed to receive their education at the court of that power, and theſe two latter paſſed ſeveral years of their infancy there. In the war of which I ſpeak, while peace was negotiating between the Perſians and Turks; whilſt yet the armies of either under

power were in preſence of each other, and while, whom theſe Princes depended on was yet under diſcuſſion, each claiming them as his vaſſals, the King of Perſia affirmed to the Turkiſh ambaſſador that they conſtantly owned allegiance to him, and that as a proof they waited on him in his camp as often as required. The ambaſſador, who would not allow his claim, anſwered, that if they were thus ſubmiſſive, it might be proved by his ſummoning them at the inſtant.

Upon this the King ſummoned them, but theſe Princes, ſeeing the Turkiſh army ſo cloſe upon them, were fearful of declaring themſelves, and prevaricated firſt with one then with the other, excuſing themſelves handſomely towards the Perſians, but refuſing to enter their camp. This piqued the Perſian exceedingly, and brought him into a degree of diſrepute among the Turks; he, however, diſſembled his reſentment at the inſtant, as he could do no other; but after the Peace was concluded and the Ottoman army withdrawn, he, by his uſual intrigues, managed to effect a diſunion between Luarſab and Teimuraz, ſuch even as almoſt to engage them to reſort to arms, notwithſtanding their affinity, for Teimuras had eſpouſed as a ſecond wife the ſiſter of Luarſab; extremities, however, were prevented, while their two armies were on foot, by the interpoſition of certain noblemen, their vaſſals, who repreſented to and ſatisfied them of the diviſion being fomented by the King of Perſia, for the purpoſe of ruining both. Upon looking into the intrigue, they diſcovered that this King had ſecretly conveyed a letter or order to either, couched in the ſelf ſame terms, exhorting each to attack, make away with the other, and ſeize upon his dominions, in which attempt he pledged to ſuccour him, and maintain him in poſſeſſion of the territories he ſhould conquer: profeſſing to each he addreſſed the ſtrongeſt friendſhip and the greateſt averſion to his adverſary, on many accounts which he ſuggeſted. Notwithſtanding this elucidation, ſo eaſy of deception is this nation, it failed to put them on their guard, or teach them wiſdom.

In addition to this, the King fomented diſcord between Teimuraz and his mother, or at leaſt excited miſtruſt. This princeſs, called Ketevan Dedupali, or Queen Ketevan, poſſeſſed great abilities, was of exemplary conduct, related to Luarſab, and being a widow, had governed the ſtate for years during the minority of Teimuraz, and had valiantly defended it againſt Conſtantine Menſa her couſin, a Mahometan Prince, who, upon the death of her huſband, Daud, the brother of Conſtantine, had mercileſsly and cruelly maſſacred her old father Alexander. After him another brother attempted an invaſion of the ſtate, and would have ſucceeded but for her giving him battle, defeating him, and putting him to death, together with a number of perſons who ſupported him. Upon theſe ſeveral accounts ſhe was exceedingly eſteemed and loved by the people. The King of Perſia, to excite miſtruſt in the mind of Teimuraz, inſinuated that his mother intended to marry a certain officer, whom, for his valour and prudence, ſhe had employed in different departments of the government; and that in ſuch caſe, ſhe would contrive the ruin of Teimuraz, for the purpoſe of ſecuring the principality to the children ſhe might have by her ſecond huſband.

Teimuraz nouriſhing this idea, and ignorant of the ſnare laid for him, put this officer, the beſt ſtay of his country, to death, and withdrew all authority from his mother; afterwards this young man, unexperienced and not beloved by his nobility, found himſelf encircled with trouble. For the King of Perſia excited freſh diſcontent in the ſtate, and rendered him contemptible in the eyes of the nobles, on account of his being a child, treating them on their viſits to Perſia with the greateſt diſtinction and familiarity, making them conſiderable preſents, and in every thing which regarded their

their religion, admitting perfect toleration; so that by degrees they became attached to this monarch, weaned of their affection for their natural sovereign, and esteemed as the height of felicity their having him for lord.

After employing such artifices for some time, the King of Persia, in 1613, fell all at once upon Georgia with a large army, under pretence of Teimuraz having married the Princess Kaurashian, sister of Luarsab, who had previously been promised to him. Wherefore, on his arrival upon the frontiers of the dominions of Luarsab and Teimuraz, he ordered these two Princes to repair to his camp, to render account of this and bring him the bride, stating his firm resolution of possessing her, and insisting on the dissolution of her marriage with Teimuraz, which already had been consummated; as if such a practice were allowable with the Christians as with the Mahometans.

The Georgian Princes were astonished at this unexpected summons, and what augmented their confusion was the treachery of a number of noblemen, who afforded a free passage to the troops of Persia, and introduced them into the heart of the country; into which, without this perfidy, from the natural fortifications which surround it, and its difficult passes, it would have been impossible for him to have penetrated. These Princes, exceedingly perplexed, knew not what measures to adopt, and Luarsab, the most simple of the two, resolving on obedience, surrendered himself, and was sent by the Persian into the province of Asterabad, on the Caspian Sea, a considerable distance from Georgia, where he was placed under the care of the khan of that province, and treated rather as a guest than a prisoner, being allowed to go wherever he chose. The King of Persia did not commit any devastation upon or even enter the territories of Luarsab, but established there as a governor one Riarei, or Bagred Mirza, either an uncle or cousin of Luarsab, who had some years before turned Mahometan in Persia. He had a son a Moslem as well as his father, but born in this religion, who governed in that country when I was there, not indeed as a sovereign prince, but as a khan and vassal of the King of Persia, the better part of whose forces were commanded by officers of the Christian faith, which likewise was the religion of the chief part of his subjects.

After Luarsab had resided in this manner for some years in Asterabad, that he might be more secure of his person, the King of Persia caused him to be removed to Farsistan, or Persia Proper, one of the provinces the most distant from Georgia, where he was closely confined for some time in a fortress, at a short distance from the capital, called Shiras. At last in 1621, or about that time, when his subjects had the greatest hopes of his liberation, and the King appeared most anxious to see and be favourable to him, exactly the reverse occurred. For this sovereign all at once was disgusted with the Prince, in consequence of the revengeful insinuations of one Murza, a man of highest consideration among the Georgians, and very powerful, whose sister Luarsab had either promised to marry, or after marrying had repudiated, who persuaded the King, with whom he was high in favour, that he never could maintain a secure and peaceable possession of the dominions of Luarsab as long as he lived; for being so well beloved by his people, they would constantly nourish hopes of seeing him again their sovereign, as long as he existed, their hearts and good-will being wholly his. Instigated by this motive, or else from the discovery of a conspiracy about this time among the Georgians to destroy him, Abbas resolved on quashing their hopes, which, in case of any insurrection, might cause these people to appear in array against him, and caused Luarsab to be strangled in prison with the bow-string.

Teimuraz was more cautious, never trusting himself to the custody of the King of Persia, declaring when cited, that he was apprehensive of his anger, as he was offended;

offended; that it was impoſſible for him to part with his wife, as neither the Chriſtian religion nor his own honour allowed him to give her up to another; but in order to ſatisfy him of his ſubmiſſion, he ſent to him his own mother with his two unmarried ſiſters, and two young children, his offspring by the lady conteſted. This meaſure was adopted by Teimuraz under expectation that the Lady Ketevan, his mother, a woman of conſummate ability, and who had ſeveral times before negotiated different affairs in Perſia with the King, with whoſe manner and diſpoſition ſhe was perfectly acquainted, would be able to appeaſe that Monarch, and procure him peace. The meaſure, however, was fruitleſs, the King being inexorable, and appearing to be paſſionately attached to the Princeſs Kauraſhian, well knowing that Teimuraz neither could nor would liſten to the inſolent propoſal made to him of giving her up, he inſiſted on Teimuraz appearing before him. But as the Prince refuſed obedience, the King retained the Princeſs Ketevan, and ſent her, together with her children and grandchildren, to the city of Shiras, where, when I was there, ſhe was maintained with the reſpect due to her rank. After this the King of Perſia entered Georgia with his army, that is to ſay the province of Kacheti, dependant on Teimuraz, which was made acceſſible by the treaſon of ſeverable nobles, who ſided with him in hopes of great rewards, and opened to him the moſt difficult paſſages through the mountains.

Teimuraz perceiving his enemies all at once in the midſt of his country, without any army on foot to oppoſe them, or time to raiſe one, was fearful of truſting himſelf to ſubjects whoſe fidelity he had full reaſon to ſuſpect, and having no other reſource, he, with his wife and a number of Georgians, who faithfully adhered to him, betook themſelves to flight; firſt taking refuge in the more interior and ſtrongeſt part of the country of Imeritè, where this Prince firſt reigned, and afterwards flying to Odiſci or Dadian.

Many noblemen under falſe hopes voluntarily ſubmitted to the King of Perſia, and apoſtatizing enrolled themſelves under his banners. Others of more generous diſpoſition, but who had no time to fly, were overcome by force. Thus the whole people, in immenſe numbers, became the prey of the ſpoiler.

The King, upon his entrance into Georgia, after obſerving the natural ſtrength of its fortifications, and reflecting on the injury to which he would be expoſed from the inhabitants provided they ſhould become united and under a good government, was not only undeſirous of retaining the country, but conceived it beſt to withdraw thence the whole of his army as ſoon as poſſible. He was, however, unwilling to miſs the advantage he obtained by the ſubjugation of ſuch a numerous people, of infinitely greater value than the country itſelf; and duly weighing the deſolation which would follow the entire depopulation of a whole province, he cauſed all the inhabitants, males as well as females, to leave their houſes, noblemen as well as plebeians, young and old of all deſcriptions, cauſing them to take with them their moſt valuable effects, as many as they could, and placing them in front of his army, he marched them rapidly into his own dominions, afterwards diſtributing them among thoſe provinces fartheſt from Georgia, the thinneſt of inhabitants. Hence the provinces of Kherman or Caramania, Mazanderan, on the Caſpian Sea, and ſeveral others of that empire, are now principally inhabited by Georgians and Circaſſians; for a number of Circaſſians but a ſhort time before, from a dearth of proviſions in their own country, paſſed into that of Teimuraz, and became the vaſſals of this Prince in common with the Georgians, living and intermarrying with them. Theſe, therefore, were treated in the ſame manner as the Georgians, and, alike diſperſed over the different provinces of Perſia, enjoy equal liberty with the other ſubjects of the crown. Although they are found in many

other provinces, in Farſiſtan and Mazanderan, they are in ſuch numbers, that throughout whole cities and diſtricts there are no other inhabitants. For their ſubſiſtence the King grants them lands, for which they pay, in common with the Mahometan ſubjects, an inconſiderable fine. Theſe people, who form the chief of the inhabitants of theſe provinces, preſerve their religion, which, however, is very groſs Chriſtianity, owing to their having no prieſts or miniſters to inſtruct them, or at leaſt ſo ſmall a number as to be inſufficient for the tuition of ſuch a multitude of people variouſly diſperſed; and even ſuch as theſe are ſo ignorant themſelves, as to be of little utility. Many noblemen, however, impatient of hardſhips, and moſt of the ſoldiers, with ſeveral among the people, moved by ambition and avarice, in order to participate the bounty of the King largely dealt out to thoſe who change their religion, and again numbers induced by neceſſity, have turned Mahometans, and ſtill continue to do ſo. By means of theſe the army of Abbas has been frequently augmented; he employing theſe ſerfs, as they are called, as a counterpoiſe againſt and to reſtrain the inſolence of the Quiſilbaſhi. The number of theſe renegadoes in his ſervice, excluſive of Armenians and Circaſſians, is computed at 30,000, all embodied together. Some of them hold commands in the army, have governments, and have riſen to various dignities, even to thoſe of ſultans and khans.

Diſtinct from theſe Georgians, who are free in Perſia, there is moreover an infinite number not only of the common people, but of the nobility, who in the diſorder conſequent on the irruption of the Perſians into their country, were made ſlaves by the Perſians. So many are there of this deſcription, that there is not a houſe of any conſequence in Perſia but is full of men and women of this country. Not a ſatrap but has his wives entirely of the Georgian nation, the women of that country being famous for beauty, and even the King has ſcarcely any other for his attendants, his palaces ſwarming with them, as well females as men. All of theſe nearly have abjured their religion, either in fact or in ſemblance, under the impreſſion common among them, that God knowing the ſecrets of the heart, it is enough they ſhould remain faithful internally to their religion, and that it matters not what profeſſion they exteriorly make.

This unfortunate meaſure of tranſporting the inhabitants of Georgia was attended by the moſt dreadful diſorders and exceſſes. Murders, people dying of ſtarvation, robberies, rapes, children ſtifled in deſpair by their own parents, or thrown by them into rivers, others maſſacred by the Perſians for want of good complexions, others again torn from their mothers' breaſts, and thrown into the ſtreets and highways, to become the prey of wild beaſts, or be trodden to death by the horſes and camels belonging to the army, which for a whole day together trampled upon carcaſes: ſuch is the picture of this ſhocking expedient; and afterwards, how agonizing the ſeparation of parents from their children, huſbands from their wives, brothers from their ſiſters, divided from each other, and forwarded to different provinces! So numerous were theſe wretched ruined people on this occaſion, that they were publicly ſold at a cheaper rate even than beaſts. But let us draw a veil over this frightful ſcene, and proceed to ſpeak of Teimuraz. After wandering for ſeveral days in the territories of the other Princes of Georgia, he at laſt withdrew to the Turks, among whom he latterly continued to dwell, receiving from the Grand Signor, as I was informed, the government of the city of Cogni, with ſome lands in Cappadocia, inhabited principally by Chriſtians of the Greek church, the revenue from which government ſerves for his ſupport. He has continually endeavoured and ſtill ſeeks to be revenged on the King of Perſia. He it was, who, in 1618, was the inſtigation of that great army of the Turks and Tatars penetrating into Perſia, in which expedition he accompanied it. This army made

greater progreſs into Perſia than any one had ever done before, almoſt reaching Ardebil, a ſanctuary of the Perſians, and the place of ſepulture of the reigning dynaſty of that country, which Teimuraz was ardently deſirous of deſtroying, to avenge himſelf for the deſtruction of the churches in Georgia. In this war, the moſt perilous of any in which Abbas was ever engaged, I accompanied him. The Turks, however, from bad conduct, want of ſkill and courage, did not reap the advantage they might have done upon the occaſion, and finally concluded, as is commonly the caſe with them, by effecting nothing; nay, their retreat rather reſembled a flight, a number of their men being cut off, which cauſed the Perſian to return to court in triumph, Teimuraz repairing to his government. Since then he has remained quiet, waiting a more opportune inſtant, which, at the fartheſt, muſt occur on the death of Abbas, whom he has every chance of ſurviving, being much the younger of the two, and of which he is ſecure, owing to the diſappointment theſe Georgians have experienced in their expectations, who apoſtatized in Perſia after their treachery to Teimuraz; the King not having requited them as they wiſhed, nor treating them any longer with the ſame kindneſs he did before they became his vaſſals, nor in matters of religion acting as they expected, receiving none into his ſervice, nor affording to any one, whether noble or a ſoldier, the leaſt aſſiſtance, other than on condition of turning a Mahometan. For theſe reaſons the Georgians look on him with diſguſt, and repent their conduct, ſo much ſo even, that they exclaim openly they have been deceived, and that if the paſt could be recalled, they would act differently. Hence, I doubt not, although Abbas as a prudent and much dreaded Sovereign may be able to maintain his ground as long as he lives, that upon his death (as is always the caſe in Perſia) the ſword will be drawn at his funeral; when, provided the Georgians retain their preſent diſpoſition and be united, provided they have a chief poſſeſſed of abilities, Teimuraz by their aſſiſtance may eventually effect great things in Perſia, nay poſſibly aſſume the ſucceſſion: againſt this, there is but the natural temper of his people, fickle and prone to change. Nor will it any ways ſurpriſe me, if the dominions of Luarſab ſhould again become ſubject to ſome Chriſtian Prince, either by the abjuration of Mahometaniſm on the part of the preſent governor, or by the people depoſing him and placing ſome Chriſtian on the throne, ſimilar revolutions not being unuſual in Georgia.

The Princeſs Ketevan, the mother of Teimuraz, was, as I have noticed before, conducted to Shiras with her two grand-children. While I was there ſhe reſided ſtill in that city, and was treated with great reſpect. She, with all her family, conſiſting of a number of male and female attendants, remained firmly attached to the faith of Chriſt, obſerving all the duties of religion as well as ſhe was able; but at that time ſhe had no prieſt with her, or any regular miniſter of her country to fulfil its duties. On this account, one of her attendants officiated, attached, as I conceive, to the church by ſome degree, as he was a good Chriſtian, and being looked upon as ſuch by the Muſſulmen, they were ſolicitous of removing him; for which purpoſe they accuſed him of ſome weighty crime, and ſuborning falſe witneſſes to prove it, put him to death, burning him alive at Shiras. He met death with conſtancy, firm in his faith, and bearing his fate with reſignation. As for the other clerk ſhe had with her when I was there, he managed the whole affairs of the houſhold as an intendant, and was rather a courtier than a divine; and, whether owing to ignorance or any other cauſe I know not, he never ſaid maſs. She had with her, moreover, a monk, but merely a novice of his order, and a lay brother, who was of no ſervice. As, however, the Carmelites and Auguſtin friars have now a convent and a church at Shiras, I doubt not they will have afforded conſolation to the Princeſs, and preſerve her ſteady in the faith, particularly as they were never wanting while I

was there in rendering her aſſiſtance in temporal matters, as long as ſhe lived. I ſay as long as ſhe lived, for in paſſing through Baſſora ſome months ago, I received intelligence of the death of this Princeſs on the 22d of September, 1624. She ſuffered martyrdom in a moſt cruel and glorious manner in the city of Shiras, by order of the King of Perſia, on account of her perſiſtance in the faith. I am ignorant wherefore they were ſolicitous of forcing a renunciation upon her, and can ſay nothing of the particulars; for them I refer to the memoirs of Father Gregory Orſini, a Dominican, the vicar general of Armenia, who in his travels paſſing through Perſia ſhortly before me, at a time this newly happened, gave a relation of the circumſtance. This Father was at Baſſora when I met him, and heard of it from his mouth, and thence he afterwards brought a minute detail of the matter with him to Rome. As for the grand-children of this princeſs, the one called Levan, the other Alexander, they were brought up by the King, who would never ſuffer them to ſee their grandmother, as he educated them in Iſlamiſm, leſt ſhe ſhould convert them, notwithſtanding they reſided in the ſame city. The ſame year that Luarſab was put to death in priſon, Abbas cauſed them both to he caſtrated, deſirous of deſtroying in them, with all hopes of poſterity, any deſire they might conceive of returning to the country of their anceſtors.

In my time, the grandmother, not to hurt her feelings, was kept ignorant of this circumſtance; and, on having occaſion to ſee her domeſtics, they enjoined me the firſt thing not to mention it. Teimuraz has, however, other children by his ſecond wife, boys as well as girls: Providence not allowing, poſſibly, that his family ſhould be wholly extinct. When ſome months back I was at Aleppo, news had arrived there that Teimuraz, on account of being urged by the Turks to turn Muſſulman, had ſought refuge in Muſcovy with a Chriſtian Prince, as well as himſelf a ſectary of the Greek church, after which he attempted but fruitleſsly through his interference, he being on intimate terms with the King of Perſia, to obtain the liberation of his mother. It was even ſaid that this interference was the cauſe of Abbas inſiſting on her apoſtatizing, as in caſe of her turning Mahometan it would juſtify his refuſal, or objecting would give a colour to his putting her to death. However this may be, the latent ſparks of hatred in the breaſt of Teimuraz were kindled into a flame upon this new outrage, and, joined by the Muſcovites, he breathed nothing but war and revenge. Theſe, moved to pity and indignation at ſuch an atrocity, afforded him aid, and taking his route through Circaſſia and by the Caucaſian mountains, which lay between Georgia and Muſcovy, this Prince re-entered Georgia, and not only in his own country but alſo in that of the murdered Luarſab had attacked the Perſians with great hopes of ſucceſs; the way being paved for him by a terrible ſlaughter of Mahometans, on the part of the ſame Moura, chief of the Georgians, and a renegado, who, as I have before related, was the firſt inſtigator of all their calamities, and governed this country for the young Prince, in the hands of the King of Perſia. Moura at length becoming ſuſpected by Abbas, from the great authority he poſſeſſed, the wily King intended to put him to death; this, however, being diſcovered by Moura, he repented his conduct to Luarſab, and forgave the injury he had received, already too amply revenged. It is ſaid he has renounced Iſlamiſm, and made profeſſion anew of Chriſtianity; that, by a piece of artifice, he has deſtroyed ſeveral general officers belonging to the Perſians, who had ſhortly before arrived in that country, and either dethroned or put to death the young Mahometan Prince. He is, it is further ſaid, induſtriouſly employed in rendering Teimuraz ſovereign of all thoſe countries, and delivering his nation entirely from the tyranny of Perſia, and the religion of its falſe prophet. This news, however, I do not give for fact, but relate it merely as it was current.

Not-

Nothwithſtanding the misfortune which, as I have related, befel Teimuraz and the murdered Luarſab, the dominions of the latter are on their old footing, ſtill governed by a relative of his family, but a Muſſulman and a ſubject of Perſia, unleſs the laſt-mentioned news be true, and it be relieved from his yoke. Teimuraz is ſtill alive, although deprived of his dominions; his country and his children enſlaved by Perſia, his mother martyred, and part of his territories depopulated and laid waſte. In ſhort, hitherto he waits for what fortune or rather Providence may have in ſtore for him.

There are three other Georgian Princes, that is to ſay, of Imeriti, Odiſhi, and Guriel, who have conſtantly flouriſhed, and continue to do ſo, preſerving their dominions in proſperity, without ſuffering from the Mahometans. The territories of the two Princes of Odiſhi and Guriel lay on the Black Sea, ſomewhat expoſed indeed to attack from the naval power of the Turks; but poſſeſſing, in conſequence of their poſition, the advantage of a conſiderable trade in ſilks and other articles with Conſtantinople and the whole of Greece. In order to keep friends with ſuch powerful neighbours, and that they may have no moleſtation from them, they profeſs a dependance on Turkey, and by dint of preſents and continual ſervices manage to ſecure for themſelves peace and tranquillity. They, however, never admit the Turks into their country to aſſume command, nor allow a paſſage even for their army to any other part. On the contrary, they preſerve ſuch perfect liberty, that notwithſtanding the Poliſh Coſſacks, who dwell at the mouth of the Dnieper on the Black Sea, be conſtantly inimical to the Turks, and are ever injuring them, the Georgians nevertheleſs receive them as friends, being Chriſtians, and intermarry with them; nay it is ſaid that the King of Poland maintains a friendly intercourſe and correſpondence with them, and that veſſels frequently traffic between the two countries, a circumſtance likely to be of great conſequence to the Georgians, the Coſſacks at preſent being maſters of the Black Sea, and very powerful; add to which, the King of Poland by means of this ſea, in caſe of their being diſturbed by the Perſians or Turks, might render them aſſiſtance, and theſe again be of ſervice to the Coſſacks, the ports of the countries affording ſecure retreats to cruizers, in their different expeditions. Moreover, it is not impoſſible that their poſition may in ſome future time be highly advantageous, ſhould any great enterpriſe be undertaken hereafter by the Europeans againſt Conſtantinople, in facilitating an attack upon it by ſea as well as by land.

As for the dominions of the Prince of Imeriti, from their laying more in the heart of the country, farther diſtant from the Perſians and Turks, and being well defended on all ſides by mountains, rivers, and difficult paſſages, he is independant of either one or the other; exteriorly indeed he pretends friendſhip to both, at the ſame time miſtruſting each, and admitting neither one nor the other to march their armies through his territories. In this he ſhews his policy, as either, on account of difference of religion, would ruin him if he could: for the Mahometans, notwithſtanding they profeſs and appear to be friendly to Chriſtians under their government, never tolerate them except when induced by intereſt or neceſſity, and incapable of acting otherwiſe; for ultimately they have ever ended in exterminating them, as the caſe with the Greeks of Conſtantinople, of more recent date with the late Kings of Hungary, and in various other inſtances known to all the world.

After thus having rendered a full account of the temporal condition of Georgia as I found it, I ſhall now ſpeak of the ſpiritual. The Georgians at a very early period embraced the faith of Chriſt, to which they were converted by a foreign female ſlave, about the year 330. By this ſlave many great miracles are ſaid to have been performed; her

her name, however, is unknown, even to the inhabitants of the country, notwithſtanding they have retained her hiſtory; her only denomination in our martyrology being that of *Serva ſanta Chriſti*. From the Greeks, I believe, they firſt received the faith in the time of the Emperors of Conſtantinople, and in conſequence adopted the Greek ceremonies; thoſe they now obſerve. The office of the church is read in their own language, which is written in two ſorts of characters, the one called Cudſuri, uſed in churches and for their ſacred books, the other Chedroli, for common uſe; and although this be not the character of the church, the holy books are nevertheleſs written in it for the benefit of ſeculars. The Georgians have conſtantly followed the tenets and ritual of the Greek church, and poſſibly are yet involved in its errors. Among the Greeks, indeed, theſe are leſs numerous than in the other of the eaſtern churches, and the Georgians admit even fewer poſſibly than the Greeks; but as they form a nation little addicted to ſtudy, arms being their chief occupation, they are conſequently ignorant, and but few among them pay attention to theſe matters, living like good Chriſtians in the faith. As, however, there are ſome of their country much more addicted than the Greeks to the examination of their own books, it follows, that one meets with an invincible ignorance in them, which is excuſable. Moreover, being uninformed of the latter councils, after the holding of which the Greeks ſtill retained certain errors from which the Georgians continue free, (as is juſtly remarked by Baronius in his Martyrology, and Gabriel Prateolus in his *Catalogue alphabetique des Heretiques*), they ſtand more juſtified for thoſe to which they adhere than the Greeks. In addition to this, they are free from the preſumption of the Greeks with reſpect to the ſupremacy of the church; and notwithſtanding they in certain matters acknowlege the Patriarch of Conſtantinople, they are not ſubject to him, appointing their metropolitan among themſelves, nor ſuffering any juriſdiction on his part over their church. They have likewiſe a great reſpect for Rome, St. Peter and St. Paul, much reverence for the Pope, and are void of that averſion entertained by the Greeks to ſupremacy. They are neither proud, perverſe, nor hypocritical; neither are they deceitful in their treaties like the Greeks, but, on the contrary, mild, docile, honeſt, ſimple, and ſo eaſy to be deceived, that, as I have before related, they owe to this the whole of the misfortunes which have befallen them from the Mahometans. In addition, they are ſubject to Chriſtian Princes, form a republic, and poſſeſs a government as well for temporal as ſpiritual affairs; a matter of chief importance, ſeeing that thoſe nations which have not any chief, nor any eſtabliſhed form of government in the Eaſt, are made ſubject to infidel ſovereigns, who at bottom are the enemies of all Chriſtians. With ſuch how is a general union poſſible? What councils for the purpoſe can there be aſſembled? And in caſe of a ſynod, what reſolutions could there be adopted? Or who, on their being framed, would obſerve them? And, ſlaves as they are, might not any difference which ſhould follow; might not calumny afford a pretext to the Mahometans to deſtroy them, and perſecute the whole body of Chriſtians under their dominion? But all this is poſſible among the Georgians, on account of their poſſeſſing a regular government, a religion and a King of their own nation, ruling with deſpotic ſway according to the manner of the Eaſt; nor is there a doubt but great advantage would reſult from ſuch an undertaking, provided it were zealouſly begun, and the inhabitants were inſtructed by competent perſons acquainted with their language; although, for what cauſe I know not, while the Holy See has employed itſelf zealouſly for the reunion of the reſt of Chriſtians in the Eaſt, and has been laviſh of expence to reclaim and reunite the Greeks and other nations, it has hitherto paid no attention to the Georgians, who are not more diſtantly ſituated, nor more inacceſſible than the others,

others, not leſs dear to God, nor leſs deſerving of the care of the Romiſh Church. This conſideration has prompted me, acquainted as I am with their affairs, and ſtrongly attached to them, as well ſpiritually as by the ties of friendſhip ſubſiſting between myſelf and many perſons belonging to that country, to repreſent this matter to you, and implore Your Holineſs in the moſt preſſing manner to exerciſe your wiſdom in ſuccouring them; for the fewer errors to which they may hereafter be ſubject, the greater the merit which Your Holineſs will evince in the eyes of God, and the more brilliant your glory before man.

In order, however, that your Holineſs may not be ignorant of the means by which this is to be effected, and the ways by which ſuccour may be ſent, I have to inform you that there are three.

The firſt and ſhorteſt is by Conſtantinople, whence one may travel to that country by land, paſſing from Scutaria into Aſia in ſafety with caravans, or companies of merchants, who are conſtantly going thither through Trebiſond, and effect the journey in a month; but much more eaſily and by a ſhorter courſe by ſea; the tranſit ſeldom taking up more than from five to eight days. The moſt fit perſons for ſuch an enterprize would be the Jeſuits, the Dominican friars, and the Franciſcans, who have a convent there and a church; but eſpecially the Jeſuits, on account of its being their peculiar province to devote themſelves to the ſpiritual health of their neighbour, to inſtruct and eſtabliſh colleges and ſchools, which, as is evinced by experience, is the beſt and moſt excellent of all methods. However, in paſſing from Conſtantinople into Georgia, I conceive there may exiſt ſome difficulty, owing to the objection of the Turks to people of our religion entering that country, particularly if known to be monks or prieſts; nevertheleſs, I have no doubt, but individuals poſſeſſed of prudence and a knowlege of Turkey, at the ſame time familiar with the languages, by aſſuming a different dreſs, and ſimulating the character of a merchant, or ſome other avocation, may travel thither with little danger of diſcovery, going in ſmall numbers and at different periods.

The ſecond way is by Perſia, and much more eaſy, by accompanying the cafila, or caravan of merchants, firſt to the dominions of Luarſab, at preſent ſubject to the Perſians, and thence to the other and all of the ſtates of Georgia. For this purpoſe, from that quarter the Portugueze Auguſtins might be diſpatched, who have churches in Perſia, or more properly the Carmelites; as well as that in their abſtinence from meat they much reſemble the oriental friars, as that from the auſterity of their mode of life, they would have more influence upon the monks and prelates of the country and afford a more excellent example for the people. They would have greater facility in their enterpize from the late martyrdom of the Princeſs Ketevan at Shiras, whoſe body is ſaid to be interred in the convent of the Auguſtins, through the means of the relations of the metropolitan Allahverdi, and ſeveral others of the chief of the Georgians, with whom I have formed an intimacy. In this caſe it would be requiſite I ſhould accompany them; and that every thing ſhould be conducted with the greateſt caution, ſecreſy, and addreſs, that the King of Perſia might have no ſuſpicion of any other deſign intended under this cover, which might expoſe the adventurers to much injury, as well as the Georgians themſelves.

The third and laſt courſe is by the way of Poland. From the extremities of this kingdom one may readily reach the Black Sea, and thence in a very few days arrive in Georgia. This voyage may alſo be effected by deſcending the Dnieper, paſſing by Kiovia, ſaid to be the Tomos of Pontus, whither Ovid was baniſhed. In Poland there would be

no

no want of monks for this purpoſe either among the Jeſuits, Dominicans, or Carmelite friars, all of whom have convents in that country; nor would the furtherance of the plan on the part of the King be wanting, ſo good a Catholic and ſo pious as he is; nay, we ſhould meet with aſſiſtance from his vaſſals the Coſſacs, through whoſe means miſſionaries might enter Georgia in perfect ſecurity, with a biſhop, even nuncio or ambaſſador, if neceſſary. The Ruſſians alſo in Poland might be of ſome avail, as following hitherto the Greek ritual; although ſome among them be Roman Catholics, they might be inſtrumental in inducing them to perſevere in the Catholic faith, and would ſet them a valuable example. But Your Holineſs who, ſeparate from your conſummate wiſdom, are moreover inſpired by the Holy Spirit, will readily diſcover many other and preferable methods to what I can point out. I, therefore, beſeech you to accept this account, containing the ſummary of all the information I poſſeſs, as a teſtimonial of my reverence for the Holy See, and zeal for the propagation of the religion and the ſervice of Chriſt; with which I conclude; moſt humbly kiſſing Your Holineſs's feet.

# THE TRAVELS OF SIR JOHN CHARDIN,

## *BY THE WAY OF THE BLACK SEA,*

THROUGH THE COUNTRIES OF

## CIRCASSIA, MINGRELIA, THE COUNTRY OF THE ABCAS; GEORGIA, ARMENIA, AND MEDIA, INTO PERSIA PROPER;

With a very curious and accurate Account, not only of the Countries through which he travelled, but of the Manners and Cuſtoms, Religion and Government, Commerce and Inclinations of the ſeveral Nations that inhabit them: Relations ſo much the more curious, as thoſe Countries and the People dwelling in them, had not been tolerably deſcribed before by any Author *.

1. *A ſuccinct Introductory Account of the worthy Perſon by whom theſe Travels were written; of the Value of them; and of the peculiar Excellencies by which they are diſtinguiſhed.* — 2. *An Account of the Thracian Boſphorus; of the delightful Proſpects in ſailing through it; and the beautiful Countries upon the Coaſt.* — 3. *The Author's Arrival at Caffa; a Deſcription of the Country of the Crim Tartars, and of the Condition, Cuſtoms, and Manners of that Nation.* — 4. *The Cherks, Abcas, and other barbarous Nations that, however, ſtyle themſelves Chriſtians, largely deſcribed; with ſome very curious Remarks on the State and Strength of thoſe Nations.* — 5. *A more particular Relation of the Mingrelians, Cara Cherks, or Black Circaſſians, and other Inhabitants of that Country, known to the Ancients by the Name of Colchis.* — 6. *The large and fruitful Country of Mingrelia exactly deſcribed; with a View of the Government, Forces, Way of living, and diſſolute Manners of all Ranks and Degrees of People who inhabit it.* — 7. *Of the terrible Corruption, in point of Religion, which reigns amongſt them; and from whence it appears to be a wild and extravagant Mixture of Atheiſm and Superſtition, kept up by the Arts and Frauds of their Prieſts, who are little better than Cheats and Jugglers.* — 8. *The Principality of Guriel, and the Kingdom of Imeretta, anciently called Iberia; with the Countries adjacent deſcribed, and the Manner in which they loſt their Independency, and became Tributaries to the Turks.* — 9. *The Author continues his Journey through Mingrelia; is preſent at the Ceremony of baptizing two Children, of which he gives a large and particular Account.* — 10. *The famous Mountain Caucaſus deſcribed; and a View of the Condition of its preſent Inhabitants* — 11. *A large and circumſtantial Detail of the Country and Inhabitants of Georgia; with a Deſcription of the capital City of Teflis, and the State of the Roman Catholic Miſſionaries in that Country.* — 12. *The Author's Travels through the Countries at the Foot of Mount Taurus, forming a little Principality inhabited by the Coſſacs.* — 13. *An Account of the famous City of Erivan, and of the Country of Armenia, of which it is the Capital; as well as of the People who inhabit it.* — 14. *A Digreſſion concerning the Marriages of the Perſians, and the Reaſons why Divorces, though lawful amongſt them, are ſeldom practiſed.* — 15. *The Author's ſubſequent Obſervations in his Travels through Armenia, and of the Fortreſſes erected to prevent the Incurſions of*

* HARRIS, vol. xi. p. 862.

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*the Turks.* — 16. *Of the noble Province of Azerbeyan, anciently called Media; with an Account of a ſpurious Kind of Cochineal prepared by the Inhabitants.* — 17. *A Deſcription of the large, populous, and magnificent City of Tauris; the prodigious Fertility of the Country round about it; and a Compariſon between the different Climates of Media and Parthia; with many other curious Particulars.* — 18. *A Deſcription of the laſt-mentioned Province; and of the Cities of Ebber and Caſbin, in the Neighbourhood of which grow the fineſt Grapes in the World.* — 19. *An Account of the famous City of Rey, formerly one of the largeſt in Aſia; of which there are now ſcarce any Ruins remaining.* — 20. *The City of Com, and the glorious Tombs of the Perſian Saints therein fully deſcribed; with an Account of the adjacent Country.* — 21. *A Deſcription of the City of Caſhan; with an Account of the ſeveral Manufactures carried on there, and of the fruitful Country about it.* — 22. *The Author's Account of two other Roads leading from Warſaw to Iſpahan, and from Iſpahan to Moſcow.* — 23. *Remarks and Obſervations upon the foregoing Section.*

1. WE have very large and conſiderable collections of travels through the empire of Perſia, and the provinces depending upon it; and, indeed, there are very few countries that better deſerve to be viſited, or which afford either the traveller himſelf, or whoever peruſes his accounts, more entertainment than Perſia. Notwithſtanding this, many inconveniencies would ariſe from inſerting numerous accounts of travels through this country, becauſe of neceſſity it muſt produce many repetitions, which would appear tedious and troubleſome, as well as perplexing to the reader. The method therefore that we ſhall take, is to give in this ſection the Travels of Sir John Chardin, from Conſtantinople into the Perſian dominions; and in the ſubſequent ſections we ſhall give a deſcription, in as regular a method as is poſſible, of the whole empire, diſtinguiſhed into its ſeveral provinces, with whatever occurs remarkable or worthy of notice in the works of other celebrated travellers, ſo as to preſerve the marrow and quinteſſence of their relations, without embarraſſing ourſelves with things of leſs conſequence and particulars, that without the leaſt prejudice to the deſign of this work may be as well omitted. By this means we ſhall bring into a reaſonable compaſs all that is requiſite, and give a diſtinct and clear notion of the paſt and preſent condition of one of the moſt powerful and famous empires of the earth.

The reaſon we made choice of Sir John Chardin's Travels, by way of introduction, was his taking a different route from moſt other travellers, viz. by the Black Sea, and the countries that border upon it, which are ſcarce deſcribed by any other traveller, or at leaſt are deſcribed by none with equal plainneſs and perſpicuity. It riſes from hence, that, generally ſpeaking, we have only confuſed and imperfect conceptions concerning theſe countries and their inhabitants, which, however, it is of ſome importance that we ſhould know more diſtinctly; becauſe as they made a great figure in ancient hiſtory, ſo it is not at all impoſſible, that as low and deſpicable as they now ſeem, they may hereafter come to change their circumſtances, and appear with new luſtre, if not in ours, yet in the eyes of our poſterity. It is very evident, that from their ſituation they are very conſiderable; and if their inhabitants were well governed, and lived in tolerable correſpondence with each other, they might be now, as they were heretofore, equally formidable to the Grand Signior, ſucceſſor to the Greek monarchs of Conſtantinople, and to the Perſian emperors. We have a late inſtance of this in the caſe of Nadir Shah, who received from theſe deſpiſed and barbarous people, that check which proved firſt fatal to his authority, and in the end to his perſon. The author of theſe travels was a gentleman of a good family in France, and of a liberal education; he applied himſelf

to commerce very early, and profecuted with great fuccefs the moft conſiderable branch of foreign trade, that of dealing as a merchant in jewels, which he underſtood perfectly, and by which he acquired, with an unſpotted character, a very large and affluent fortune. He made ſeveral excurſions into the Eaſt, by different roads, and reſided ſeveral years in Perſia; had very great and uncommon opportunities of entering deeply into the ſubjects of which he has treated, and digeſted his accounts with great accuracy and perſpicuity; ſo that they have been eſteemed not only here but in France, and throughout Europe in general, as the moſt perfect in their kind that have hitherto appeared.

This gentleman, when the perſecution againſt the Proteſtants broke out in France, came over hither, and brought with him great riches. He was received with much reſpect at court, and King Charles the IId, as a mark of his favour, beſtowed upon him, in the month of March 1693, the honour of knighthood. He publiſhed the firſt edition of his Travels in our language, in a large folio volume, but they have been ſince ſeveral times printed with many corrections, great improvements, and conſiderable augmentations in French. He continued to reſide here, and purchaſed a conſiderable eſtate, ſo that in the reign of Queen Anne, we find him frequently mentioned by ſuch as took occaſion to ſhew how much the wealth of England was improved, and its trade increaſed, by encouraging foreigners of the Proteſtant religion to come and ſettle amongſt us. Sir John died at a good old age, on Chriſtmas-day 1712. He left behind two ſons and ſeveral daughters.

His eldeſt ſon was created a baronet of this kingdom by His late Majeſty King George the Firſt; and having purchaſed from Grantham Andrews, Eſq. of Sunbury, the noble ſeat of Kempton-Park, in the County of Middleſex, and not far from Hampton-Court, fixed there, and is ſtill living and unmarried. The old gentleman employed a great part of the latter period of his life in completing his book of Travels, and intended, as himſelf informs us, to have written a diſtinct treatiſe, explaining a great variety of paſſages in the Scripture, from the cuſtoms and manners of the eaſtern nations, with which no man was better acquainted than he; but by many unlucky accidents was hindered from fulfilling that promiſe, to the no ſmall concern of the learned world; who expected with great impatience ſo uſeful and inſtructive a book, of writing which he was extremely capable, and of ſeeing any thing of the ſame kind, the public ſince his deceaſe ſeem to deſpair.

2. Sir John Chardin left Paris, Aug. 17, 1671, with an intention to go to the Eaſt Indies, and travelling by way of Milan, Venice, and Florence, arrived at Leghorn in the end of October, and embarking in a ſhip, under a Dutch convoy, arrived at Smyrna, March 2, 1672, and twelve days after at Conſtantinople. He remained in this city four months, and in the mean time there happening a quarrel between the Grand Vizier and the French ambaſſador, which cauſed a report, that the Grand Vizier intended to arreſt the ambaſſador, and all the French nation, he was afraid that his goods, which were very rich, and very conſiderable in quantity, would be ſeized; and ſo ſought all means to get out of Conſtantinople, and to proceed on his journey to Perſia.

The caravans in thoſe hot months did not travel; but the Porte being about to ſend a new commander, with ſome ſoldiers and money, as they do yearly, to the fort of Azoph, which ſtands upon the lake Mœotis, he obtained paſſage in a Turkiſh ſaick belonging to that fleet, and embarked, July 27, at a port in the Thracian Boſphorus. This channel, which is about fifteen miles in length, and about two in breadth, in moſt parts, but in others leſs, ſo called becauſe an ox may ſwim over it, is certainly one of the loveliеſt parts of the world; for the ſhores are riſing, and covered over with houſes

of pleaſure, woods, gardens, parks, delightful proſpects, and wilderneſſes, watered with thouſands of ſprings and fountains: the paſſage through it, in fair weather, is exceeding diverting, by reaſon of the great number of barks which are continually ſailing to and fro, and the proſpect of Conſtantinople from the top of it, which is about two miles diſtant, is the moſt charming that ever eyes beheld. There are four caſtles ſtanding by it, all well fortified with great guns, two of them eight miles from the Black Sea, and two at the mouth of the channel, which is the moſt dangerous place for ſhipwrecks in all the Euxine Sea.

3. On the 3d of Auguſt, in the morning, he arrived at Caffa, a port in the Tauric Cherſoneſe, or Peninſula, ſo called, becauſe it was firſt inhabited by the Scythians of Mount Taurus. It is thirty-five leagues from north to ſouth, and fifty-five from eaſt to weſt. The iſthmus, that joins it to the continent, is not above a league in breadth. It is inhabited by the Crim Tartars, who dwell in cities and towns; whereas their neighbours the Nogays and Calmues dwell in tents, as the reſt do on the continent.

Caffa is a great town built at the bottom of a little hill, upon the ſea-ſhore, and encompaſſed with ſtrong walls, that advance a little into the ſea. It hath two caſtles: the one, which ſtands on a riſing ground on the ſouth ſide, is large, and commands all the parts thereabouts, and is the reſidence of a baſha; the other is not ſo big, but is well furniſhed with guns. They reckon about four thouſand houſes in it, of which about three thouſand two hundred are Mahometans, Turks, and Tartars, and the reſt Chriſtians, Greeks, and Armenians. The houſes are ſmall, and built of earth; as are alſo their bazars, moſques, and baths. The ſoil about it is dry and ſandy, bearing little fruit, and the water is bad, but the air is very pure and wholeſome. All proviſions are very cheap and good, mutton not being above a farthing a pound, and other things proportionable. The road of Caffa is ſheltered from the winds, except on the north and ſouth-eaſt ſides, and the ſhips lie cloſe to the ſhore ſafely in ten or twelve fathom water. There is a great trade driven here in ſalt-fiſh and caveare, which being taken out of the lake *Mœotis*, that is twenty-ſix miles diſtant from it, in great quantities, are tranſported into Europe, and as far as the Indies. They alſo export corn, butter, and ſalt, with which they furniſh Conſtantinople, and ſeveral other places; for the Caffa butter is the beſt in all Turkey.

From Caffa he went in a ſhip bound for Colchis, Aug. 30, and the next day arrived at Donſlow, or the ſalt-pits, fifty miles from Caffa, on the ſhore. Here are great marſhes of ſalt, which is made by letting in the ſea-water, and ſuffering it to congeal by the ſun. The people ſay, that two hundred veſſels are laden here with ſalt yearly, paying only 3s. a day to thoſe that load it. About a mile from the ſhore is an habitation of the Tartars, where there is not above ten or twelve houſes with a little moſque, and round about it a great number of tents, with ſeveral waggons cloſe covered, which ſerve them inſtead of houſes. The tents for themſelves are very handſome, being made with poles, and covered with large light furs well ſtretched upon them; their inſide is commonly hung with tapeſtry, and the floor is laid with the ſame. Every family hath two other tents belonging to them, covered with a great ſarplar of wool, one for their ſervants, and kitchen, in which is a pit five feet deep, to make a fire in to dreſs their meat, and the other for their horſes and cattle.

They ſtore up their corn and forage in magazines under ground, which they cover ſo exactly, that none can find them but themſelves. They can remove their tents with a ſmall trouble, and in a very little time, and carry them away in carts drawn by oxen and horſes, of which they breed a great number. They profeſs the Mahometan religion, but mix with it ſtrange ſuperſtitious and ridiculous opinions of fortune-telling and divination.

divination. From Donflow he failed all along in the channel to Cape Cuodas, which Ptolemy calls Cirocondoma, where the coafts that bound the lake Mœotis, which are very high lands, are feen at about thirty miles diftance.

4. From the channel of the lake Mœotis, to Mingrelia, is reckoned fix hundred miles along the coafts, which confift of pleafant woods, inhabited by a fort of Tartars, called Circaffians, and by the Turks, Cherks, but fo thinly, that the country looks like a defart. The ancients called them Zagæans, or mountainers; and Pomponius Mela, Sargacians. They are neither fubjects nor tributary to the Port, becaufe their country producing nothing valuable, the Turks think it not worth the toil of conquering it. The veffels that come from Conftantinople to Mingrelia trade with this people, but with their arms in their hands, and by hoftages, for they are infidelity and perfidioufnefs itfelf, and will never fail to fteal where they find an opportunity. The trade with them is managed by exchange, the Cherks bringing down flaves of all fexes and ages, honey, wax, leather, jackals, zandava, and other beafts' fkins, for fuch commodities as they want.

Circaffia is a pleafant country, and the foil is very fruitful, bringing forth great plenty of all forts of fruit without trouble, as cherries, apples, pears, walnuts; but their chief wealth confifts in cattle, as well-fhaped horfes, which are fo fwift and good, that they will tire the wild beafts, and catch them in plain courfe; goats, deer, and fheep, the wool of which is as fine as that of Spain, which the Mufcovites fetch to make felts. They fow no grain but millet for their own bread, and barley for their horfes; and their women till and manure their ground: their drink is water and boza, which is a liquor made of millet, as intoxicating as wine: they live in wooden huts, and go almoft naked. Every one is a fworn enemy to thofe that live in the provinces round about him. Their beds are made of fheep-fkins fowed together, and ftuffed with millet-leaves, beaten in the threfhing as fmall as oat-chaff. They were formerly Chriftians, but now have no religion; no, not fo much as the light of nature among them, fave what they place in the obferving certain fuperftitious ceremonies, borrowed both from the Chriftians and Mahometans.

The Abcas border upon the Cherks, poffeffing about an hundred miles upon the fea-coafts, between Mingrelia and Circaffia. They are not fo favage as the Cherks, but are as much inclined to thieving and robbery; fo that the merchants trade with them with the like caution, and after the fame manner. September the 10th, he arrived at Ifgaour, a port in Mingrelia, where all the veffels that trade thither lie. It is a defart place, without any habitations, only the traders that come thither build themfelves huts and booths of boughs for the time of their abode, which is ufually as long as they find themfelves fafe from the Abcas.

5. Colchis or Mingrelia is fituated at the end of the Black Sea: it is bounded on the eaft by the little kingdom of Imeretta, on the fouth by the Black Sea, on the weft by the Abcas, and on the north by mount Caucafus. The Corax and Phafis, two famous rivers in the ancient hiftories, now called Coddours and Rione, part it, the firft from the Abcas, and the other from Imeretta. The length of it is about one hundred and ten miles, and the breadth fixty. It was once fortified againft the Abcas, by a wall of fixty miles in length, which is long fince demolifhed, and become a thick foreft.

The inhabitants of Caucafus that border upon Colchis, are the Alanes, Suanes, Gigues, Caracioles, or Cara-cherks, i. e. black Circaffians, fo called by the Turks, not from their complection, for they are the faireft people in the world, but from their country, becaufe it is always darkened with fogs and clouds. They were alfo anciently

Chriftians

A Princess. A Prince or Usden. Ordinary Class.

Chriſtians, but now profeſs no religion, but live by robbery and rapine, having nothing that can entitle them to humanity but ſpeech. They are very tall and portly, and their very looks and ſpeech ſhew their ſavage diſpoſitions, being the moſt reſolute aſſaſſins and daring robbers in the world.

The ancient kingdom of Colchis was much larger than Mingrelia now is, extending itſelf to the lake Mœotis on the one ſide, and Iberia on the other. The country itſelf is uneven, full of hills and mountains, valleys and plains. It is almoſt covered with woods, except the manured lands, which are but few, and thoſe preſerved by grubbing up the roots, that are continually ſpreading into them. The air is temperate, as to heat and cold, but very unwholeſome, by reaſon of the continual wet, which being heated by the ſun, breeds peſtilences and ſeveral other diſtempers. It abounds with waters, which deſcend from mount Caucaſus, and fall into the Black Sea. The principal rivers are the Caddours, of old called Corax; the Socom, called by Arrian, Terſſen, and by Ptolemy, Thaſſaris; the Langus, of old Aſtulphus; the Cobi, called by Arrian, Cobo; the Cianiſcari, called anciently, Cianeus; the Tacheur, called by Arrian, Sigemus, and the Sheniſcari, i. e. River-horſe, called therefore by the Greeks, Hippos: and the Abaſcia, called by Arrian, Caries; and Ptolemy, Caritus; which two laſt mix with the Phaſis about twenty miles from the place where it falls into the ſea.

The ſoil is very bad, and produces little corn or pulſe, and the fruits are almoſt wild, without taſte, and unwholeſome, unleſs it be their vines, which thrive well there, and produce moſt excellent wine. The earth is ſo moiſt in ſeed-time, that when they ſow their wheat and barley, they never plough it at all, but ſprinkle it upon the earth; for they ſay, that ſhould they plough it, the land would be ſo ſoft, that all their corn would fall. They plough their lands for their other corn, with plough ſhares of wood, which make as good furrows as iron, becauſe their land is very moiſt and tender. Their common grain is gomm, which is as ſmall as coriander ſeed, and reſembles millet. Of this they make a paſte, which they uſe for bread, and prefer it before wheat; which is not to be wondered at, for it is very acceptable to the palate, and conducive to health, being cooling and laxative. They have alſo great plenty of millet, ſome rice, with wheat and barley, but very ſcarce. The people of quality eat wheaten bread as a rarity, but the meaner ſort very ſeldom or never taſte of it.

The ordinary food of the country is beef and pig, of which laſt they have great plenty, and the beſt in the world. They have alſo goat's fleſh, but it is lean, and not well taſted. Their wild-fowl is very good, but ſcarce. Their veniſon is the wild boar, hart, ſtag, fallow deer, and hare, all which are excellent food. They have partridges, pheaſants, and quails in abundance, with ſome river fowl and wild pidgeons, which are good meat, and as big as a crammed chicken. Their nobility ſpend their whole time in the field, uſing lanner-hawks, goſ-hawks, hobbies, and others, for their ſports, to catch water-fowl and pheaſants; but their moſt delightful paſtime is the flight of the falcon at the heron, which they catch only for the tuft upon his crown, to put upon their bonnets; for they let him go again when they have cut it off, that it may grow up anew.

6. Mount Caucaſus produceth a great number of wild beaſts, as tygers, leopards, lions, wolves, and jacals, which laſt make great havock amongſt their cattle and horſes, and often diſturb their houſes with their dreadful howlings. They have large numbers of horſes, and thoſe very good ones, which every man almoſt keeps in great ſtore, becauſe their keeping ſtands them in little or nothing, for they neither ſhoe them, nor feed them with corn. They have no cities nor towns, except two by the

ſea-ſide; but their houſes are ſo thick up and down the country, that you can hardly travel a mile but you meet with three or four. There are nine or ten caſtles in the country, of which the chiefeſt is called Ruis, and it is the court of the Prince. Their houſes are all built with timber, which is plentiful, and the poorer ſort never raiſe above one ſtory, nor the rich above two. The lower rooms are always furniſhed with bed and couches to lie down on or to ſit upon, becauſe of the moiſture of the earth, but are inconvenient, becauſe they have no windows nor chimneys.

They have but one room for their whole family, and ſo lie all together. The men are well ſhaped, and the women ſo handſome, that they ſeem born for commanding love. They all paint their eye-brows, and their faces abominably. They dreſs themſelves with all the curioſity they can, their habit being like the Perſians, and their head attire like the European women, even to the curling of their hair. They are witty and civil, but to balance that, haughty, deceitful, cruel, and impudent. The men have alſo as many miſchievous qualities, and there is no wickedneſs to which they are not addicted; but that which they moſt practiſe and delight in is theft. This they make their employment and glory. They juſtify it as lawful to have many wives; becauſe, they ſay, "They bring us many children, which we can ſell for ready money, or exchange for neceſſary conveniences;" yet, when they have not wherewithal to maintain them, they hold it a piece of charity to murder infants new born, as alſo they do ſuch as are ſick and paſt recovery; becauſe, they ſay, "they free them from a deal of miſery."

The gentlemen of this country have full power over the lives and eſtates of their tenants, to ſell and diſpoſe of their wives and children as they think fit, and every countryman is bound to furniſh his lord with as much corn, wine, cattle, and other proviſions as he wants. The lords decide the quarrels of their vaſſals; but if they themſelves are at variance, they decide it by arms, which makes them go all armed with a lance, bow, and ſword. Their habit is peculiar; they wear very little beard, and cover their heads with a thin felt cap in ſummer, and a furred bonnet in winter: over their bodies they wear little ſhirts, which fall to their knees, and tuck into a ſtrait pair of breeches,; but they never have above one ſhirt and one pair of breeches, which laſt them a year, and in all that time never waſh them above thrice, only once or twice a week they ſhake it (for a certain purpoſe) over the fire.

The whole family, without diſtinction, eat all together, both males and females. The King with all his train, to his very grooms, and the Queen with her maids and ſervants. They dine in the open courts in fair weather, and if it be cold, they make a rouſing fire, for wood coſts them nothing. Upon working-days the ſervants have nothing but gomm, and the maſters pulſe, dried fiſh, or fleſh; but on holy-days, or when they make entertainments, they kill a hog, ox, or cow, if they have no veniſon. They are very great drinkers, both men and women, and at their feaſts provoke their friends as much as they can to drinking. They drink their wine pure, and beginning with pints, proceed to much greater quantities. Their diſcourſe at their merry meetings is, with the men, about their wars and robberies, and among their women obſcene tales of their amours.

Mingrelia is but thinly peopled, by reaſon of their wars, and the vaſt numbers ſold to the Perſians and Turks by the nobility. All trade in it is driven by way of barter, for they have no ſet price of money among them; the ſpecies current are piaſtres, Dutch crowns, and abaſſis, which are made in Georgia, and ſtamped with the Perſian ſtamp. The revenues of the Prince of Mingrelia amount at moſt to twenty thouſand crowns, which ariſes from the cuſtoms of goods exported and imported, the ſlaves he ſells, impoſitions and fines; and this he lays up, for his ſlaves ſerve him for nothing, and

and his crown-lands furniſh his court with more proviſion than he can ſpend. He is not able to raiſe above four thouſand men fit to bear arms, and thoſe are all cavalry for the moſt part, for he has not above three hundred foot to join with them. His court, upon ſolemn feſtivals, conſiſts of two hundred gentlemen, but upon other days of about one hundred and twenty.

7. The religion of the Colchians was formerly the ſame with the Greeks, being converted, as the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians ſay, in Conſtantine's time, by a ſlave: but the Mingrelians ſay, St. Andrew preached among them in the place called Pigivitas, where now ſtands a church, whither the Catholicos, or chief biſhop, goes once in his life-time to make the oil called myrone by the Greeks; but now the Mingrelians are fallen into a profound abyſs of ignorance and darkneſs, and have not the leaſt idea of faith and religion, but look upon life eternal, the day of judgment, and the reſurrection, as mere fables deviſed by men; nor do their clergy perform any eccleſiaſtical duties, for there is hardly one of them that can either write or read. They have utterly loſt the true knowledge of the ſervice of God; but the prieſts make a public profeſſion of foretelling things to come, and make the people believe, that their books ſhow them the courſe of future events.

The Catholicos of Mingrelia is head of all the clergy of that country, as alſo of Abca, Gureil, Mount Caucaſus, and Imeretta; but the Prince appoints or depoſeth him as he pleaſeth. His revenue is very great, for he has four hundred vaſſals under him, who furniſh his houſe with all things neceſſary for human life, and many ſuperfluities. He ſells their children to the Turks; and when he viſits the dioceſes under his juriſdiction, it is not to reform the clergy, nor inſtruct the people, but to ſpoil them of their goods, and rake together great ſums. He will not conſecrate a biſhop for leſs than ſix hundred crowns, nor ſay a maſs for the dead under eight hundred, nor any other maſs under one hundred.

The ſanctity of this prelate conſiſts in a continual abſtinence from fleſh and wine in Lent, and in long prayers day and night; but he is ſo ignorant, that he can hardly read his breviary and miſſal. He has ſix biſhops under him, who take no care of the ſouls of their people; nor ever viſit their churches and dioceſes. They ſuffer the prieſts to live in all manner of errors, and the people to contaminate themſelves with the groſſeſt vices; they underſtand not the form of baptiſm, let polygamy be practiſed, and permit the mothers to bury their new-born children alive. All their buſineſs is in feaſting and banqueting, where they are drunk almoſt every day. They are rich, and go very ſumptuouſly appareled, oppreſſing their vaſſals, and ſelling their wives and children to maintain their luxury. They abſtain from fleſh as the Greek biſhops do, and place the whole Chriſtian religion in the practice of faſting, and think not themſelves obliged to do any other duty. Their cathedral is pretty neatly kept, and well adorned with images, which they deck with gold and jewels, believing that in ſo doing they ſatisfy God's juſtice, and atone for their ſins. They are clothed in ſcarlet and velvet, as the ſeculars are, and differ from them only in this, that they wear their beards long, and their bonnets black, round, and high.

There are alſo in Mingrelia certain monks of the order of St. Baſil, who wear the ſame habit, and live after the manner of the Greek monks, wearing black bonnets, eating no fleſh, and ſuffering their hair to grow; but they mind nothing of religion, but to obſerve their faſts exactly. They have alſo nuns of the ſame order, who obſerve their faſting days and wear a black veil, but they have no nunneries, nor are under any vows or ſubordination, but quit their habit and temperance when they pleaſe.

The prieſts of Mingrelia are very numerous, but a ſort of miſerable creatures. They till their own ground and the lands of their lords, being no leſs ſlaves than the ſeculars; nor have they any reſpect ſhewn them, but when they bleſs their food at meals, or ſay maſs. Their pariſh churches have no bells, but they call the people together by knocking with a great ſtick upon a board, and they are kept as naſty as ſtables, the images being foul and broken, and covered with duſt. The worſhip which they pay to their images is idolatrous, for they adore them not with a relative adoration, but pay their devotion to the material ſubſtance. They worſhip ſuch moſt, as are fineſt adorned, or famed for their cruelty, and if they ſwear by any of theſe, they will never break the oath. St. Giobas is one of their moſt formidable images, and him they will not approach nearer than they can juſt ſee him, but pray to him, and leave their preſent at that diſtance; for they report, that he kills all that approach him very near.

The Chriſtian ſaints they have no value for, unleſs it be St. George, whom they account their chief ſaint, as do alſo the Georgians, Muſcovites, and Greeks. Their maſs is after the Greek manner, and the prieſts celebrate it without any other ſacerdotal habit but their ſurplices. Their cup or chalice is a goblet of wood, and the cover is of the ſame matter; and their patten is a wooden diſh. In Lent they never ſay maſs but on Saturdays and Sundays, for they hold that the communion ſpoils their faſting. They conſecrate unleavened or leavened bread, without any difference, and never mix water with wine, unleſs it be very ſtrong.

They laugh at tranſubſtantiation, and ſay, "How can Chriſt get into a loaf? for what reaſon ſhould he leave heaven to come down to the earth?" They anoint the foreheads of their children with the oil called myrone, as ſoon as they are born; but baptize them not till a long time after, and then they waſh them all over with water: but none will baptize their children till he is able to make a feaſt for the prieſt, godfathers, and gueſts, and that is the reaſon many of their children die unbaptiſed. They do not believe that ordination imprints a character not to be defaced; and, therefore, they ordain anew ſuch prieſts as have been degraded. Their marriages are a contract by way of bargain and ſale, for the parents of the maid agree upon the price with the perſon that deſires her; the price of a divorced woman is the leaſt, of a widow ſomething more, but of a maid moſt. When the bargain is made, the young man may company with the damſel till the money is paid, and it is no ſcandal if ſhe be with child. If any one has married a barren woman, or of an ill diſpoſition, they hold it not only lawful, but requiſite to divorce her, as a match not made by God, who only does good. There is none that underſtands the Bible, or reads it, but the women will repeat ſeveral ſtories of the Goſpel, which they have by tradition. They obſerve the ſame faſts almoſt as the Greeks, for they keep the four great Lents, viz., the firſt before Eaſter, which is forty-eight days; that before Chriſtmas, which is forty days; St. Peter's faſt, which is near a month; and the laſt, which the eaſtern Chriſtians obſerve in honour of the Virgin Mary, which continues fifteen days. They make the ſign of the croſs when they drink wine and eat pork, but not as any mark of Chriſtianity. Their prayers are all addreſſed to their idols for their temporal benefits, viz. their own proſperity, or ruin of their enemies. They offer ſacrifices like the Jews and Gentiles. They never make holiday upon Sundays, or abſtain from works but at the feſtivals of Chriſtmas and Eaſter, which they celebrate only in eating and drinking to exceſs in their houſes. Their greateſt feſtivals are when an idol is carried through their country, when they put on their beſt cloaths, make a great feaſt, and get ready a preſent for

the idol. Their mourning for the dead is altogether barbarous, and like that of people in deſpair, the women rend their cloaths, tear their hair and fleſh, beat their breaſts, cry, yell, and gnaſh with their teeth, like people mad or poſſeſſed; the men alſo tear their cloaths and thump their breaſts.

8. Their neighbour nations live and act after the ſame faſhion almoſt in all reſpects, only they that live near Perſia and Turkey are more civil in their manners, and more honeſt and juſt in their inclinations; whereas thoſe that border upon the Tartars and Scythians are more barbarous, having no idea or outward form of religion, and obſerving no laws.

On the confines of Mingrelia lie the principality of Guriel and kingdom of Imeretta. The country of Guriel is very ſmall, bordering upon Imeretta on the north, Mount Caucaſus on the eaſt, Mingrelia on the weſt, and the Black Sea on the ſouth. It lies all along by the ſea-ſhore from the river Phaſis to the caſtle Gonie, which is held by the Turks. The inhabitants are of the ſame nature and manners as the Mingrelians, and have the ſame inclinations to lewdneſs, robbery, and murder.

The kingdom of Imeretta is ſomething bigger than the country of Guriel, and is the Iberia of the ancients. It is encompaſſed with mount Caucaſus, Colchis, the Black Sea, the principality of Guriel, and part of Georgia. It is twenty-ſix miles in length, and ſixty miles broad. The country is full of woods and mountains, like Mingrelia, but the valleys are more pleaſant, and plains more delicious, producing corn, pulſe, cattle, and herbs of all ſorts. There are ſome iron mines. They have alſo ſome money current among them, which is coined in their kingdom, and ſeveral towns; but their manners and cuſtoms differ little from the Mingrelians. The King has three good caſtles, one called Scander, ſeated on the ſide of a valley, and two on mount Caucaſus, called Regia and Scorgia, being both almoſt inacceſſible, as being built in places that nature itſelf has wonderfully fortified, the river Phaſis running between them. The fortreſs of Cotatis was once in this Prince's juriſdiction, but the Turks are now maſters of it.

The King of Imeretta governed the Abcas, Mingrelians, and people of Guriel, after they had all four freed themſelves from the power of the Emperors, firſt of Conſtantinople, and then of Trebiſond: but in the laſt age, ſetting up for themſelves, and revolting from one another, they were involved in continual wars among themſelves, till calling in the aſſiſtance of the Turks, they were all made tributary to them. The King of Imeretta pays eighty boys and girls, from ten to twenty years of age. The Prince of Guriel pays forty-ſix children of both ſexes; and the Prince of Mingrelia ſixty thouſand ells of linen cloth made in that country. The Abcas ſeldom paid any thing at firſt, and now pay nothing. The King of Imeretta and Prince of Guriel ſend their tribute to the baſha of Akalzike, but a chiaux gathers it at Mingrelia.

9. Leaving Iſagour, October 4, he paſſed by the mouth of the river Aſtolphus, called Langur by the Mingrelians, one of the biggeſt rivers in Mingrelia, and on the 5th came to Anarghia, a village two miles from the ſea, conſiſting of two hundred houſes, but ſo far diſtant the one from the other, that it is two miles from the firſt to the laſt. Hither the Turks come to buy ſlaves, and have barks ready to carry them away. It is thought, that the fair and large city, called Heraclea, ſtood in the ſame place. At this town there is plenty of proviſions, and that very cheap, viz. wild pigeons, fowl, porkers, and goats in abundance, and wine is plentiful. From Anarghia he ſailed up the river Aſtolphus, and went to a place called Sapias, which is the name of two little churches, of which the one is a pariſh church of Mingrelia, and the other belongs to the Theatins, a ſort of friars, who firſt came into Mingrelia in

1627, and were admitted there as phyſicians, and have built themſelves ſeveral apartments about it, after the manner of the country. They have ſome ſlaves, and two families of country people their tenants. They have good employment as phyſicians, but none will embrace their religion, their very ſlaves refuſing to communicate in their ſervices; ſo that they would have long ſince left the country, had it not been for the honour of the Roman church and their own order.

After a month's ſtay with the monks, it not being ſafe to travel becauſe of the troubles of the country, he returned again to Anarghia, and having hired a Turkiſh feluke, for Gonie, November the 10th, ſtaid till the 27th to take in loading and paſſengers. While he ſtaid here he was invited to two chriſtenings, and curioſity engaged him to be preſent at them. The manner was this: the prieſt being ſent for about ten o'clock in the morning, ſat himſelf down in the buttery, and fell to reading a book half torn, about the bigneſs of a New Teſtament, in octavo. He read very faſt, and with a low voice, in ſuch a careleſs manner, as if he regarded not what he did, any more than the reſt did what he ſaid, for the father, godfather, and child, who was about five years old, went to and again all the time.

When the prieſt had read an hour, there was a bucket of warm water got ready, into which when the prieſt had poured about a ſpoonful of oil of walnuts, he bid the godfather undreſs the child; which done, he ſet him upon his feet in the water, and waſhed his body all over well, and then the prieſt gave him a ſmall quantity of myrone, or oil of unction, with which he anointed the top of his head, ears, forehead, noſe, cheeks, chin, ſhoulders, elbows, back, belly, knees, and feet, the prieſt ſtill reading till the godfather dreſſed the child, and then the father bringing in wine, bread, and pork, they all ſat down to eat and drink, and were all extremely drunk before they parted. Their maſs they perform with the ſame irreverence and careleſſneſs.

Departing from Anarghia in fair and clear weather, he diſcovered the high lands of Trebiſond on the one ſide, and of the Abcas on the other, and came to the river Kelmhel, which though not ſo broad nor rapid as Langur, yet is deeper.

10. On the 30th he came to the river Phaſis, which, taking its riſe in mount Caucaſus, runs at firſt in a narrow channel, though ſwiftly, about Cotatis, and ſometimes ſo low that it is eaſily fordable; but where it diſchargeth itſelf into the ſea, which is about ninety miles from Cotatis, the channel is a mile and a half broad, and ſixty fathoms deep, being augmented in that courſe by divers ſtreams. The water is muddy and thick, but very good to drink. There are ſeveral iſlands at the mouth of it, which being covered with thick woods, make a delightful proſpect. Arrian ſays, that upon one of theſe iſlands ſtood the temple of Rhea, but there are no remains of it now, though there are ſome hiſtorians who ſay, it was ſtanding in the time of the Grecian empire, and was, in Zeno's reign, dedicated to the worſhip of Chriſt. On this river, and the Black Sea about it, are plenty of pheaſants, or phaſiani, ſo called from the river Phaſis. All the coaſts of this river are a low ſandy ſoil, covered with woods ſo thick that one can hardly ſee ſix paces up the land.

On the 30th he arrived at Gonie, which is about thirty miles from Phaſis, the ſea-coaſts being exceeding high land and rocks, ſome being woody, and others naked. Gonie is a large caſtle, in the territories of the Prince of Guriel, built four ſquare, of hard and rough ſtones of a very large ſize. It hath no trenches, but walls only, and two great guns. In it are about thirty ſmall poor houſes, made of boards, and without is a ſmall village of about as many more, all inhabited by mariners, and other booriſh people. There is a cuſtom-houſe here, the officers whereof are extremely rude, and imperious, and ſevere to the people of the country, but extravagant to the Europeans, not

Engraved by George Cooke.

Mountains of Caucasus.

not regarding any man's perſon, nor any recommendations from the Porte, but ſearching all things ſtrictly, and exacting what they pleaſe.

From Gonie he went to the caſtle of Akalzike. The way lies over Mount Caucaſus, which is one of the higheſt mountains, and one of the moſt difficult to paſs over in the world. The top is always covered with ſnow, over which the natives paſs in a kind of ſandals, made flat like a racket, to keep them from ſinking. It is uſual for the guides here to make long prayers to their images to keep the winds from riſing, for if the wind be high, it buries all the travellers in ſnow.

This mountain, though not inhabited for ſome leagues together in many places, yet is fruitful to the very top, yielding honey, wheat, gom, wine, and fruits, and feeding hogs and large cattle. The vines are ſo luxuriant, that they run up to the very tops of their higheſt trees, ſo that the people cannot gather them. The country people dwell in wooden huts, of which every family has four or five. The women grind their corn as they want it, and bake their bread on ſtones, or upon their hearth, and yet the cruſt is very white, and the bread good. Theſe inhabitants are for the moſt part Chriſtians, after the Georgian ceremonies; they are freſh complexioned, and their women are handſome. At the bottom of the hill is a very fair valley, rich and fertile, being watered by the river Kur, which has many villages, and in them the ruins of ſeveral caſtles and churches, which, the people ſay, were deſtroyed by the Turks.

Akalzike is a fortreſs built upon mount Caucaſus, fortified with double walls, and flanked with towers built with battlements, after the ancient manner, and defended with a few great guns. Upon little hillocks about it ſtands a large town of 400 houſes, which have nothing of antiquity, but two Armenian churches. It is inhabited by Turks, Armenians, Georgians, Greeks, and Jews, who have their churches and ſynagogues. The river Kur, anciently called Cyrus and Corus, which riſes in the Mount Caucaſus, runs by it. A baſha lodges in the fortreſs, and his ſoldiers are quartered in the adjacent villages. It was built by the Georgians, from whom the Turks took it.

From Akalzike he went to Gory, and paſſed by Uſker, where the Turks have a caſtle built on a rock, with a garriſon and cuſtom-houſe, under the command of a Sanziac, and two leagues farther, you croſs over the mountains which part Perſia and Turkey, from whence you ſee ſeveral villages, in which are the ruins of many caſtles, fortreſſes, and churches, and the miſerable remains of the grandeur of the Georgians, before the Turkiſh and Perſian wars deſtroyed them.

At the foot of the mountain lie a town and fortreſs, both called Surham. It ſtands on a very lovely plain, full of cenſes, villages, hillocks, houſes of pleaſure, and little caſtles belonging to the Georgian lords, and has a fortreſs containing a garriſon of 100 men. All the country is very well tilled, and mighty pleaſant and delightful as far as Gory, except that on the right hand lies a great city almoſt in ruins, as not containing above 500 houſes inhabited, whereas formerly, by report, it had 12,000.

Gory is a ſmall city, ſeated on a plain between two mountains, upon the banks of the river Kur, and by it is a caſtle on a hill, garriſoned by native Perſians. The houſes and market-places are all built with earth, but the people are all very rich and wealthy, and it is furniſhed with all neceſſaries for human life at a cheap rate.

11. From Gory he departed, December the 16th, and travelling upon the banks of the river Kur, through pleaſant plains, with great numbers of villages on all hands, he paſſed through Calicala, a city almoſt totally ruined, and came on the 17th to Teflis, the capital city of that part of Georgia, lying in the province of Carthueli. The country of Georgia, which is under the juriſdiction of the Perſians, borders at this day to the

eaſt upon Circaſſia and Muſcovy, to the weſt upon Armenia the Leſſer, and to the north upon the Black Sea and the kingdom of Imeretta. It is extended from Tauris and Erzerom to Tanais, and was anciently called Albania. It is a country very woody and mountainous, unleſs in the middle, where it is more even and level. The river Kur runs through the midſt of it, and empties itſelf into the Caſpian Sea.

The Grecians are thought by ſome to have called it Georgia, from Georgoi, huſbandman; but others will have the name derived from St. George, the patron ſaint of all the Chriſtians of the Greek church. The temper of the air is very kindly in Georgia, being very dry, cold in the winter, and hot in the ſummer. The fair weather does not begin till May, but then it laſts till the end of November. The ſoil being well watered, produces all ſorts of grain, herbs, and fruits in abundance, ſo that a man may live their deliciouſly and cheap. Cattle are there very plentiful and good, as well the larger as leſſer ſort; their fowl is incomparable, eſpecially their wild fowl; their boar's fleſh is as plentiful and good as any in Colchis; and, indeed, the common people live upon nothing elſe almoſt but young pigs, which are excellent meat, and never offend the ſtomach. The Caſpian Sea, which is next to Georgia, and the Kur, that runs quite through it, ſupplies it with all ſorts of ſalt and freſh fiſh. There is no country that drinks more and better wine, and they tranſport great quantities of it into Media, Armenia, and to Iſpahan, for the King's table. They have great quantities of ſilk, but know not how to weave it, and therefore they carry it into Turkey to Erzerom, and the parts adjoining, and drive a great trade with it. The complexion of the Georgians is moſt beautiful, you can ſcarce ſee an ill-favoured perſon among them; and the women are ſo exquiſitely handſome, that it is hardly poſſible to look upon them, and not be in love with them. They are tall, clean limbed, plump and full, but not over fat, and extremely ſlender in the waiſt; but this beauty they ſpoil with painting and dreſſing, with ſumptuous habits and jewels. The Georgians are naturally very witty, and would be as learned men and great artiſts as any are in the world, if they had the improvements of arts and ſciences; but having a mean education and bad examples, they are drowned in vice, are cheats and knaves, perfidious, treacherous, ungrateful, and proud. They are irreconcileable in their enmities; for though they are not eaſily provoked, yet they preſerve their hatred inviolable.

Drunkenneſs and luxury are ſuch common vices among them, that they are not ſcandalous in Georgia. The church-men will be as drunk as others; and they keep male ſlaves in their houſes, which they uſe for their concubines, at which no body is offended, becauſe it is ſo commonly practiſed, that cuſtom makes it thought lawful; yea, and they ſay, he that is not drunk at their great feſtivals of Eaſter and Chriſtmas, cannot be a good Chriſtian, and deſerves to be excommunicated. The Georgians are very great uſurers, and will lend no money without a pawn. The loweſt intereſt they take is two per cent. for a month. The women are as vicious and as wicked as the men, and contribute more than they to that general debauchery which overflows the country. In their common converſation they are civil and courteous, grave and moderate. Their habit is much like the Polonian, and their bonnets like theirs, their veſts are open before down the breaſt, and faſtened with buttons and loops; their hoſe and ſhoes are like the Perſians, and their women's cloathing is wholly in the ſame taſte.

The houſes of their grandees, and all their public edifices, are built according to the Perſian model, and they imitate the Perſians in their ſitting at table, in their beds, and manner of diet. The nobility exerciſe an abſolute tyranny over the people, who are their vaſſals, making them labour as long as they pleaſe for them, without food or wages, challenging a right over their eſtates, liberty, and lives, and ſelling their children,

children, or making them their own ſlaves. They were converted to Chriſtianity by an Iberian woman, in the fourth age, but have nothing left of Chriſtianity but the name; for they do not obſerve the leaſt precept of Jeſus Chriſt; they place all their religion in faſting, and making long prayers.

There are ſeveral biſhops in Georgia, with a patriarch, whom they call Catholicos, and an archbiſhop, whoſe ſees, as often as they are vacant, are diſpoſed of by the Prince, though he be a Mahometan, and he generally gives them to his relations, and the preſent patriarch is his brother. The churches in Georgia, eſpecially in their cities, are kept ſomething more cleanly than in Mingrelia, but in the villages are full as naſty. The Georgians and their neighbours build their churches upon high mountains, in remote and inacceſſible places, and bow unto them at great diſtances, but ſcarce go into them once in ten years, leaving them to the injuries of the weather, and for the birds to build their neſts in. They can give no other reaſon for all this, but that it is a cuſtom; though we may ſuppoſe, it is rather to avoid repairing and adorning them. Georgia was made tributary to the Perſians by Iſhmael the Great, and though it has ſeveral times revolted, yet ſtill continues in ſubjection to them.

The city of Teflis, the capital city of Eaſt Georgia, is one of the faireſt cities in all the King of Perſia's dominions, though not ſo big as ſome. It is ſeated at the bottom of a mountain, and on the eaſtern ſide of it runs the river Kur, which riſing in the mountains of Georgia, joins itſelf to the Araxes. The moſt part of houſes built by the river-ſide, ſtand upon a rock, and the whole city is encompaſſed with ſtrong and beautiful walls, except on the ſide next the river, and is defended by a fortreſs on the ſouth ſide, wherein are none but native Perſians. This fortreſs is a ſanctuary for all manner of criminals.

Teflis has in it fourteen churches, which is very much in a country where there is ſo little devotion. Six of them are appropriated to the Georgian ſervice, and maintained by them, and the other eight belong to the Armenians. The cathedral called Sion is built all of hewn ſtone, and ſtands on the bank of the river. It is an ancient building, in good repair, compoſed of four bodies, and has a great duomo in the middle. The great altar ſtands in the middle of the church, and the inſide is full of paintings, after the Greek manner. The Armenians have alſo ſeveral monaſteries here; in one of them, they ſay, they have St. George's ſkull.

There is not any moſque in Teflis, though it be under a Mahometan Prince, and though the Perſians have attempted to build one ſeveral times, they could never accompliſh their deſign, for the people mutinied and beat down their work; which action, though very affronting to the Perſian religion, yet the Emperor of Perſia is afraid to come to any extremities with them, leſt they ſhould revolt to their neighbours the Turks, and ſo Teflis and all Georgia enjoy their liberty to retain almoſt all the exterior marks of their religion; for, on the top of all the ſteeples of their churches ſtands a croſs, and in them they have bells, which they often ring. Every day they ſell pork openly, as well as other victuals, and wine, at the corners of the ſtreets, which vexes the Perſians to ſee, but they cannot help it. Some few years ſince they built a moſque in the fortreſs, and the Georgians could not prevent it; but when the prieſt, after their cuſtom, came up to the top, to make profeſſion of his faith, and call the Mahometans to prayers, the people ſo plied him with vollies of ſtones, that he was forced to fly down in haſte, and never dared to appear there any more.

The public buildings, viz. their market-places, inns, and magazines, are well built of ſtone, and kept in good repair. The Prince's palace is a noble and beautiful building, being

being adorned with halls and rooms of ſtate, gardens, aviaries, and ſpacious courts, to which the viceroy of Caket's palace is not much inferior.

The out parts of the city are adorned with ſeveral houſes of pleaſure, and many beautiful gardens, of which the Prince's is the biggeſt; but the trees are ſuch only as ſerve for ſhade and coolneſs.

The Capuchins, who were ſent into Georgia about the year 1657, by the Pope, have an habitation in this city, as alſo at Gory, where they are highly eſteemed as phyſicians, which is the title they give themſelves, but they make very little progreſs in the converſion of the Georgians; for beſides that theſe people are very ignorant, and take little care to inſtruct themſelves, it is ſo rivetted into their heads, that faſting, as they obſerve it, is the eſſential part of the Chriſtain religion, that they do not believe the Capuchins to be Chriſtians, though they faſt as they do, becauſe they are informed, they do it not in Europe.

The city of Teflis is very well peopled, and there are as many ſtrangers reſort thither as to any place in the world, for there is a great trade driven there, and the court is very numerous and magnificent, becoming the capital city of a province. The Georgians do not call it Teflis, but Cala, i. e. The Fortreſs, which is a name they give to all habitations encompaſſed with walls, and ſome geographers call it, Tebele-Cala, or the hot city, either by reaſon of the hot baths, or becauſe the air there is not ſo cold and boiſterous as in other parts of Georgia.

12. On the 28th he departed from Teflis, and paſſing through Sogan-lou, or the place of onions, ſtanding upon the river Kur, came to Kupri-Kent, or the village of the bridge, becauſe there is a very fair bridge over the river Tabadi, in the arches of which are made little chambers and porticos, and in every one of them a chimney, on purpoſe to lodge ſtrangers, and in the middle ones balconies, to take the cool air in the ſummer; Melick-Kent, or the royal village, and ſo to Dely-Jan, a village of 300 houſes, ſeated upon the river Acalſtapha, which runs at the foot of a high and dreadful mountain, part of Mount Taurus. Here is plenty of water, and the ground is very fertile, and a great many villages to be ſeen on every ſide, ſome of which ſtood ſo high upon the points of the rocks, that they were almoſt indiſcernible. They are inhabited by Georgian and Armenian Chriſtians, but not intermixed, becauſe they have ſuch an inveterate enmity one againſt another, that they cannot live together in the ſame villages. The moſt part of the houſes of theſe villages are no better than caverns or hollow places made in the earth; the reſt are built with timber, and covered with turf.

Theſe ſort of buildings are very convenient, being cool in ſummer, and warm in winter. The borough of Dely-Jan, and all the country round about for ſix leagues, is governed by its own natural Princes, from father to ſon, and holds of Perſia as Georgia does. It is called the country of Caſac, the people being ſtout and fierce, deſcended from the Coſaques, who inhabit the mountains on the north-eaſt of the Caſpian Sea, and is at preſent under a Prince called Kamſhi-Can. He lodged at Kara-Phiſhiſh, a large borough, ſeated at the bottom of the mountains which ſeparate Georgia from Armenia. It ſtands on the banks of the river Zengui, and paſſing Bichni, where there is an Armenian monaſtery, our author arrived at Erivan, Jan. 7, 1673.

13. Erivan is a great city, but dirty. The vineyards and gardens make the greateſt part of it, there being no ornamental buildings in it. It is ſituated in a plain, encompaſſed with mountains on every ſide, between two rivers, the Zengui and Queurk-boulack. The fortreſs itſelf may paſs for a ſmall city, containing 800 houſes, inhabited by Perſians only; for though the Armenians have ſhops there to work and trade in in the day-time,

day-time, yet they return to their houſes in the evening. It is ſurrounded with three walls of earth, and brick made of clay, with battlements, and flanked with towers, and ſtrengthened with ramparts, according to the cuſtom of the ancients, and in it is conſtantly maintained a garriſon of 2000 men. The governor of the province's palace is within this caſtle, and is a very ſpacious and delightful place in ſummer.

The city ſtands about a cannon-ſhot from the fortreſs, but the ſpace between is filled up with houſes and market-places, which are ſuch pitiful ſtructures, that they may be removed in one day. There are ſeveral churches in this city, of which the epiſcopal ſee, called Ircou-ye-rize, and Catovike are the chief; the reſt are ſmall, ſunk deep in the earth. Near the epiſcopal church is an old tower, built of free-ſtone, of antique work, with ſeveral inſcriptions, but none can read them; nor is it known when, by whom, or for what uſe it was built. At a little diſtance from it is the Grand Meidan, or great market-place, 400 paces ſquare, where they uſe all exerciſes, both for horſe and foot, as carouſals, racings, wreſtling, and managing of horſes for war. There are many baths and fair inns in it. The air is good, but a little thick and cold, for their winter laſts long, and they have ſnow ſometimes in April. The country is very delightful and fertile, and produces fruits in great plenty, eſpecially wine, which is there good and cheap.

The Armenians have a tradition, that Noah planted his vineyard near Erivan, and ſome pretend to ſhew the place, about a ſmall league from the city. The river and lake, which is twenty-five leagues in compaſs, furniſh the city with excellent fiſh of nine ſorts, of which the trouts and carps are famous all over the Eaſt. In the midſt of the lake is a ſmall iſland, where ſtands a monaſtery, whoſe prior is an archbiſhop, and takes upon him the title of patriarch, refuſing to acknowledge the grand patriarch. The Armenians hold this city to be the moſt anciently inhabited place in the world; for they affirm, that Noah and all his family dwelt there, both before the deluge, and after he came out of the ark, and that the earthly paradiſe was there. But all this is a ſtory without foundation, reported by perſons equally ignorant and vain-glorious.

Two leagues from Erivan ſtands the famous monaſtery of the Three Churches, the ſanctuary of the Armenian Chriſtians. The Armenians call it Ecs-miazin, which name alſo the principal church bears. It is a ſubſtantial but dark ſtructure, all built of large freeſtone. The monks ſhew ſeveral relics preſerved in it, as a finger of St. Peter, and two of St. John the Baptiſt, a rib of St. James, biſhop of Jeruſalem, and an arm of St. Gregory, &c. but they muſt be very credulous and ſuperſtitious that can believe them ſuch. The two other churches that ſtood near this are St. Caiana and St. Repſima, the names of two Roman virgins who fled into Armenia, as they ſay, in the ninth perſecution, and ſuffered martyrdom in the ſame places where thoſe churches ſtand.

Within the territory of Erivan, which reaches about twenty leagues round it, there are twenty-three convents for men, and five for women, which are ſo poor, that being continually employed in getting a livelihood, they never perform holy duties but upon holidays. They hold the opinions of the Monophyſites, but in other points are very ignorant. Two leagues from Erivan eaſtward, is to be ſeen the famous mountain where Noah's ark is ſaid to have reſted. The Armenians hold, that the ark is ſtill upon the top of the mount called Maus, but that no man can aſcend to it. The governor of Erivan is a Beglerbeg, i. e. a lord of lords, and has alſo the title of ſerdar, or general of the army. His revenue is 32,000 tomans, which is above 112,000 l. ſterling a year, beſides fines, preſents, and indirect ways of enriching himſelf, which amount to 50,000 l. more.

14. While he ſtaid at Erivan, he ſaw a wedding of the governor's ſteward's brother. Matrimony in Perſia is very expenſive, ſo that only men of eſtates will venture upon

it, leſt it prove their ruin. The meaner ſort content themſelves with a concubine or ſlave. The Mahometans that follow the tenets of Haly, take their wives after three manners, viz. by purchaſe, hire, or marriage. All theſe ways their religion allows, and the civil law acknowledges the children born in any of them legitimate. The wives who are ſlaves are called Canize. Of theſe the law allows a man as many as he can maintain, and takes no cognizance how they are uſed. He is maſter of their chaſtity, yea, of their lives, and it is their honour to ſerve their maſter as his wives. The hired wives are called Moutaa: of theſe alſo a man may take as many as he pleaſeth, and as long as he pleaſeth, for the price agreed on, and at the end of the term they may part with them, or renew the bargain. A handſome young maid at Iſpahan may be hired for 35l. a year, beſides cloaths, diet, and lodging. If any break off before the end of the term, he muſt pay the whole ſum contracted for, and the woman, after diſmiſſion, muſt tarry forty days before ſhe lets herſelf to another. Theſe days they call the days of purification.

The eſpouſed wives are called Nekaa, and of theſe the Mahometan religion allows a man to marry four; but they never marry above one, to avoid expence and diſorder, for every one will command, and their mutual jealouſy cauſes a perpetual confuſion; wherefore, if they cannot content themſelves with one woman, they uſe their ſlaves. In Perſia they uſually marry by proxy, becauſe the man never ſees his wife till after he has conſummated the marriage, which ſometimes he does not till ſeveral days after his wife has been at home. One would think, that this way of marrying ſhould produce unfortunate matches; but it doth not, for marriages are not more happy in any country than this. If either of the parties diſlike one another, and reſolve to unmarry themſelves, the Mahometan religion permits a divorce, and they may ſeparate either before a judge or a churchman, giving each other a talaac or bill of divorce, and then the parties are at liberty to marry again where they pleaſe themſelves.

Upon this diſſolution of their marriage, if the man has ſued the divorce, he is obliged to return the woman her dowry; yet if the woman ſought it, ſhe loſeth her portion; but if the perſons repent the act, they may renew the marriage again three times: yet, the Perſians rarely make uſe of this licenſe to part with their wives, only ſome citizens and tradeſmen make their advantage of it. Perſons of quality count it ſo diſhonourable, that they will rather die than divorce their wives, and the meaneſt ſort cannot part with the portion, and ſo if they deſire a divorce, which is rare, they effect it by ill-uſing their wives, to force them to ſue for a divorce, and thereby ſacrifice all to their liberty.

The Armenian patriarch lives in this city, and has an epiſcopal palace. He, with all the reſt of his clergy, is much addicted to ſimony, as are alſo all the Eaſtern ſects. Their chief gain lies in ſelling the oil called myrone, at a dear rate, which they teach the people to believe is a remedy that phyſically cures all the diſtempers of the ſoul, and confers the grace of regeneration and remiſſion of ſins, ſaying, that in baptiſm it is the oil, not the water, which is the matter preſcribed. The patriarch conſecrates this oil, and ſells it to the biſhops and prieſts, who get great ſums by it.

15. April the 8th he parted from Erivan, and travelling through a country ſomewhat hilly, but full of villages, came firſt to Daivin, and then to Kainer, leaving the mountain of Noah on the right hand. On the 10th he went on the ſame road, which led him through a fertile and fair country, and leaving Sederec, a great town, and the capital of the province of Armenia, called Charour, where the Sultan reſides, came through Nouratchin, and over the river Harpaſony to Nacchivan, which is thought to be the ancient Artaxate. It is now little elſe but a heap of ruins, not containing above two thouſand houſes which are inhabited, and thoſe in the heart of the city, with inns,

baths, and other public houſes, where they ſell tobacco and coffee, whereas formerly the Perſian hiſtory aſſures us, that it contained forty thouſand.

Five leagues to the north lies a great city, called Abrener, i. e. the fertile field, and ſeven others near to it, all whoſe inhabitants are Papiſts, and their biſhops and curates Dominicans, who perform their church ſervice in the Armenian language. Theſe towns were brought into ſubjection to the Pope by an Italian Dominican of Bologna. Twenty villages more acknowledged the ſame eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, but are returned to their firſt religion, and their obedience to the Armenian patriarch; and it is not likely that the reſt can hold out long, for the governors of the province uſe them violently, and lay heavy impoſitions upon them, for withdrawing from their juriſdiction.

From Nacchivan, he paſſed to old Julpha, through a dry ſtony country, where there is nothing to be ſeen but hills of ſtones. It is a ruined city, and thought by ſome authors to be the ancient Ariammene. It is ſaid to have contained four thouſand houſes, though the ruins do not ſhew above half ſo many. At preſent there is nothing but holes and caverns in the mountains, fitter for beaſts than men to live in.

This city was ruined by Abas the Great, for the ſame reaſon as Nacchivan, viz. to hinder the invaſions of the Turks for want of proviſions. By Julpha runs the river Araxes, which ſeparates Armenia from Media. It riſes in the mountain where Noah's ark is ſaid to have reſted, from which perhaps it takes its name, and empties itſelf into the Caſpian Sea. It is very large, and of ſo rapid a courſe, eſpecially when it is ſwelled by the thaws of the ſnows that come down from the mountains, that no bridges can ſtand upon it, nor dams reſiſt its force, and the noiſe of the waters aſtoniſhes the ears of the beholders.

16. Media, which formerly ruled all Aſia with an imperial dominion, at preſent makes but one part of a province, though the largeſt in the Perſian empire, called Azerbeyan or Aſapaican. It borders on the eaſt upon the Caſpian Sea and Hyrcania, on the ſouth upon Parthia, on the weſt upon Araxes and the Upper Armenia, of which Aſſyria is a part, and on the north on Dageſtan, which is that mountanious country that borders upon the Muſcovite Coſſacks, and part of Mount Taurus. The Perſians affirm, that the name of Azerbeyan implies, the country of fire, by reaſon of the famous temple of fire which was there erected, where was kept that fire which the fire-worſhippers hold to be a god. Nimrod is ſaid firſt to have brought in this worſhip, and there is a certain ſect called Guebres which ſtill maintain it.

From Julpha he travelled through a country full of little hills, leaving a ſpacious plain upon the left hand, where many bloody battles between the Turks and Perſians were fought, and particularly that between Selim, the ſon of Solyman the Great, and Iſhmael the Great, to Alacou, and from thence, through a more even country, to Marant, a very fair town, conſiſting of about two thouſand five hundred houſes, and which has ſo many gardens as take up as much ground as the houſes. It is ſeated at the bottom of a mountain, at the end of a plain, watered by the little river Zelou-lou, from which the people have drawn ſeveral cuts into their grounds and gardens.

In the places adjoining grow plenty of fruits, the beſt in all Media; but that which is moſt peculiar to theſe parts, is this, that here they gather cochineal, though in no great quantities, nor for any longer time than only eight days in ſummer, when the ſun is in Leo; for before that time, the people ſay, it doth not come to maturity; and after the worm, from which they draw the cochineal, makes a hole in the leaf in which it grows, it is loſt. The Perſians call cochineal kermis, from kerm, which ſignifies a worm, becauſe it is extracted out of worms. The Armenians have a tradition, that Noah lies buried here.

17. From thence he travelled among the mountains to Sophian, a little village full of rivulets and gardens, and fruitful to a wonder, and ſo he went to Tauris, which is fifty-three Perſian leagues from Erivan. This city is very large and potent, being the ſecond in Perſia in dignity, grandeur, riches, trade, and number of inhabitants. It is neither walled nor fortified, and the little river Spingtcha runs acroſs it, which ſometimes carries away the houſes on the ſide of it, and makes dreadful havock. On the north-ſide runs the river Agi, or the ſalt river, whoſe water is made ſalt by the little rivulets, which paſſing through the ſalt marſhes, fall into it, and ſo can nouriſh no fiſh. It is divided into nine wards, and has fifteen thouſand houſes, and as many ſhops in their market-places, among which are three hundred inns, and ſome ſo large, as to lodge three hundred people, and many cabarets for coffee, tobacco, and ſtrong liquors. There are three hundred and fifty moſques, three hoſpitals, which relieve the poor with victuals twice a day, and a fair hermi, called Hali's eye.

The inhabitants have been formerly computed to be five hundred and fifty thouſand. This city is full of ſtrangers, who come hither to trade from all parts of Aſia, becauſe it is full of all ſorts of merchandize, and abounds with artiſts in cotton, ſilk and gold. The faireſt turbans in Perſia are made here; and it is ſaid, there are ſix thouſand bales of ſilk conſumed in this manufacture. The air of Tauris is good, healthy, and dry, but the cold continues long, becauſe it is expoſed to the north, and the ſnow lies nine months in the year upon the mountains; the winds blow every day, morning and evening, and rains often fall.

It abounds with all things neceſſary for human ſupport, as corn, fiſh from the Caſpian Sea, veniſon, and other wild beaſts. Bread may be bought there at three pounds a penny, and fleſh at three halfpence a pound. There are ſaid to grow no leſs than 60 ſorts of grapes in and about Tauris. Near it is a quarry of white marble, a mine of gold, and another of ſalt. There are ſeveral mineral waters, all ſulphureous, of which ſome are cold, and others boiling hot. Moſt of our geographers of beſt note, as Ortelius, Ananias, Molets, &c. are of opinion, that this city is the ancient and celebrated Ecbatana, ſo frequently mentioned in holy writ, and in the ancient hiſtory of Aſia, but there are no remains of the magnificent palace of Ecbatan, where the monarchs of Aſia kept their courts in ſummer, nor of Daniel's, to juſtify this notion.

From Tauris he travelled firſt to Vaſpinge, a great borough, ſurrounded with gardens and groves of poplars and tylets, and watered with ſeveral brooks, which make it very pleaſant; then to Agi-agach, by which are the plains which afford the beſt paſtures in all Media, and perhaps in the whole world, where the choiceſt horſes in the whole province are put to graſs from April to June, to purge, refreſh, fatten and ſtrengthen them. Theſe plains are the Hippopothon of the ancients, of which they write that the Kings of Media kept here a breed of fifty thouſand horſes.

The road from hence leads by ſeveral circles of large hewn ſtones, which the Perſians affirm to be the places where the Caous or giants, when they made wars in Media, held their councils, it being a cuſtom among theſe people, that every officer that came to the council brought with him a ſtone, to ſerve him inſtead of a chair, and ſo carries you over hills and dales, all fruitful and delightful, to admiration, through Turiman, ſo called, becauſe that in the fields about it there is a great number of ſhepherds with their flocks, that are called by that name, to Purvare, an handſome large village at the bottom of an hill, and upon the banks of a little river.

From thence he proceeded in his journey, and croſſing the river Miana ſeveral times, by reaſon of its windings, paſſed through the town of the ſame name adjoining, both ſo called becauſe they part Media from Parthia, and aſcended a ridge of mountains,

which are a branch of mount Taurus, at the top of which ſtands a caſtle, called the Virgin's Caſtle, becauſe Artaxerxes is ſaid to have built it on purpoſe to impriſon a princeſs of the blood.

As ſoon as you have paſſed theſe mountains, and the river Keſil-bueſe, which is at the foot of them, you perceive a change of the air; for whereas Media is moiſt and cloudy, ſubject to high winds and much rain, the Parthian air is dry to the higheſt degree, without clouds or rain for ſix months ſometimes, and the ſoil ſandy, ſo that nothing will thrive without good huſbandry and pains.

18. Parthia, which was ſo long the ſeat of the empire of Aſia, is now a large province of the Perſian monarchy. It is the proper demeſnes of the Shah, and therefore has no governor, as the reſt of the provinces. It is extended 200 leagues in length, and 150 in breadth, being bounded by the province of Choraſſan on the eaſt; by Fars, which is properly Perſia, on the ſouth, by Azarbeyan or Media on the weſt, and Guilan or Mezanderan, which compoſe the province of Hyrcania, on the north.

The air is dry, and though the mountains produce nothing but thiſtles and briers, yet the plains are fruitful and pleaſant, where there is water. This province has above forty cities, which is much in Perſia, becauſe it is not peopled according to its extent. The Parthians took their original from the Scythians, who were the Tartars, who now inhabit the north of Perſia, called Uzbecs, and formerly Bactrians. The firſt village you come at is Zerigan, which is famed for its antiquity, being founded, according to the Perſian records, in the reign of Ardechir-babezon, ſeveral ages before Chriſt, and then paſſing over delightful plains, you come to Sultany.

This city is ſeated at the foot of a mountain. It ſeems afar off a very neat well-built place, but does not appear ſo when you are within it; yet ſome of the public buildings are very remarkable, both for the materials and architecture. It contains about three thouſand houſes, and beſides, there are very vaſt ruins, which makes it probable, that it was once the largeſt city of the kingdom, as their hiſtories relate. Proviſions are very plentiful and cheap there, and the air wholeſome, though very changeable, the mornings, evenings, and nights being very cold, and days hot. It is ſaid to be the moſt ancient city in Parthia. The predeceſſors of Iſhmael Sophi, and the laſt Armenian Kings, reſided there, and then it is ſaid, that it contained four hundred Chriſtian churches; but being demoliſhed by Tamerlane, and ſeveral other Turkiſh and Tartarian Princes, the Chriſtians have deſerted it.

From hence he travelled through a lovely country, and paſſing through ſeveral villages, ſurrounded with meadows, and groves of willow and poplar, he came to Ebher, a ſmall city for the buildings, as containing not above 2,500 houſes, but taking up a large extent of ground, becauſe they have ſo many large gardens. A ſmall river runs through the midſt of it. It is thought to be anciently called Barontha. The ſituation is delightful, the air wholeſome, and ſoil plentiful. It is governed by a darogue, or mayor; and the Mirtſheki-baſhi has his tahvil, or ſalary, charged upon the revenue of this city. The Perſian geographers aſſert, that this city was built by Kei-Coſrou, and that Darab-Reihoni, or Darius, began to build the caſtle; and that Skender-Roumi, i. e. Alexander the Great, finiſhed it. At Ebher they begin to ſpeak the Perſian language, which is ſpoken all the way to the Indies, more or leſs pure, as the people are more or leſs diſtant from Schiras, where it is ſpoken in the greateſt perfection.

19. From Ebher he travelled to Perſac, leaving Caſbin five leagues on the left hand. This great city ſtands in a delightful plain, three leagues from Mount Alouvent,

vent, one of the higheſt and moſt famous mountains in Perſia. It is ſix miles in circumfererence, containing 12,000 houſes, and 100,000 inhabitants, of which there are forty families of Chriſtians, and one hundred Jews, but all very poor. It was formerly walled, but they are now all fallen down. The chiefeſt ornament and grace of Caſbin is the King's palace, and the great number of the ſeats of the Perſian grandees, who attend upon the court, which has its continual reſidence there. There are but few moſques in Caſbin, but the royal moſque, called Metſhid-ſha, is one of the largeſt and faireſt in all Perſia. This city has no great plenty of water, but it is ſupplied, with all it has, by ſubterraneous channels called Keriſees.

The air is thick, and not very healthful, and the ſoil dry and ſandy, yet it abounds with meat, and all manner of proviſions, which are brought thither from the countries adjoining, which having many well-watered plains, feed a world of cattle, and produce prodigious quantities of corn. The faireſt grape in Perſia, called ſhahoni, or the royal grape, being of a gold colour, and tranſparent, of which the ſtrongeſt and moſt luſcious wine in the world is made, grows here. The air is very hot in ſummer all the day long, but the nights are ſo cold, that if a man expoſe himſelf never ſo little to the air, after he is undreſſed, he is ſure to fall ſick. Some of our European geographers affirm it to have been the city, which the Greeks called Ragea, or Rages, afterwards Europa and Arſacia, and now Caſbin, from a King of that name. It is governed by a darogue, or mayor, choſen every year, whoſe office is worth to him 600 tomans, or 2000 pounds.

Having paſſed Caſbin, he came to Kaiare, and having lodged there, travelled the next night (for that is the general way of travelling all over the eaſt, to avoid the heat of the ſun, which would hurt both man and beaſt in the day-time) by Segs-abad, which ſignifies the habitation of dogs, to Sava, a great city, ſeated in a ſandy and barren plain. It is two miles in circuit, and walled round, but ſo miſerably built, that, unleſs it be in the midſt, it runs to ruin for want of inhabitants. The hiſtories of Perſia unanimouſly agree, that the whole plain of Sava was formerly a ſalt marſh, or lake; but how it was dried is not certainly known: ſome fabulouſly report, that Haly, Mahomet's ſon-in-law, drained it by a miracle, and to preſerve the memory of it, the people built this city in the midſt of it.

19. Juſt over againſt Sava, eaſtward, at four leagues diſtance, ſtands a place of pilgrimage, moſt famous for the devotion of the Perſians. They call it Echmouil, that is to ſay, Samuel; for they believe, that this prophet was there interred, and over his tomb is built a moſt ſumptuous mauſolæum, in the midſt of a magnificent moſque. Over-againſt it is ſtill to be ſeen ſome remnants of the city of Rey, which is reported to have been once the biggeſt city of Aſia, next to Babylon. The Perſian hiſtories relate, that it was divided into ninety-ſix quarters, every one of which had forty-ſix ſtreets, and every ſtreet 400 houſes, and ten moſques; that there were in it 6,400 colleges, 16,600 baths, 15,000 towers of moſques, 12,000 mills, 1,700 channels, and 13,000 inns, and people almoſt numberleſs.

The chronicles of the Magi make Chus, the grand-child of Noah, to be founder of it; and Ptolemy calls it Raquaia; but the vulgar opinion is, that it was founded by Houſheing Piſhdadi, or the chief juſtitiary, and enlarged by Marroutſher, his ſucceſſor. It was deſtroyed by the Mahometans, who being divided into two ſects, viz. of Shia and Sunnis, made war one upon the other for ſixty years together. The ſect of Sunnis called in the aſſiſtance of the Tartars, and, by their help, bore down the ſect of Shia. In theſe wars the Tartars, by their frequent incurſions, deſtroyed the potent city of Rey,

Rey, and reduced it to nothing before the 600th year of their Hegyra. The ſoil about it is fertile and pleaſant, and produces great plenty of fruits; but the air is unhealthy, making the ſkin ſwarthy, and breeding agues.

Departing from hence, he paſſed by a hill, called Couh-Teliſm, which has this remarkable and peculiar to it; that as you approach nearer and nearer to it, it ſhews a different form, and varies both in its bigneſs and figure; that the top or point of it is always in ſight, and you would think, that it turned that ſide, which way ſoever you ſtood to look upon it. It conſiſts of a black earth, that crumbles like that of the burning mountains; but it is not known to have vomited fire. The people of the country ſay, that they that aſcend that mountain never come back again.

20. Having paſſed it, he came to Com, a large city, ſeated in a plain, by a river-ſide. It contains 15,000 houſes, as the people ſay, and is ſurrounded with a moat and wall, flanked with towers, but half ruined. On the river-ſide are two fair keys, and at the eaſt of the city a fine bridge. It contains many large and beautiful market-places, both for wholeſale and retail: though it be a city of no great trade, yet they export large quantities of fruit, dried and raw, and particularly pomegranates; ſoap, ſword-blades, and earthen ware, both white and varniſhed, which hath this peculiar property, that it cools the water in ſummer both wonderfully and ſuddenly, by reaſon of its continual tranſpiration. It contains a great number of fair inns, mauſolæums and moſques, wherein the grand-children and deſcendants of Ali, which are the Perſian ſaints, called Yman-Zade, ſons of the apoſtles, lie interred. One of theſe moſques is the moſt celebrated in the eaſt: it has four courts, of which the firſt is planted with trees and flowers, like a garden, with terraces on each ſide; the ſecond is not ſo beautiful as this, but the third is nothing inferior to it, being ſurrounded with apartments two ſtories high, and having a terrace, portico and canal. In the fourth are the chambers and lodgings for the prieſts, governors and ſtudents, that live upon the revenues of the ſacred place. Fronting theſe courts ſtand the body of the ſtructure, conſiſting of three great chapels upon a line. To the middlemoſt belongs a portal, eighteen feet high, of white marble. The top is a large half-duomo, over-laid without with large ſquare china tiles, painted with moreſco work, and embelliſhed within with gold and azure. The folding doors are plated with ſilver, gilt with vermillion.

In it ſtands the tomb of Fatima in the midſt, which is overlaid alſo with China tiles, painted a-la-moreſco, and overſpread with cloth of gold, which hangs down on both ſides. It is encloſed with a grate of maſſy ſilver, ten feet high, diſtant half a foot from the tomb, and at each corner are apples of fine gold. In the two chapels on each ſide ſtand the tombs of the laſt Kings of Perſia, viz. Abas and Sophi, both very magnificent; but on that of Abas are written in large characters of gold, ſeven elegies upon Mahomet and Haly, made by the learned Haſan-Caſa.

Theſe are rare pieces of eloquence, and in them may be ſeen not only the genius of Perſian poetry, but the tranſports of the Mahometan devotion. This city contains ſeveral other beautiful and ſumptuous edifices, and would be a very pleaſant place, were it not for the heat, which is exceſſive, there being no place in all Perſia where the ſun ſcorches more violently, yet is the air wholeſome, and ſoil fruitful, eſpecially in piſtachios. The people are very courteous and civil. The river that paſſeth by it is but a ſmall current in ſummer, but being ſwelled with the ſnow-waters that fall from the mountains, it ſometimes overflows great part of the city.

From Com he travelled four leagues over very fertile plains, abounding with fine villages, to Caſſem-abad, a town conſiſting of 300 houſes, belonging to the Queen-mother,

mother, as her dowry, from whence he paſſed over a dry ſandy plain, without villages or water, to Abiſhirin, or ſweet water, becauſe there is a fountain of fair water, and went from thence to Caſhan.

21. This city is ſeated in a large plain, near a high mountain, a league in length and a quarter of a league in breadth, running out from eaſt to weſt in form of an half-moon. There is no river near the city, but it is ſupplied with water by canals, deep wells, and ciſterns. It is encompaſſed with a double wall, flanked with round towers, after the old faſhion, and hath five gates. The city and ſuburbs, which are the moſt beautiful, contain 6500 houſes, as the people ſay, forty moſques, three colleges, and about 200 ſepulchres of the deſcendants of Ali. The principal moſque ſtands right againſt the market-place, and has a tower, like a ſteeple, of free-ſtone. The houſes are built of earth and brick, but are none of them remarkable for their beauty.

The bazars and baths are well built and kept, and the royal inn is the faireſt in all Perſia. The wealth and trade of Caſhan conſiſt in the manufactory of all ſorts of ſtuffs, and tiſſues of gold and ſilver, plain and flowered, ſatin and velvet; there is no city in Perſia that makes more. Caſhan ſtands in a good air, yet ſo violently hot that it is ready to ſtifle you in ſummer, which is occaſioned by the reflection of a mountain that ſtands on the ſouth of it; but the greateſt inconvenience that attends this city, is the great number of ſcorpions which infeſt it, and the parts adjoining, when the ſun is in Scorpio, and therefore there is nobody but has by him ſeveral experienced remedies againſt the ſting of this creature.

Cattle and wild fowl are not plentiful, but the country abounds in corn and fruits. They furniſh Iſpahan with fruits, eſpecially melons and water-melons, all the ſeaſon. Several European authors think this city to be Ambrodux or Cteſiphon of the ancients. It is ſaid to be founded by a virgin, who therefore laid the firſt ſtone of it when the ſun entered Virgo, and named it Caſhan from her grandfather. It is governed by a darogue or mayor, who holds his place two years.

From Caſhan he paſſed over a mountain, and then deſcended into a deep valley, very narrow and about a league in length, which is well filled with houſes, vineyards, and gardens, ſo cloſe one to another that they all ſeem but one village. Several delightful and clear ſtreams preſerve the ſummer ſo wonderfully cool here, that the roſes were not blown, nor the corn or fruit ripe, when the harveſt was quite got in at Caſhan. Several modern authors aſſert, that Darius was murdered by Beſſus in this valley, and that not improbably, becauſe hiſtory ſays Beſſus fled to Bactriana, and Nabarzanes to Hyrcania, and here the road begins to theſe two provinces, and ſo by Moutſhacour, a large village of 500 houſes, to Iſpahan, which is ſo thick encompaſſed with villages, that you would think you are in the ſuburbs two hours before you come near them.

22. There are two other roads, which it is neceſſary that travellers ſhould be acquainted with, which I ſhall briefly deſcribe, viz. from Warſaw to Iſpahan, and from Iſpahan to Moſcow.

Warſaw, which is ſeated upon the left hand of the Viſtula, is the ordinary reſidence of the King of Poland. Beginning your travel here to Iſpahan you muſt go to Lublin, which is ſix days' journey, and in five more you may get to Iluove, where the cuſtomers open all the bales of the merchant's goods, and exact five in the hundred. From Iluove you go to Jaſlovieer in twelve days. This is the laſt city of Poland next Moldavia. Here, if you ſell any goods, you muſt pay five per cent.

From thence you go to Yaſhe in eight days. This is the capital city of Moldavia, and the reſidence of the Wayvod, which the Grand Segnior ſends to govern that country.

country. Here all bales of merchandizes are opened, and there is a roll of all that the merchant is to pay, which amounts to five per cent.

From Yaſhe the way lies through Ourſhaye, to which you come in three days. This is the laſt city in Moldavia. From hence to Akerman you go in four days, and the cuſtoms amount to four per cent. but they take the merchant's account. From Akerman you go to Ozou, where they take two per cent. and ſo to Precop, where they pay two and a half per cent. but they truſt to the merchant's word at both places.

From Precop the road lies to Kaffa, where alſo the cuſtom is three per cent. And the journey from Warſaw to Kaffa is fifty-one days by the waggon, which is the uſual way of carriage in that country, and the cuſtoms in all come to eighteen and a half per cent. to which you muſt add the carriage and paſſage by ſea to Trebiſond, where you pay three piaſters for every mule's and four for every camel's load. To avoid ſomething of this charge, the Armenians ſhip their goods uſually at another port, called Onnie, which is a very good port, and where they never pay above a piaſter and a half for a camel's load.

There is another road from Warſaw to Trebiſond ſhorter by three days' journey, viz. from Warſaw to Yaſhe, in the former road, and from thence by Galas, a city of Moldavia, Megin, and Mangalia, the beſt port in the Black Sea to the weſt, to Trebiſond, from whence to Erzerom five days' journey, from which to Iſpahan you go the uſual road.

The other road from Iſpahan to Moſcow lies thus: you muſt travel the uſual road before-mentioned, to Shamaki, and from thence to Derbent, which the Turks call Demir-Capi. This is the laſt city in the Perſian juriſdiction, by which the river Shamourka runs. From Derbent you may travel to Tetark in eight days, where hiring barks with twelve oars, you may be at Aſtracan, by the help of a little ſail which they put up, if the wind ſerves, in four or five hours, but if you row only it will take up nine. When you embark upon the Caſpian Sea, you muſt provide yourſelf water for the firſt three days, becauſe the water on the coaſt is bitter for that time, but afterwards it is very good. At Aſtracan the merchants are all ſearched by the Cuſtomers, and they take five per cent.

From Aſtracan to Moſcow you take ſhipping in great barks, that make uſe both of oars and ſails, rowing againſt the tide, and weigh all you carry aboard, for which you muſt pay fourteen caya, and three abaſſis and a half for every pound. From Aſtracan you ſail to Corinya, and ſo in order by Sariza, Sarataf, Samarat, Senuriſkat, Coulombe, Caſan, Sabouk-ſha, Godamijan, Triguina, Mouron, and Caſin, to Moſcow, which they count 2950 ſhagarons, or 590 Italian miles.

At Sarataf you may go aſhore, and ſo go by land to Moſcow, in waggons, when the ſnow is gone, and on ſledges while it lies, and then the way lies through Inſerat, Tymneck, Canquerma, and Valodimer, a city bigger than Conſtantinople, to Moſcow, which journey may be finiſhed in thirty-five days; but this way is never uſed but upon neceſſity, when the river is frozen, becauſe in the paſſage from Sarataf to Inſerat, which is ten days' journey, there is nothing to be had for man or horſe. At Moſcow the cuſtoms are the ſame as at Aſtracan, viz. five per cent. and all the Aſians, viz. Turks, Perſians, Armenians, and others, lodge in a ſort of inns; but the Europeans lie in a place by themſelves all together.

23. There are few countries in the world that are ſo little viſited by European travellers as thoſe about the Black Sea, and indeed there are ſeveral reaſons for it. In the firſt place, the Turks will ſuffer no trade to be carried on by ſea in any other than their own veſſels, and ſo jealous they are on this head, that when the Ruſſians were

maſters of Aſoph, and ſhared by that means in the navigation of the Black Sea, they were never eaſy. It is, in the next place, a very rare thing, even for ſuch as travel for pleaſure through the dominions of the Grand Signior, to ſtrike out of the common road purely to gratify their curioſity, nor indeed in ſuch a country as this would that be always ſafe. And laſtly, the common reports of moſt of theſe countries place both them and their inhabitants in ſo bad a light, that few have any curioſity to be better acquainted with them. Our author's journey was by mere accident; he took this route to Perſia is the moſt convenient at that time for his purpoſe; and it was alſo by accident M. de la Motraye took many years after the ſame route, and their accounts agree, generally ſpeaking, very well; but ſome points in both ſeem to ſtand in need of explanation.

Our author has given but a very ſhort account of the Crim Tartars, and therefore it is neceſſary to ſay ſomething more of them. Authors differ very much as to the condition of this nation, that is to ſay, whether they ought to be conſidered as free and independent, as allies or as ſubjects to the Turks. Inſtead of endeavouring to diſcuſs the queſtions, we ſhall leave them to the deciſion of the reader, after reporting a few matters of fact. There are not many towns in this Tartary, and in thoſe that have any fortreſſes, the Turks have garriſons. The Tartar Princes are rarely admitted into and never allowed to lodge in them. Caffa, we have elſewhere ſhewn, was once a very fine city, and is ſtill a good port, which is in the power of the Turks; ſo is Baluclawa, which is ſtill a better port, and, if we may depend upon the Turkiſh writers, is not exceeded by any in the world, either for the depth of water, or ſecurity from winds. The town of Chirck, upon the Straits of Daman, has alſo a very fine port, but it is an open place, and belongs to the Tartars. The capital of this country, properly ſpeaking, is Baſcia Sarai, which is the reſidence of the Khan, was taken by the Ruſſians in the late war, and totally deſtroyed. The Khan of the Tartars, though a ſovereign prince, is appointed and depoſed by the Grand Signior, but he is always ſucceeded by a prince of his own family; and this preſumptive ſucceſſor, whether he be the brother or the ſon of the reigning prince, is ſtyled Sultan Galga. The ſecond prince of the family is ſtyled Hor Bey, the third, Noradin Bey, and the reſt of the young princes have particular titles. It is to be obſerved of the Tartars in general, that even the meaneſt and moſt ſtupid of them is ſo much maſter of his genealogy, as to know exactly of what family he is deſcended, and to what tribe his family belongs. The truth of the matter is, that they reſemble exactly Highland and Iriſh clans, and like them, are commanded by chiefs.

Every diſtinct family or clan of the Tartars, is by them ſtyled Horda, and the chief, Murſa, or as others write it, Mirza. Amongſt the Crim Tartars there are four great tribes, to which all their hords belong, and the chiefs of theſe four tribes are the counſellors of the Khan, without whoſe conſent he can undertake nothing of importance. Hereditary right is the fundamental law of all the Tartars, and the dignity of Mirza, or chief, deſcends from father to ſon. The Khan of Crim Tartary can bring eighty thouſand men into the field, but his contingent, when called to aſſiſt the Grand Signior, conſiſts of thirty thouſand horſe. All the world knows that theſe Tartars are very far from being handſome, but they are, generally ſpeaking, brave, hardy, active, and enterpriſing, and their horſes reſemble them, for worſe looking or better beaſts for ſervice, the world does not produce. As for riches, they conſiſt in horſes and in ſlaves; and as for their manner of living, it is equally coarſe and barbarous in the opinion of all other nations, and honourable and happy in their own. They are very hoſpitable and kind to one another, ſo that every man is at home in his neighbour's houſe. Neither are they leſs civil

civil and reſpectful to ſuch ſtrangers as come among them, who are very welcome to what they have, and would be as welcome if they had more. One thing is remarkable, when any ſtranger comes to their tents, he is ſerved by their children, and not by their ſlaves, let the quality of the maſter be what it will. A gentleman who was in the ſervice of Charles XII. paſſing through this country in his way to Bender, where that Monarch then was, lodged in the tent of a principal Mirza, and when it was time to go to reſt, his ſon made up for the ſtranger a bed of ſkins, by the ſide of which he ſet a little ſtool, with a pipe, a box of tobacco, and a bottle of excellent ſherbet. In the morning he came and rolled up the bed, preſented him cakes, butter, coffee, and milk, and brought him likewiſe his boots. The father, who was a kind of Prince, when the gentleman expreſſed ſome aſtoniſhment at his putting his ſon upon ſuch offices, made him this anſwer; "Friend, this world is a lottery, in which there are many blanks to a prize; "though I have many ſlaves, yet, by the fortune of war, my ſon may become a ſlave; "it is fit, therefore, he ſhould learn to behave in all conditions; the Khan does the ſame "thing; and beſides, let me tell thee, ſtranger, that among the Tartars, we hold the "meaneſt office done to a friend as the higheſt honour, and therefore never ſhare "it with our ſlaves."

As the Tartars are chiefly known to the reſt of the world by their excurſions, we cannot deſcribe them better, than by ſhewing in what manner they act on ſuch occaſions, wherein, without doubt, they diſcover an extraordinary genius for this manner of making war, which, however barbarous it may ſeem to us, anſwers all the ends of war to them, by furniſhing ſlaves and booty in abundance, which ſupplies them with the means of happineſs in time of peace. It is very true that they run through great hazards and hardſhips in time of war, but then theſe hazards and hardſhips are all that they ſuſtain, for when they return to their tents they are free and independent, have neither care nor ſolicitude, but are princes in their own family, and live in what manner they like beſt, without any apprehenſions or conſtraint. To us, indeed, even their repoſe and luxury appears a moſt ſhocking and hideous courſe of life; but it appears otherwiſe to them; and, after all, if there be any thing certain in this world, it is this, that the true ſtandard of happineſs is opinion. But to come to the point; every Tartar that goes into the field, carries with him two horſes, which are taught to follow without being led, and are conſequently uſeful to, without embarraſſing their maſter. On theſe horſes they lay a ſack of rye meal, and another with biſcuit and ſalt, which is all the baggage and proviſions wherewith they are encumbered. It is only a few of the commanders that are provided with tents; the reſt paſs the night in the following manner. They carry with them four ſharp ſtakes, which they drive into the ground, and upon theſe they fix their mantle, which ſerves for a bed; their wooden ſaddle ſupplies the place of a pillow, and a coarſe thick cloth, which is thrown acroſs the horſe's back under the ſaddle, becomes a coverlid. The horſes are tied to the pickets with pretty long cords; and while their maſters ſleep, the beaſts very handily remove the ſnow with their forefeet, and feed upon the graſs that is under it, taking now and then a mouthful of ſnow to moiſten it. When a horſe tires, his maſter cuts his throat upon the ſpot, and diſtributes his fleſh among his friends, who make him the ſame compliment when occaſion offers. The beſt part of the fleſh they cut in ſlices, of an inch thick, and theſe they place very neatly under the ſaddle of the horſe they ride upon. When they have travelled three or four leagues, they diſmount, turn all the pieces of fleſh, and mix them very carefully with the ſweat, which they turn up with their fingers, then to horſe again, and at night they ſup upon this dainty diſh, which they take ready dreſſed from under their ſaddles.

In this manner they will traverſe two or three hundred leagues of ground, without ever lighting a fire, which they carefully avoid to prevent being diſcovered; and they chuſe the depth of winter for their expeditions, that the bogs, lakes and rivers being frozen, they may avoid all interruptions, and proſecute their march with great expedition. Thus the Tartars march one hunderd in front, that is three hunderd horſes; every one of them has two, which ſerve for relays, as has been ſaid before; their front may extend eight hundred or one thouſand paces, and they are eight hundred or one thouſand in file, which reaches four long leagues, or three when they keep cloſe; for at other times they extend above ten leagues. This is wonderful to thoſe that have not ſeen it, for eighty thouſand Tartars make up above two hundred thouſand horſes. Trees are not thicker in the woods than horſes are at that time in the field; and to ſee them at a diſtance, they look like a cloud riſing in the horizon, which increaſes as it riſes, and ſtrikes a terror into the boldeſt; I mean thoſe who are not uſed to ſee ſuch multitudes together. Thus theſe mighty armies march, halting every hour about half a quarter of an hour to give their horſes time to ſtale; and they are ſo well managed, that they do it as ſoon as they ſtop; then the Tartars alight too. They remount immediately, and go on, all which is done only by the ſignal of a whiſtle; and when they are come within three or four leagues of the borders, they lie ſtill two or three days in ſome place choſen for that purpoſe, where they think they are concealed; there they give out orders, and refreſh their army, which they diſpoſe of in this manner; they divide it into three parts, two-thirds are to compoſe one body, the other third is ſubdivided into two parts, each making a wing, one on the right, the other on the left. In this order they enter the country.

The main body moves ſlowly, which, in their language, they call Coche, with the wings, but continually, without halting day or night, allowing but an hour to refreſh till they are got ſixty or eighty leagues into the country, without doing any harm: but as ſoon as they begin to march back, the body holds the ſame pace; then the general diſmiſſes the two wings, which have liberty, each on its own ſide, to ſtray ten or twelve leagues from the main body; but that is to be underſtood half of the way forward, and the other half ſideways; each wing, which may conſiſt of eight or ten thouſand men, is again ſubdivided into ten or twelve ſquadrons, of five or ſix hundred men each, who run up and down to the villages, encompaſs them, making four *corps de garde* about each village, and great fires all the night for fear any peaſant ſhould eſcape them: then they fall to pillaging and burning, kill all that make any reſiſtance, and take and carry away all that ſubmit, not only men, women, and ſucking babes, but the cattle, horſes, cows, oxen, ſheep, goats, &c. As for the ſwine, they drive and ſhut them up in a barn, or ſuch like place, and fire the four corners; ſo great is the loathing they have for thoſe creatures. The wings being allowed to ſtray but ten or twelve leagues (as has been ſaid), return with their booty to their main body, which is eaſily done; for they leave a great track, marching above fifty in front; ſo that they have nothing to do but to follow, and in four or five hours they join their body again, where, as ſoon as they are come, two other wings, conſiſting of the like number as the former, go out on the right and left, to make much the ſame havock; then they come in, and two others go out, and ſo continue their excurſions without ever diminiſhing their body, which, as has been mentioned, makes two-thirds of the army, and move gently, to be always in breath and ready to fight their enemy, if they ſhould meet them, though their deſign is not to meet, but to avoid them as much as poſſible. They never return the ſame way they broke in, but take a compaſs the better to eſcape; for they always fight in their own defence, nay, and they muſt be forced to it, without they

know themſelves to be ten to one; and yet would they conſider of it before they fell on; for theſe Tartars do not enter Poland to fight, but to pillage by way of ſurprize. When the Polanders meet them, they make work, forcing them to get home faſter than their uſual pace. At other times, after they have ſufficiently plundered and robbed, they enter upon the deſart plains in the frontiers, thirty or forty leagues in length, and being in that place of ſafety, make a great halt, recovering breath, and putting themſelves into order, if they were in any confuſion, on account of meeting the Polanders.

At their return from ſuch an incurſion, the Khan receives his tenth of the whole booty, which is afterwards divided amongſt the ſeveral hords, and every Mirza receives the tenth of the ſhare that belongs to his hord; after which, what remains is divided fairly and regularly amongſt all that ſerved in the excurſion. It is, undoubtedly, one of the moſt ſhocking ſpectacles that can be beheld, to ſee the unhappy people of all ages, ranks, and ſexes, that have been thus carried away, ſeparated from each other, and torn away by their relentleſs maſters, who either keep and employ them in ſervile work, or ſell them, if they think proper, to the Turks, Perſians, Circaſſians, or any of the adjacent nations, or to the merchants who come up into their countries on purpoſe to buy ſlaves. It is from their fortune in theſe kind of excurſions, that the Tartar princes become rich and potent; for what they receive from their parents is very inconſiderable, and they make no ſcruple of telling ſtrangers, when they admire the number of their tents, horſes, cattle, and ſlaves that what they have was acquired by their ſword and bow; and that if they had been leſs lucky in their expeditions, they had been as poor and as miſerable as any of their ſubjects. By leading this kind of life they become very active and vigorous, capable of enduring prodigious fatigue, ſo as to go without ſleep for many nights together, and with little or no food for many days; but when they come to have more leiſure, they will fetch this up by ſleeping forty-eight hours upon the ſtretch, and will crowd three or four meals into one. Their good and bad qualities are peculiar to themſelves, and ſeem to be derived entirely from the kind of life they lead; for though they will fight very bravely, yet they muſt be forced to it, chuſing much rather to fly, if it be practicable. They will drink very freely upon certain occaſions, but upon ſuch occaſions only, for at other times they are both abſtemious and ſober. The Crim Tartars are very far from being jealous, and are, generally ſpeaking, content with one wife, ſeldom making uſe of their ſlaves as concubines; but then they are mercileſs maſters, treat their ſlaves in the ſame manner as their cattle, and ſell them with as little ceremony. Under misfortunes they are patient, or rather ſullen, but what little education they have makes ſome difference amongſt them, as appears by ſuch of their Khans as are baniſhed to Rhodes, which is the common place of their exile when depoſed, where they live very handſomely, and without any dejection of ſpirit. Indeed this misfortune happens ſo frequently, that they cannot be much ſurprized at it. In the court of the Khan's palace at Baſcia Saray, there are two tombs of princes who died in poſſeſſion of that dignity, and, it is ſuppoſed, were erected there as curioſities in that reſpect. I have dwelt the longer upon this ſubject, becauſe I take it to be both inſtructive and entertaining.

In order to apprehend clearly the nature of our author's Voyages and Travels, we muſt conſider the countries that lie upon the Black Sea, which is every where ſhut in by the land, except at the narrow Streights of Conſtantinople. On the weſt ſide lies the European coaſt, viz. the maritime parts of Moldavia, Bulgaria, and Romania, extending from ſouth to north, that is, from Conſtantinople to Oczakow, in a ſtraight line, about three

three hundred and twenty miles. On the north ſide lies the Little Tartary, the peninſula of Crim, and the great country of Circaſſia, that circumſcribe the Palus Meotis, which communicates with the Black Sea by the Streights of Daman or Theman, which have the peninſula of Crim on one ſide, and Circaſſia on the other. Thus it appears that Circaſſia makes the north-eaſt boundary of the Black Sea, and ſtretches itſelf quite to the Caſpian. The countries lying on the weſt ſide of the Black Sea, and to the ſouth of Circaſſia, are Mingrelia, Immoretta, and Guriel, of which our author has given a large and very good deſcription.

Theſe countries are all mountainous and narrow, having behind them towards the Caſpian, the large country of Georgia, which borders immediately on the Perſian dominions, having Circaſſia on the north, the countries of Mingrelia, Immoretta, Guriel, and Armenia, on the weſt, the Caſpian Sea on the eaſt, and the territories of of Perſia to the ſouth. The ſeveral nations that inhabit theſe countries are, properly ſpeaking, Tartars, or very little better; and though there are ſome towns, and even cities, yet moſt of the inhabitants live in tents. The Princes of the Circaſſians are hereditary chiefs of clans, like other Tartars, and it is certainly a degree of complaiſance to eſteem them Chriſtians. It muſt be however allowed, that they are not quite ſo barbarous, or to ſpeak with greater propriety, ſo far removed in their manners from ours, as other Tartars, notwithſtanding their unnatural and deteſtable cuſtom of ſelling their children; for it is certain that they take a good deal of pains in their education, but with no other view than that of bringing them to a better market. The boys, beſides riding, hunting, ſhooting, and martial exerciſes, are taught ſeveral languages, and as they are very active in their perſons, have quick wits, and are of bold and enterpriſing natures, they riſe frequently to great preferment, both in Turkey and in Perſia; as for the girls, they are likewiſe taught the Turkiſh and Perſian tongues, muſic, dancing, and to repeat amorous novels and romances. If it may be accounted wonderful to ſee parents part with their children with ſo much eaſe as they do, it is certainly not at all leſs ſtrange to ſee the children quit their fathers and mothers not only without pain, but with the utmoſt alacrity, the girls more eſpecially. This ariſes from the ſtories they are told, of the vaſt fortunes that their countrywomen have made in different parts of the world, which fills them with aſpiring thoughts, and to ſay the truth, their ſlavery is none of the hardeſt, for the merchants who buy them take as much care as is poſſible to improve their education, and are ſo far from making any attempts upon their chaſtity, that they are the moſt jealous guardians of it in the world, becauſe all the hopes they have of ſelling them to advantage are founded in the extreme fondneſs the Mahometans have for virgins, and when they are ſold, it is at ſo high a price, that thoſe who buy them muſt be both able and diſpoſed to maintain them in affluence.

There is no need to add any remarks on the remaining part of this ſection, becauſe whatever requires farther explanation will be ſet in a clear light in the ſubſequent ſections; only it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that ſince the declenſion of the Perſian empire, the Ruſſians have taken many of the Circaſſian and Georgian princes under their protection, and it is highly probable that in time the reſt will follow their example, which perhaps may render the country more acceſſible, and prove the means of drawing the inhabitants out of their preſent ſtate of barbariſm. If this could be done, and they once civilized, and brought under one ſovereign, or even two or three that lived in tolerable harmony with each other, there is no doubt that they might be able to defend themſelves againſt any that ſhould attack them, and by the happineſs of their ſituation, between the Euxine and the Caſpian Seas, and the many valuable commodities their country

produces, they might very ſpeedily eſtabliſh a much more profitable as well as reputable commerce, than that which they have hitherto carried on. The late Schah Nadir, who had great views with reſpect to trade, was very deſirous of forcing a paſſage to the Black Sea, where he intended to have eſtabliſhed a port from which he expected vaſt things, but very probably theſe great deſigns will fall with him, and as the preſent generation is not like to ſee his equal, we muſt leave to poſterity the hopes of beholding theſe countries and their inhabitants in a better ſituation than they are at preſent, for which they ſeem to have been deſigned by nature; in a worſe, however, they cannot well be.

A COPIOUS

A

COPIOUS AND CIRCUMSTANTIAL DESCRIPTION

OF THE

# GREAT EMPIRE OF PERSIA,

ITS SITUATION, EXTENT, DISTRIBUTION OF ITS PROVINCES, CLIMATE, RIVERS, SEAS, SOIL, PRODUCE, AND THE CHIEF CITIES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY;

AS TO AFFORD A PERFECT IDEA OF ITS CONDITION IN PAST AND PRESENT TIMES.

Collected from the Writings of the moſt famous Travellers, particularly from thoſe of *Herbert*, *Chardin*, *Tavernier*, *Thevenot*, *Le Brun*, and others, their ſeveral Remarks and Obſervations being all digeſted in into a regular and eaſy Method.

1. *The Situation and Extent of the Perſian Empire, with a ſuccinct Account of the Reaſons why a clear and perfect Notion of the Territories which compoſe this Empire is of ſuch Importance towards a right Idea of general Hiſtory and Geography.* — 2. *A diſtinct and accurate Deſcription of the ſeveral Provinces under the Dominion of the Perſian Emperor, their ancient and modern Names, Situation, Extent, chief Cities, and Ports.* — 3. *The Air and Climate of Perſia in its different Parts; with an Account of the hot and ſtifling Winds ſo dangerous to Travellers on the Sea-coaſt.* — 4. *The Rivers in this Country, and the various Methods made uſe of to diffuſe the Water by Canals and Aqueducts; and an Account of the Seas upon which it borders.* — 5. *Of the Appearance of the Country in general, and of the Diverſity of Soils in Perſia.* — 6. *Of the particular Huſbandry uſed in this Country, the Produce of Arable Lands and Gardens.* — 7. *Of the Variety of Fruits, Trees, Flowers, and Shrubs, that grow therein.* — 8. *Of medicinal Drugs that are brought from Perſia, particularly Opium, Aſſafœtida, and Bezoar.* — 9. *A large and curious Account of the Animals, tame and wild, in the ſeveral Provinces of Perſia.* — 10. *Of the Fowls, Birds, and Fiſh in this Country, and the Reaſon why the latter is ſo ſcarce at Iſpahan.* — 11. *Of the Minerals in Perſia, and of precious Stones, particularly the Turquois, held to be peculiar to this Country.* — 12. *Of the Manner of building in Perſia, how well adapted to their Climate, and of the Methods uſed to keep their houſes cool and pleaſant, even in the hotteſt Seaſons.* — 13. *A particular Deſcription of the capital City of Iſpahan or Spahawn, with its peculiar Beauties and Blemiſhes.* — 14. *A diſtinct Deſcription of the Royal Palace and of the Imperial Moſque.* — 18. *Of the Bagnios, Gardens, and Bridges in the City of Iſpahan, and in its Neighbourhood.* — 16. *A large Deſcription of the Borough or Suburb of Julpha, with an Account of the Armenians who inhabit it.* — 17. *The noble City of Chiras deſcribed, with an Account of the adjacent Country, and its Produce.* — 18. *An Account of the noble Antiquities at Tchelminar, the Remains of the ancient Perſepolis, juſtly eſteemed the moſt glorious Antiquity in the World.* — 19. *Of other Places of Note in Perſia, more eſpecially upon its Sea-coaſt, and of the Deſign of Schah Nadir to have removed the Capital of the Perſian Empire, with the Reaſons upon which that Project was founded.* — 20. *A Com-*

*Compariſon between the paſt and preſent State of Perſia, in regard as well to the Fertility and Riches of the Country, as of the great Cities and Ports.* — 21. *Remarks, hiſtorical, political, and critical, upon the foregoing Section.*

1. THERE is ſcarce any country in the world which makes a greater figure in hiſtories, ſacred or profane, ancient or modern, than this of which we are ſpeaking. In the Scriptures the deliverance of the Jews by Cyrus; the protection they received from his ſucceſſors; the memorable preſervation of the whole people from the dark and deep laid plot of Haman, all refer to this potent empire and its monarchs. In reference to the Greek hiſtory, the earlier parts of it turn entirely on the diſputes between the free ſtates of Greece and the great King, as the latter contain nothing more than the hiſtory of the ſubverſion of the Perſian empire by Alexander the Great, and the diviſion of its ſeveral provinces after his deceaſe among his captains. In regard to the Roman hiſtories again, we find the Parthians continually diſputing the progreſs of their arms in the eaſt, and the moſt conſiderable part of the Conſtantinopolitan hiſtory, before the irruption of the Saracens proved fatal to both empires, comprehends the diſputes between the ſucceſſors of Conſtantine the Great and the Emperors of Perſia. From the time the Saracens became maſters of this country, the ſucceſſion of their Caliphs forms a principal branch of the Oriental hiſtory down to the extinction of their dominion. Since that time the ſeveral conquerors of this empire have ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed themſelves to deſerve notice, and even the frequency of revolutions in this country make the hiſtory of it more curious and more entertaining. We know very little of the etymology of the word Perſia, ſome ſay it was ſo called from the hero Perſeus, ſon of Jupiter and Danae, but that ſeems to be a very ridiculous fable; others derive it from Perſes, a nobleman of that country, in times of great antiquity, but with reſpect to this alſo there wants both probability and proof; neither is the third account of the matter, which derives its name from Paras, that ſignifies a horſe, very ſatisfactory; and as for the modern Perſian word Fars, it is viſibly derived from Perſia, and therefore cannot help us to explain it. As to the oriental writers, they know it not at all by this name, but ſtyle it conſtantly Iran. In order to apprehend the meaning of this name, which is abſolutely neceſſary to the underſtanding their hiſtories, we are to know, that an ancient King of this country, or rather of the Upper Aſia, whoſe name was Ferri doun, had two ſons, Tour and Irag, who ſucceeded him in his dominions, the former had all the country on the other ſide the river Oxus, which by the way, the Orientals ſtyle Gihon, and the other the country on this ſide. Hence ariſes the diſtinction of all the countries in the Upper Aſia (China and the Indies excepted) into Touran and Iran; the former comprehending Great Tartary, and all the countries bordering or depending upon it, and the latter Perſia in like manner, with all its dependencies. As for the modern writers in the Perſian tongue, as they ſtyle their ſovereign Shah, ſo they give his dominions the title of Shahiſtan, or the territories of the Shah.

We will proceed next to the ſituation of this country, and this is beſt ſhewn by marking the dominions of theſe Princes that confine it; for as to the diſtinct and preciſe limitations of this empire, it is impoſſible to lay them down with accuracy or certainty, becauſe they depend upon the power of its monarchs, which fluctuates every day. On the eaſt it has the dominions of the Great Mogul, the ocean and the Gulph of Perſia towards the ſouth, the territories of the Grand Signior on the weſt, and the country of Circaſſia, the Caſpian Sea and the river Oxus, which divides it from the Uſbeck Tartary, on the north. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the northern and ſouthern boundaries ſeldom or never vary, as being fixed by nature; but on the eaſt and weſt the Per-

ſians ſometimes encroach upon, but in later times have been oftener encroached upon by their neighbours, as will appear more clearly when we come to ſpeak particularly of its provinces.

As to its extent, it reaches from ſouth to north about twenty degrees, that is, from twenty-five to forty-five degrees of north latitude. It contains pretty near the ſame number of degrees of longitude, the neareſt of its provinces lying in the longitude of forty-five, and the moſt diſtant about ſixty-ſix degrees eaſt from the meridian of London. According to the ordinary computation, allowing for the diviſion made by the Caſpian Sea, it is a ſquare of between eleven and twelve hundred miles, which ſhews plainly, that it is one of the moſt conſiderable countries of Aſia; and if it was as thoroughly inhabited as the excellency of its ſituation, climate, and ſoil deſerve, its monarchs would be, doubtleſs, as powerful as any ſovereign Princes in the world; though at preſent, from a multitude of concurring accidents, it ſeems to be thinner in people, and weaker in point of government, than any of the other four Aſiatic empires. As Perſia, properly ſo called, is but a very ſmall country in compariſon of what now goes under that name, ſo the different times and occaſions by which the other diſtricts that now depend upon it were annexed thereto, render it extremely difficult to fix the number, the names, and the ſituation of its provinces, about which hardly any two geographers or travellers have been hitherto able to agree; therefore the reader will not think it ſtrange, if the account we give of them differs from thoſe he has met with before.

2. In order to deliver as plain an account of this matter as is poſſible, we ſhall obſerve, that the moſt accurate of the Perſian writers themſelves divide their country into thirteen provinces, and therefore it appears moſt reaſonable to follow that diviſion; and it may likewiſe be convenient to purſue their method of deſcribing them; as this is a thing altogether arbitrary, and there ſeems to be the ſame cauſe to take it one way as another, provided that when the method is once choſen it is cloſely purſued, that the reader may be able to trace it exactly, without confuſion, and even to form in his head, as it were, a ſcheme of the whole country that is laid before him. We ſhall begin then with the north-eaſt, and ſo paſſing along ſouthward, deſcribe all the countries of Perſia that lie towards the frontiers either of Tartary or India. We ſhall then deſcribe the provinces on the ocean and the Perſian Gulph, together with ſuch as lie within land; thoſe on the frontiers of the Turkiſh empire will follow theſe, and we ſhall end with the provinces that lie north-weſt and north on the coaſt of the Caſpian Sea.

I. Aſtarabat, or Eſtarabat, is ſituated on the coaſt of the Caſpian Sea, to the ſouth of the opening of the river Amu or Oxus; it hath Choraſan on the eaſt, and on the ſouth the province of Maſanderan, on the weſt the Caſpian Sea, and part of Tartary on the north. It is but ſmall, having thirty-five leagues in length from weſt to eaſt, and fifteen in breadth from north to ſouth; for which reaſon many of our geographers include it within the great province of Choraſan. In regard to fertility, as well as to its climate, there is not a finer country in Perſia. A ridge of hills that run through it furniſh abundance of ſmall rivulets, and ſome fine rivers that, running through it into the Caſpian Sea, clothe the country, for a great part of the year, with continual verdure. The capital of this province has the ſame name with the province itſelf, and is one of the beſt built cities in Perſia; and as it is a frontier towards Tartary, it is tolerably fortified, and has commonly a good garriſon. It ſtands upon a gulph of the ſame name, and has a very good port for ſmall veſſels that do not draw any great depth of water. There are in it both ſilk and woollen manufactures, and the inhabitants drive a great trade in a ſort of camblets, that are much eſteemed both for beauty and ſtrength. The country about is well cultivated, and as for the weſtern

part of the province, it is a perfect orchard, abounding with fruits of all kinds, as well as with fine trees for ſhade and for timber; but the ſame thing cannot be ſaid of the eaſtern part of the province, which being expoſed to the inroads of the Uſbeck Tartars, is ſo depopulated, that, in ſpite of the kindneſs of Nature, it looks like a perfect deſart.

II. Choraſan is eſteemed the faireſt, richeſt, and moſt fertile province of the whole empire, and is the country known to the ancients by the name of Bactria; it is divided by the mountains of Balck from Great Bucharia, has the principality of Candahar on the eaſt, the province of Segiſtan on the ſouth, the provinces of Yerack and Maſanderan to the weſt, and the province of Eſterabat and the river Amu on the north. It is thought to be about one hundred German leagues in compaſs. The climate is very temperate, the ſoil extremely fruitful, abounding with rich fruits, fine paſturages, producing excellent corn, wine, and ſilk, and affording beſides rich mines of gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones. It was formerly the beſt peopled, the beſt planted, and the beſt built province in Perſia, but of late the incurſions of the Uſbeck Tartars have laid one half of it waſte; and though for a few years they were kept in awe by the Shah Nadir, who drove them out of this country, for which he had a peculiar affection, yet it is not to be ſuppoſed, while the affairs of the Perſian empire are in confuſion, that they can be long reſtrained. The chief city of this province is Meſchid, or Thous, of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more hereafter; and beſides this, there are many other conſiderable places, ſuch as Nichabour, Herat, Tcharkez, Amonoye, &c.

III. Sabluſtan, bounded on the north by the provinces of Choraſan and Candahar, which latter is ſometimes reckoned a part of this province, on the eaſt by the dominions of the Great Mogul, and on the ſouth and weſt by the province of Segiſtan. The climate is tolerable, but the ſoil is extremely mountainous and barren; the inhabitants are, generally ſpeaking, booriſh and rude, at leaſt in compariſon of the reſt of the Perſians, yet the capital of the province, which is the city of Boſt, is large, well built, well-inhabited, and the country about it is exceedingly well cultivated; all which ariſes from its lying in the direct road to the Indies. It is a place of great trade, abounds with manufactures and ſtrangers from all countries, and with the diſtrict about it, looks ſo very unlike all the reſt of the province, that it ſeems to have dropt into it from the clouds. Some other towns there are, but of no great importance, only it is fit to remark, that the people of this country make the hardieſt ſoldiers, and are the beſt infantry in the Perſian empire.

IV. Segiſtan, which ſeems to have been the Drangiana of the ancients, is bounded by Sabluſtan on the north, the territories of the Great Mogul on the eaſt, by the provinces of Makeran on the ſouth, and by part of the province of Kerman on the weſt. This country is tolerably fruitful, and is particularly remarkable for its palm-trees and its excellent dates, but it is greatly expoſed to winds, which ſometimes drive the ſands in ſuch a manner, as to cover the houſes, and even whole villages. It was formerly famous for its gold mines, which, if we may truſt the Perſian authors, were the richeſt in the world, the veins ſometimes puſhing to the very ſurface; in which they are countenanced by ſome very ancient Greek authors. This province has produced both heroes and learned men, who have from thence borrowed the ſurname of Segiſtani, which by the way is a practice very common in Perſia. The capital is the city of Zereng, more commonly ſtyled Segiſtan, but a place of no great note. There are beſides two other places of ſome figure in this country, Cobin and Maſtich.

V. Macran, or Macheran, ſuppoſed to be the ancient Gedroſia, is bounded by Segiſtan on the north, by the dominions of the Great Mogul on the eaſt, by the ocean

winter begins in November and continues till March, with ſevere froſts and ſnow, which falls in great quantities on their mountains, but not ſo much in the champaign country; from the month of March till May the wind is uſually high, and from thence to September they have a calm ſerene heaven, without ſo much as a cloud; and though it be pretty hot in the daytime, the refreſhing breezes which blow conſtantly morning and evening, as well as in the night, make the ſummer very tolerable, eſpecially ſince the nights are near ten hours long. The air is ſo pure, and the ſtars ſhine with that luſtre, that one man may know another very well by their light, and people travel much more in the night than the day. In this part of Perſia there are very ſeldom any hurricanes or tempeſts and very little thunder and lightning, nor is it ſubject to earthquakes, and the air is ſo extremely dry in the ſummer ſeaſon, that you will not find the leaſt dew or moiſture on any thing that is laid abroad all night, or even in the graſs, and it very ſeldom rains in the winter. No country is more healthful than the interior part of Perſia, as appears by the hale complexion of the natives; they are ſtrong and robuſt, and, generally ſpeaking, enjoy conſtant health. As for foreigners who come thither, it is a common obſervation, that thoſe who are healthy at their arrival continue ſo, and that thoſe who are ſick ſeldom recover.

The air in the ſouthern part of Perſia, particularly about Gombroon, is very unhealthy in the ſpring and fall: our European factors never paſs a year without a dangerous fit of illneſs, which frequently carries them off. It is an ordinary thing for two of them to agree, that if one of them die the ſurvivor ſhall poſſeſs the other's fortune. Nor is this any great prejudice to their relations, for if a man leaves private truſtees, or makes the Company his executors, the heir of the deceaſed will meet with great difficulties in recovering the teſtator's effects. The months of June, July, and Auguſt, are healthy enough, but ſo very hot, that both natives and foreigners get up into the mountains at that time. The hot winds which blow from the eaſtward, over a long tract of ſandy deſarts, are ready to ſuffocate them, and ſometimes there happens a peſtilential blaſt, which ſtrikes the traveller dead in an inſtant. It rains but very ſeldom here any part of the year, and the water they ſave then is very unwholeſome.

The provinces of Georgia, Shirvan, and Adirbeitzan, are very dry and warm in the ſummer, but ſubject to ſtorms and tempeſts in the winter, and as ſevere froſts for ſix months as any countries on the continent in the ſame latitude; but as this part of Perſia is very mountainous, there is frequently a vaſt difference between the air on the north and the ſouth ſide of the mountains, and in a few miles travelling people think themſelves in a different climate; but however cold the mountains in the north may be, they are extremely healthful. On the contrary, the flat country of Gilan and Mezenderan, which lies upon the Caſpian Sea, and was the ancient Hyrcania, is very damp, full of ſtinking moraſſes, and unhealthful, inſomuch that the inhabitants in the ſummer retire into the mountains, all the water they have being foul and corrupted in the hot ſeaſon; and here, and in Choraſan, it is ſaid earthquakes are very common.

4. It is obſervable, that there is no country in the world of ſo large an extent as Perſia, where there are ſo few navigable rivers; there is not ſo much as one river in the heart of the country that will carry a boat of any burthen; and you may travel ſeveral days' journey, without meeting with any water whatever, in ſome parts. The river Oxus, indeed, which divides Perſia from Uſbeck-Tartary, is a large ſtream, but as there are no branches of it that ariſe in the Perſian dominions, it is of little uſe to them. The rivers Kur and Aras, anciently called Cyrus and Araxes, which riſe in the mountains of Ararat, and run through Georgia, Shirvan and Adirbeitzan, and having joined their ſtreams, fall into the Caſpian Sea, are much the moſt conſiderable rivers in

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in the Perſian dominions. However, there are ſeveral ſmall rivulets which fall from the mountains, and are conveyed by ſubterraneous channels or otherwiſe to their principal cities.

Water being ſo ſcarce in Perſia, there is no place, where they huſband it better, or have more ingenious contrivances, to convey it to their cities, and into their corn-fields and gardens. This is the care of the government, and there is a great officer in every province, who has the charge of the conveyance and diſtribution of the waters. They turn all their little rivulets and ſprings to thoſe parts of the country where they are moſt wanted; they dig wells alſo of a prodigious depth and breadth, out of which they draw the water with oxen, in great leathern buckets, which being emptied into ciſterns, is let out as there is occaſion for the ſervice of the country. They have alſo vaſt ſubterraneous aqueducts, through which they convey water twenty or thirty leagues to the places aſſigned. Theſe are two fathoms high, and arched with brick, and at every twenty paces diſtance, there are large holes like wells, which were made for the conveniency of carrying on the arch without working under ground too far, and the more eaſy repairing them. The diſtribution of the river and ſpring water, is made one day to one quarter of the town, and another day to another, as occaſion requires, when every one opens the canal or reſervatory in his gardens to receive it, for which every garden pays a certain ſum yearly to the government, particularly about Iſpahan; and as it is very eaſy for one to divert his neighbour's water into his own channel, this is a fraud that is ſeverely puniſhed. They give a greater rate for river water, than they do for ſpring-water, which is not found ſo proper for the improvement of their grounds.

Beſides the ocean, there are two ſeas belonging to Perſia, one on the north, and he other on the ſouth-weſt, viz. the Caſpian Sea, and the Gulph of Boſſora or Perſia, which have been already mentioned. The Caſpian Sea is about a hundred leagues in length, from north to ſouth, and ninety leagues in breadth, and has near a hundred rivers running into it, of which the chief is the Wolga, at the mouth whereof ſtands Aſtracan; but this ſea has no communication with any other, and though ſo many rivers fall into it, there is no viſible way by which it diſcharges itſelf of its waters, but they remain, always of the ſame height, and do not either ebb or flow. The Ruſſians have in a great meaſure the ſole navigation of this ſea, which is very profitable to them, and might be made much more ſo by the new trade that has been ſet on foot, from Europe to Perſia, through Ruſſia.

The Shah Nadir was very deſirous of becoming a maritime power on this ſide alſo, and employed a gentleman of a certain country, to build him ſhips of force for this purpoſe, but conſidering the revolutions that will probably attend his death, theſe deſigns are like to fall to the ground. The Perſians were formerly entirely maſters of the gulph that ſeparates their country from Arabia, for which they were in a great meaſure indebted to us, who aſſiſted them in diſpoſſeſſing the Portugueſe of the iſland of Ormus, upon which they had opened a very advantageous port, allowing us half the cuſtoms ariſing from the goods imported and exported here. But Shah Abbas the Great, thought that conſideration too large, and therefore when he transferred the commerce to his new port of Gambroon, or Bander Abaſſi, i. e. the port of Abbas, he allowed the Eaſt India Company no more than one thouſand tomans, which makes three thouſand three hundred thirty-three pounds ſix ſhillings and eight-pence of our money. It was in this gulph, on the coaſt of the iſland of Baherem, that they had the fineſt pearl fiſhery in the world, which produced annually above fifty thouſand pounds,

on the ſouth, and by the province of Kerman towards the weſt; it is looked upon as one of the worſt provinces in Perſia, the air being very indifferent, and the ſoil barren; it is but indifferently peopled, and the inhabitants are eſteemed barbarous and faithleſs. The chief towns in it are Makeran, Paſſir, and Geſt; the north part of it is entirely a deſart of ten days' journey; it has, indeed, a port at Guadel, but of no great conſequence, for it is capable of receiving only ſmall veſſels, and is beſides not very ſecure.

VI. Kerman, which is without doubt the Caramania of the ancients, a very large and noble province, which may be well eſteemed one of the moſt beautiful in Perſia. It is bounded by Segiſtan and Makeran towards the eaſt, the ocean towards the ſouth, the province of Fars towards the weſt, and by a deſart which ſeparates it from the province of Yerac Agemi, towards the north. Some part of it is mountainous and barren enough, but the vallies are wonderfully fertile, producing fruits, roots and flowers in vaſt abundance; it is in this province that ſuch vaſt quantities of roſes grow, as enable the inhabitants to carry on a conſiderable trade in roſe-water, which is highly eſteemed not only throughout all the eaſt, but in Europe; they have alſo very rich mines in this country, particularly thoſe of Turquoiſes, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter; admirable ſteel, out of which they fabricate all kind of arms, and they have beſides great manufactures of tapeſtry. But after all, the principal glory of this country is its ſheep, the wool of which is eſteemed the fineſt in the world; and they have a very ſingular way of coming at it, for at a certain ſeaſon of the year they pull it from the backs of the animals with their fingers, ſo that the ſheep are entirely naked; this wool is all wrought in its natural colours, and without dye; it is of three ſorts, the firſt brown, the ſecond of a ſpeckled grey, and the third of a milk-white; this laſt is the moſt eſteemed; for there is none of it that ever goes out of the country, for it is entirely employed in making garments for their moulhas, or men of the law, and prieſts, who wear nothing elſe. There are in this province more of the Gubers, Gaurs, or fire-worſhippers, who are the remains of the ancient Perſians, than in all the empire beſide; and theſe frugal and induſtrious people manufacture from the other two ſorts of wool, ſeveral kinds of light ſtuffs, which in point of beauty and luſtre are not at all inferior to ſilk. The city of Kerman is the capital of the province, it is large and well peopled, proviſions are cheap there, and in the neighbourhood they have a manufacture of earthen-ware, which comes very near porcelain. The fort of Gambroon, and the iſland of Ormus, are by ſome authors reckoned dependent upon this province, which has produced ſeveral great heroes, learned phyſicians, excellent poets, and in a word, famous men of every kind; amongſt the reſt, the celebrated Achmet Kermani, who was poet laureat to Tamerlane, and compoſed in Perſian verſe the acts of Alexander the Great, of Gingiſchan, and of his patron.

VII. Fars or Farſiſtan, as the Perſians call it, is the ancient Perſia Proper, the Orientals ſay that it derives its name from Fars, the ſon of Azaz, that is Arphazad the ſon of Shem, the ſon of Noah; but what authority they have for this is more than I can determine: it is bounded on the eaſt by Kerman, by the Gulph of Perſia on the ſouth, by the province of Chuſiſtan towards the weſt, and by a great deſart called Naubendighian upon the north, which ſeparates it from Yerac Agemi. This ſandy deſart is of a vaſt extent, and reaches to the frontiers of the province of Choraſan; it is the ſame we have mentioned before, in ſpeaking of the province of Kerman. This is a rich and noble country, abounding with all the neceſſaries of life, but more eſpecially famous for producing in the neighbourhood of Shiraz, the richeſt and fineſt wine in Perſia; but the imperial grape of Tauris is eſteemed moſt pleaſant and luſcious for eating.

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They have alſo an admirable glaſs manufacture in this province, where they blow bottles of an enormous ſize, ſome that are ſaid to hold three gallons of our meaſure; but they keep their wine in earthen veſſels, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew hereafter. The chief cities in this country are Shiraz, which will be deſcribed elſewhere. Lar, formerly the capital of a little independent principality; Bander Congo, a port upon the Perſian Gulph, to which we may add, though, as I have ſaid, ſome comprehend it under the province of Kerman, the famous port of Gambroon, or Bander Abaſſi. On the oppoſite ſhore of Arabia there is a ſmall territory, called from the principal place therein, Elcatiff, which formerly belonged to the Perſians, and was ſometimes annexed to the government of Farſiſtan, which is one reaſon why I mention it here; another is, that in ſeveral maps, and in many oriental authors, the Perſian Gulph is from hence called the Sea of Elcatiff.

VIII. Chuſiſtan, the Suſiana of the ancients, is bounded on the eaſt by the provinces of Farſiſtan and Yerac, by the Gulph of Perſia on the ſouth, by the territory of Baſſora on the weſt, and by the province of Curdeſtan on the north; the capital of this country is Schouſter, believed with reaſon to be the city of Shuſhan mentioned in the book of Eſther, famous for a noble palace built here by the Perſian Monarch Artaxerxes, who is the Ahaſuerus of the Scripture, and for the tomb of the prophet Daniel, of neither of which there are now any remains, though a Perſian author of great credit aſſures us, that the latter was ſtanding in his time, and that he had ſeen it.

IX. Curdeſtan, or Curdiſtan, part of the ancient Aſſyria, bounded on the weſt by the dominions of the Grand Signior, by the province of Chuſiſtan on the ſouth, by Erac Agemi on the eaſt, and by Arderbeitzan or Media on the north; it is with very little reaſon that this country finds a place among the provinces of Perſia, for the Curds are a nation that ſometimes own the protection of the Porte, and ſometimes profeſs a dependence upon the Shah, but are in reality ſubjects to neither; they are, to ſay the truth, a very extraordinary race of highlanders, governed by their own hereditary chiefs, and the reaſon that I ſtyle them extraordinary is, becauſe their force conſiſts in horſe, of which ſome chiefs can bring hundreds, others thouſands, and it has been known, that a chief has brought twenty thouſand into the field, where they behave as well as any troops in the world. As to their religion they call themſelves Mahometans, but except circumciſion and abſtinence from wine, in both which they are very ſtrict, they obſerve no other precepts of the Alcoran, and have neither moulahs nor moſques, except in two or three of their great towns. The mountains, of which this country is full, are rude and barren, but the vallies are fertile and pleaſant, producing great quantities of tobacco and vines; of the former they make a great profit, but they make no wine of the latter, which they convert into raiſins. The chief city in this country is Betlis, and beſides this, there are ſome other places of note, indifferently built, but well inhabited. Thamas Kouli Kan attacked theſe people often, but with very little ſucceſs, and they have more than once defeated both the Perſians and the Turks in pitched battles, yet they act generally on the defenſive, and ſeldom fight out of their own country.

X. Erac Agemi, or as ſome write, Azemi; the reaſon of this addition is to diſtinguiſh it from a province of the Turkiſh empire which is called Erac Arabi, and is preciſely the ancient province of Babylon; whereas Erac Agemi is the ancient Parthia. This noble province is bounded on the north by Aderbeitzan and Ghilan, by the province of Choraſan on the eaſt, by Chuſiſtan and Farſiſtan on the ſouth, and by Curdeſtan on the weſt. The chief city is the capital of the Perſian empire, viz. Iſpahan, or Spahawn, ſituate in the latitude of thirty-two degrees, forty minutes north, and in the fiftieth

degree of longitude eaſt from the meridian of London; there are alſo in this province ſeveral other conſiderable places, ſuch as Caſbin, ſuppoſed to be the ancient Arſaſia; Com, deſcribed in the laſt ſection; Sava mentioned there likewiſe; Hamadan, a very fine city on the frontiers of Curdeſtan, the country about it extremely fruitful in rice, the mountains in the neighbourhood ſupplying ſeveral fine rivulets, which render its territory wonderfully fruitful. The Turks became maſters of it by ſtorm in 1623, and almoſt totally deſtroyed both it and its inhabitants. Caſham, which lies about ſeventy miles north of Iſpahan; Yezd, which is ſituated one hundred and five miles to the eaſtward of that capital.

XI. Gilan, under which the modern Perſian geographers comprehend not only the country properly ſo called, which comprehend preciſely the Hyrcania of the ancients, but alſo the provinces of Mazanderan and Tabreſtah; ſo that, conſidered in this light, it is a very extenſive country, bounded by the Caſpian Sea on the north, by the province of Choraſan on the eaſt, by that of Erac Agemi on the ſouth, and by the great country of Aderbeitzan on the weſt. The whole of this province is wonderfully fair and fruitful. It is diſtinguiſhed from almoſt all the provinces of this great empire by ſome very particular advantages. In the firſt place, its ſituation is very peculiar; for on the one ſide it is covered by the ſea, and towards the land it is ſurrounded with mountains and rocks that riſe like ſo many natural fortifications, with this ſingular circumſtance, that while they are rude, inacceſſible, and terrible on that ſide, which is turned towards the reſt of the provinces of the empire, they are on the inſide reſpecting this province, of gentle aſcent, covered with perpetual verdure, and covered with groves of citrons, oranges, olives, and figs. The very ſummits of the mountains ſhaded by cypreſs-trees and other excellent timber, which may be eaſily tranſported to the ſea-ſide; for through this rampart of rocks, nature has formed ſeveral paſſages ſo wide, and with ſuch a ſlope as render them perfectly eaſy, and yet ſo well fenced on each ſide, that a ſmall barricade will render them impregnable. Another ſingular benefit which this country enjoys, is its unbounded and amazing fruitfulneſs, which with very little cultivation pours out ſuch prodigious abundance of all things neceſſary and deſirable as is ſcarce to be believed; for it is equally famous for its ſilk, its oil, its wines, its rice, its tobacco, and a vaſt variety of fruits. In other parts of Perſia their houſes are but mean, and the moveables of the common people very coarſe; but here, on the contrary, every peaſant has a good houſe, and moſt of his furniture is made of box, of which they have the largeſt and fineſt trees in the world, and a large garden full of citrons, oranges, figs, and vines, ſo large, that the branches of them are frequently as big as a man's body. A third commodity, in ſome meaſure peculiar to this province, is a vaſt abundance of fiſh in their rivers, and in that part of the Caſpian Sea which waſhes their coaſts; from whence, as the people draw an immenſe profit, ſo the Shah derives from thence a great revenue. The capital of this province is Reſech, which ſtands in the latitude of thirty-ſeven degrees of north, a large and populous city; beſides which there are Keſker, Aſtara, and other conſiderable places within its bounds. Two things more deſerve our notice; one is, that the people of this province are of the Turkiſh, and not of the Perſian religion, that is, they are followers of Omar, and not of Ali: the other, that by the treaty between the Emperor Peter the Great and the Shah in 1723, this province was yielded to the Ruſſians. Mazanderan and Tabreſtan are alſo very conſiderable countries, but ſo like to Gilan in their produce, that it is not neceſſary to deſcribe them particularly.

XII. Aderbeitzan, which comprehends the greateſt and beſt part of the ancient Media, is a very noble and beautiful country, bounded by the province of Shirvan on the

the north, by Gilan and the Caſpian Sea on the eaſt, by Erac Agemi and Curdeſtan on the ſouth, and by the river Aras or Araxis on the weſt, which divides it from Georgia. The famous city of Tauris or Tabris, which is deſcribed in the foregoing ſection, is the capital of this country, and was one of the fineſt cities of Perſia, till deſtroyed by the Turks in their laſt war with the Perſians, when they are ſaid to have put one hundred thouſand perſons of all ranks, ages and ſexes to the ſword. Ardevil is another great and fine city in this country, ſtanding about thirty miles from mount Tauris; and Sultania, which was deſtroyed by Tamerlane, was ſcarce inferior to any city in Perſia, as the ruins that ſtill remain ſufficiently teſtify at this day. It is ſtill a good town, containing about ſix thouſand inhabitants; but is particularly remarkable for a moſt noble moſque, in which is the tomb of the founder of this city, the famous Sultan Mahomet Chodabende. This moſque has three great gates, all of poliſhed ſteel, and the tomb is ſeen through a grate of the ſame metal, finely wrought in foliages and branches of trees; and though ſome of theſe are of the thickneſs of a man's arm, yet they are ſo exquiſitely finiſhed, that there is not ſo much as a joint to be perceived in the whole; from whence the inhabitants perſuade themſelves, and would willingly perſuade ſtrangers, that it is made of one entire piece, and affirm that it was ſeven years in making.

XIII. Shirvan, or, according to the Perſian orthography, Schirwan, contains the northern part of Media, and is by many authors made only a part of the foregoing province; but we comprehend within it, for the ſake of keeping within bounds, the little province of Dageſtan, and ſo much of Georgia and Armenia as belongs to the Perſians; and taking it in this light, it is thus bounded; by Circaſſia and the Ruſſian territories on the north, by the Caſpian Sea on the eaſt, by Aderbeitzan on the ſouth, and by the Turkiſh Armenia and Georgia on the weſt. Schamakie is the capital of this province, and ſtands in the latitude of forty degrees fifty minutes north, between two mountains well fortified, and is a place of great trade. Derbent, or Debircan, which ſignifies an iron gate, is a famous paſs between the mountains and the Caſpian Sea. Baku is the only tolerable port on the weſt ſide of the Caſpian; it is large and ſafe, but not deep; the town is ſmall, but well peopled, and commanded by a citadel; it was given up to the Ruſſians by the peace of 1723. The province of Dageſtan is at preſent for the moſt part in the hands of the Tartars, and to curb this fierce nation, who are able to bring twenty thouſand men into the field, the Ruſſians built the fortreſs of St. Andrew, not far from Tarku, which is the capital of this country, as Teflis is of that part of Georgia which belongs to Perſia. That part of Armenia which belongs to this country is ſtyled Aran, and the capital of it is Erivan, which has been before deſcribed. Within the bounds of this province ſtands alſo the city of Nackſivan, which the inhabitants are fully convinced is the oldeſt in the world, having been built by Noah and his children upon their coming out of the ark, of which, if you will credit them, there are ſtill ſome remains on the mountains that are not far from hence. Thus we have completed a regular and geographical deſcription of all the parts of this great empire, which will enable the reader to comprehend perfectly all that follows in the enſuing ſection. And we dare alſo aſſure him, that he will find it of very great uſe towards underſtanding all the hiſtories of and travels through this country, already publiſhed, as well as the accounts we may hereafter receive from thence, which might otheriſe appear very unintelligible.

3. Perſia, extending from the twenty-fifth degree of latitude to the forty-fifth, the longeſt day in the ſouth is thirteen hours and a half, and in the north above fifteen hours. In ſo great an extent of country it is natural to ſuppoſe that the air and ſeaſons are very different, as in fact we find them to be. In the middle of the empire, their winter

winter begins in November and continues till March, with ſevere froſts and ſnow, which falls in great quantities on their mountains, but not ſo much in the champaign country; from the month of March till May the wind is uſually high, and from thence to September they have a calm ſerene heaven, without ſo much as a cloud; and though it be pretty hot in the daytime, the refreſhing breezes which blow conſtantly morning and evening, as well as in the night, make the ſummer very tolerable, eſpecially ſince the nights are near ten hours long. The air is ſo pure, and the ſtars ſhine with that luſtre, that one man may know another very well by their light, and people travel much more in the night than the day. In this part of Perſia there are very ſeldom any hurricanes or tempeſts and very little thunder and lightning, nor is it ſubject to earthquakes, and the air is ſo extremely dry in the ſummer ſeaſon, that you will not find the leaſt dew or moiſture on any thing that is laid abroad all night, or even in the graſs, and it very ſeldom rains in the winter. No country is more healthful than the interior part of Perſia, as appears by the hale complexion of the natives; they are ſtrong and robuſt, and, generally ſpeaking, enjoy conſtant health. As for foreigners who come thither, it is a common obſervation, that thoſe who are healthy at their arrival continue ſo, and that thoſe who are ſick ſeldom recover.

The air in the ſouthern part of Perſia, particularly about Gombroon, is very unhealthy in the ſpring and fall: our European factors never paſs a year without a dangerous fit of illneſs, which frequently carries them off. It is an ordinary thing for two of them to agree, that if one of them die the ſurvivor ſhall poſſeſs the other's fortune. Nor is this any great prejudice to their relations, for if a man leaves private truſtees, or makes the Company his executors, the heir of the deceaſed will meet with great difficulties in recovering the teſtator's effects. The months of June, July, and Auguſt, are healthy enough, but ſo very hot, that both natives and foreigners get up into the mountains at that time. The hot winds which blow from the eaſtward, over a long tract of ſandy deſarts, are ready to ſuffocate them, and ſometimes there happens a peſtilential blaſt, which ſtrikes the traveller dead in an inſtant. It rains but very ſeldom here any part of the year, and the water they ſave then is very unwholeſome.

The provinces of Georgia, Shirvan, and Adirbeitzan, are very dry and warm in the ſummer, but ſubject to ſtorms and tempeſts in the winter, and as ſevere froſts for ſix months as any countries on the continent in the ſame latitude; but as this part of Perſia is very mountainous, there is frequently a vaſt difference between the air on the north and the ſouth ſide of the mountains, and in a few miles travelling people think themſelves in a different climate; but however cold the mountains in the north may be, they are extremely healthful. On the contrary, the flat country of Gilan and Mezenderan, which lies upon the Caſpian Sea, and was the ancient Hyrcania, is very damp, full of ſtinking moraſſes, and unhealthful, inſomuch that the inhabitants in the ſummer retire into the mountains, all the water they have being foul and corrupted in the hot ſeaſon; and here, and in Choraſan, it is ſaid earthquakes are very common.

4. It is obſervable, that there is no country in the world of ſo large an extent as Perſia, where there are ſo few navigable rivers; there is not ſo much as one river in the heart of the country that will carry a boat of any burthen; and you may travel ſeveral days' journey, without meeting with any water whatever, in ſome parts. The river Oxus, indeed, which divides Perſia from Uſbeck-Tartary, is a large ſtream, but as there are no branches of it that ariſe in the Perſian dominions, it is of little uſe to them. The rivers Kur and Aras, anciently called Cyrus and Araxes, which riſe in the mountains of Ararat, and run through Georgia, Shirvan and Adirbeitzan, and having joined their ſtreams, fall into the Caſpian Sea, are much the moſt conſiderable rivers in the

in the Perſian dominions. However, there are ſeveral ſmall rivulets which fall from the mountains, and are conveyed by ſubterraneous channels or otherwiſe to their principal cities.

Water being ſo ſcarce in Perſia, there is no place, where they huſband it better, or have more ingenious contrivances, to convey it to their cities, and into their corn-fields and gardens. This is the care of the government, and there is a great officer in every province, who has the charge of the conveyance and diſtribution of the waters. They turn all their little rivulets and ſprings to thoſe parts of the country where they are moſt wanted; they dig wells alſo of a prodigious depth and breadth, out of which they draw the water with oxen, in great leathern buckets, which being emptied into ciſterns, is let out as there is occaſion for the ſervice of the country. They have alſo vaſt ſubterraneous aqueducts, through which they convey water twenty or thirty leagues to the places aſſigned. Theſe are two fathoms high, and arched with brick, and at every twenty paces diſtance, there are large holes like wells, which were made for the conveniency of carrying on the arch without working under ground too far, and the more eaſy repairing them. The diſtribution of the river and ſpring water, is made one day to one quarter of the town, and another day to another, as occaſion requires, when every one opens the canal or reſervatory in his gardens to receive it, for which every garden pays a certain ſum yearly to the government, particularly about Iſpahan; and as it is very eaſy for one to divert his neighbour's water into his own channel, this is a fraud that is ſeverely puniſhed. They give a greater rate for river water, than they do for ſpring-water, which is not found ſo proper for the improvement of their grounds.

Beſides the ocean, there are two ſeas belonging to Perſia, one on the north, and he other on the ſouth-weſt, viz. the Caſpian Sea, and the Gulph of Boſſora or Perſia, which have been already mentioned. The Caſpian Sea is about a hundred leagues in length, from north to ſouth, and ninety leagues in breadth, and has near a hundred rivers running into it, of which the chief is the Wolga, at the mouth whereof ſtands Aſtracan; but this ſea has no communication with any other, and though ſo many rivers fall into it, there is no viſible way by which it diſcharges itſelf of its waters, but they remain, always of the ſame height, and do not either ebb or flow. The Ruſſians have in a great meaſure the ſole navigation of this ſea, which is very profitable to them, and might be made much more ſo by the new trade that has been ſet on foot, from Europe to Perſia, through Ruſſia.

The Shah Nadir was very deſirous of becoming a maritime power on this ſide alſo, and employed a gentleman of a certain country, to build him ſhips of force for this purpoſe, but conſidering the revolutions that will probably attend his death, theſe deſigns are like to fall to the ground. The Perſians were formerly entirely maſters of the gulph that ſeparates their country from Arabia, for which they were in a great meaſure indebted to us, who aſſiſted them in diſpoſſeſſing the Portugueſe of the iſland of Ormus, upon which they had opened a very advantageous port, allowing us half the cuſtoms ariſing from the goods imported and exported here. But Shah Abbas the Great, thought that conſideration too large, and therefore when he transferred the commerce to his new port of Gambroon, or Bander Abaſſi, i. e. the port of Abbas, he allowed the Eaſt India Company no more than one thouſand tomans, which makes three thouſand three hundred thirty-three pounds ſix ſhillings and eight-pence of our money. It was in this gulph, on the coaſt of the iſland of Baherem, that they had the fineſt pearl fiſhery in the world, which produced annually above fifty thouſand pounds,

but in the late unſettled ſtate of their empire, the Arabians have ſeized or rather recovered this fiſhery, and are in poſſeſſion of it, at leaſt for the preſent.

5. As we have now given a clear account of the rivers and ſeas of this counry, we will next ſpeak of the ſoil and its produce; and in the firſt place we muſt obſerve, that there is not a country in the world, which has more mountains and fewer rivers than Perſia, and ſome of their mountains are looked upon to be the higheſt on the face of the earth. Mount Taurus, which receives different names as it branches itſelf out into different provinces, runs quite through the country, from weſt to eaſt. The loftieſt of theſe mountains are thoſe called Arrarat in Armenia, the mountains which ſeparate Media from Hyrcania, and thoſe between Hyrcania and Parthia or Erak. Thoſe alſo which divide Fars or Perſis from Carmania are exceedingly high, the moſt famous of which is called mount Jarron, but they are generally dry barren rocks, without trees or herbage upon them, except thoſe of Gylan or Hyrcania, and the mountains of Curdeſtan, which are covered with woods and very fruitful, where they are manured. There are vaſt ſandy deſarts, ſeveral days' journey over in this kingdom, where there is ſcarce a drop of water to be found, and the land in general upon the frontiers lies uncultivated, to diſcourage their enemies from invading them; and in fact there is not the leaſt ſubſiſtence to be met with for ſeveral miles, whether you enter this empire from Turkey or India. There are however ſome fruitful plains and vallies, in which their principal cities ſtand, which yield plenty of grain, and herbage, and no country is more fruitful than the provinces which lie upon the Caſpian Sea, as has been already obſerved. But then Hyrcania is very unhealthful in ſummer time, which ſome apprehend proceeds from the multitude of ſnakes and inſects, which lie rotting upon the ground when the waters are dried up, as well as from the foulneſs of the water itſelf, which is ſo thick and muddy that there is no drinking it at that ſeaſon of the year.

As to Perſia in general, there is not a tenth part of it cultivated, not but that there are many vallies which bear neither graſs nor grain at preſent, which formerly when greater care was taken to turn the waters into them, were fruitful countries. In ſome provinces, there are hundreds of fine aqueducts, choaked up and buried in ruins, ſo that it is not ſo much a defect in the ſoil, as the want of people, or at leaſt of huſbandmen, which renders Perſia barren. The ſoil in ſome parts is a hard gravel, and in others a ſtiff whitiſh clay, almoſt as hard as ſtone, but either of them are fruitful enough when well watered, and will bear often two crops, and ſometimes three in the compaſs of a year; and if we give any credit to ancient authors, there was not a more plentiful country in the world than Perſia was formerly; the reaſon of this alteration ſome aſcribe to the different diſpoſitions of the people, who have inhabited it. The ancient Perſians, the fire-worſhippers, it is ſaid, were obliged by the precepts of their religion to cultivate the ſoil, and it was by them accounted a meritorious act to plant a tree, to bring the water into a field, and make a barren ſpot of earth produce graſs or grain, while the Mahometans ſeem to have no genius for improvements, or even to keep up what their anceſtors have built or planted, but let every thing run to ruin; however, one reaſon of this neglect may be, that the properties of the people are in no ſecurity, and no wonder they have but little inclination to make improvements, when they have no certainty of reaping the advantage of them.

6. Near great towns they improve their grounds with the dirt and dung of the ſtreets, but at a greater diſtance, they throw their fields into little level ſquares, which they bank about, and then turn the water into them, letting it ſtand in the field all night, which having ſoaked it, the water is let out next morning, and the ſun ſhining with almoſt

perpendicular rays upon the moiſt earth, renders it fit for the production of any ſort of grain or plants. Where the ground is light they plough with two or three oxen or buffaloes; but in Gilan and other countries, where they meet with a ſtiff clay, it is as much as eight or ten oxen can do to draw their ploughs which are very large. Rice, wheat and barley, are almoſt the only kinds of grain growing in Perſia; oats they have none, and little or no rye. Their ſeaſons are not the ſame in the north as in the ſouth, but when they are ſowing in one part of the country, they are reaping in another, and in ſome places it is not more than three months between ſeed-time and harveſt.

Their land never lies fallow, but it is ſown once every year, at leaſt, it is ſo meliorated and enriched by being flowed, and the heat of the ſun afterwards working on the mud, that it is never out of heart. As to the rice, it muſt be conſtantly ſupplied with water till the harveſt; but for other grain, the land is only flowed before the ſowing, to render it prolific. Their kitchen gardens are well furniſhed with moſt of the roots and ſallads we have in Europe; they have no leſs than twenty ſeveral ſorts of melons during the ſeaſon they laſt, which is about four months, the common people make them their conſtant food, thoſe which come to maturity firſt in the ſpring are round and ſmall, thoſe that rippen in the latter part of the ſeaſon are the beſt and largeſt, ſome of them weigh eight or ten pounds, and are as ſweet as ſugar itſelf; at the tables of perſons of quality they have them all the year round, there being a way to preſerve them under ground till the ſeaſon returns again, and it is ſaid, ſome perſons will eat eight or ten pound of melons at a meal, without being ſick. The beſt melons grow in Choraſſan near Tartary, and they are carried as far as Iſpahan for the Shah's uſe, and as preſents to their friends. Cucumbers are another fruit much eaten by the common people, one ſort of them has ſcarce any ſeeds in it, and is eaten without paring or dreſſing, and is not reckoned unwholeſome.

7. Of grapes they have ſeveral kinds, and ſome of them are ſo large, that a ſingle grape is a mouthful. They make their wine at Iſpahan of the Kiſmiſhs, a little round grape, and without any ſtone that can be perceived, but much the beſt wines are made at Shiraz. They keep their grapes all winter, and let them hang a conſiderable time on the vine, wrapped up in linen bags; the air is ſo dry, that it preſerves all kinds of fruit as long as they can deſire. Dates are reckoned one of the moſt delicious fruits in this country, they are no where ſo good as in Perſia, the pulp which encloſes the ſtone is a clammy ſubſtance, as ſweet as honey; they are laid on heaps when they are ripe, and melting, candy or preſerve themſelves without ſugar. Foreigners are adviſed to eat moderately of them, becauſe they heat the blood, and occaſions ulcers in thoſe who are not uſed to them, and ſometimes weaken the ſight, but have no ill effects upon the natives; the tree which bears them is ſlender, but very tall, and like other palms, has no branches but on the top, and the fruit grows in cluſters of thirty or forty pounds weight; the tree does not bear till it is fifteen years old, but continues bearing above a hundred years. There are in Perſia moſt of the fruits which are to be had in Europe, and they would be in much greater perfection, if they knew any thing of gardening, but they underſtand neither grafting, inoculating, or the art of managing dwarf-trees; all their trees run up very high, and are loaded with wood. They have excellent apricots of ſeveral kinds, which are in ſeaſon one after the other, and their nectarines and peaches weigh ſixteen or eighteen ounces a-piece; there is an apricot red within, which is called, the egg of the ſun; theſe are dried and exported in vaſt quantities; they are boiled in water, which is thickened by the juice of the fruit, and makes a perfect ſyrup without ſugar.

Apples and pears grow chiefly in the north part of Perſia, they have alſo pomegranates of ſeveral kinds, with oranges, quinces, and prunes, and ſuch variety of fruits, that Sir John Chardin ſays, he has ſeen above fifty ſorts at an entertainment, ſome of which grew three hundred leagues from the place. The piſtachio nuts are almoſt peculiar to Perſia, and are tranſported all the world over; here are alſo ſmall nuts, filberds and almonds. Olives grow in Hyrcania, near the Caſpian Sea, but they neither know how to preſerve them, nor draw oil in the beſt manner from them. They have alſo plantations of ſugar and tobacco.

Among other trees in their gardens, they have the cypreſs, the palm, and the mulberry, of the laſt there are large plantations for their ſilk worms, which they do not ſuffer to grow up to be great trees, becauſe the leaves are beſt when the ſhoots are young. They root up the trees therefore when they grow old, and plant their grounds afreſh. But the tree which is in as greet eſteem as any in Perſia, is the Senna; the body of this tree is very large, and frequently forty or fifty feet high, and ſtraight as the maſt of a ſhip, having no branches but on the head of it; the bark is of a bright grey, and the wood ſerves them to make doors, rafters, and for other uſes in building. The trees that are moſt common in Perſia are the plane-tree, the willow, the fir, and the cornel-tree; the plane-tree the Perſians imagine is a preſervative againſt the plague, and other contagious diſtempers, and obſerve, that the plague has never raged in Iſpahan ſince this tree was planted in their ſtreets and gardens. The trees alſo which bear the gall nut is very common in many parts of Perſia, and there are trees which yield gum maſtich, and frankincenſe; that which produces frankincenſe very much reſembles a pear-tree, and abounds chiefly in Carmania.

There are likewiſe trees which produce manna of ſeveral ſorts: the beſt manna has a yellowiſh caſt, a large coarſe grain, and comes from Choraſſan or Bactria; there is another ſort called Tameriſk, becauſe the tree it drops from is ſo named, and is found in large quantities in the province of Suſiana; and there is a third ſort gathered about Iſpahan, which falls from a tree much like the tameriſk, but larger; the leaves of this tree drop liquid manna in ſummer-time, which the natives take to be the ſweat of the tree congealed upon the leaf in the morning; the ground under it is perfectly fat and greaſy with it, and this has as ſweet a taſte as other manna.

The cotton-tree is cōmon all over Perſia, and they have another little tree, which yields a kind of ſilken down, uſed for quilting and ſtuffing of pillows; there is alſo a a plant, called hannah, that bears a ſeed which they beat to powder, and colour their hands and feet, and ſometimes rub over their faces with it, apprehending it keeps their ſkin ſmooth, and preſerves their complexion: they ſometimes bruiſe the leaves of it, which ſerves them for the ſame purpoſe.

There are found in the deſarts of Carmania, two little ſhrubs of a poiſonous quality, the firſt is called galbad ſamour, or the flower that poiſons the wind; ſome people imagining that it is this occaſions thoſe killing winds which blow in this province in the hot ſeaſon; the other ſhrub is called Herzebre, the trunk whereof is about as big as a man's leg, and grows about ſix feet high; its leaves are almoſt round, and it bears a flower like the ſweet-briar. There are ſcarce any trees to be found on the mountains, or wild fields in Perſia; theſe are for the moſt part deſtitute of all manner of verdure, while in their cities, and the villages for three or four leagues round them, the ſtreets as well as gardens are ſo well planted, that the houſes are hardly to be diſcerned at a diſtance; when you have travelled ſome few leagues, indeed you meet not either with houſe, tree, or ſhrub, for many miles, but all looks like a barren deſart, notwithſtanding

ſtanding which, great part of this ſoil, were it watered, would be as fruitful as the other, and actually was ſo ſome ages ſince, when a more induſtrious generation than the preſent poſſeſſed the country.

From their trees, I paſs on to their flowers, and of theſe there is a great variety to be found in ſome provinces. The ſouth part of Perſia has much the feweſt; exceſſive heat being as deſtructive to them as extreme cold; but nothing can be more beautiful than the fields of Hyrcania, where are whole groves of orange-trees, jeſſamins, and all the flowers we have in Europe. The eaſt part of this country, which is called Mazanderan is one continued parterre from September to April; the whole country at that time is covered with flowers, and this, though it be their winter ſeaſon, is alſo the beſt time for fruits. In the other months the heat is ſo exceſſive, that the natives find themſelves under a neceſſity of retiring to the mountains.

In Media the fields produce tulips, anemonies, and ranunculuses; about Iſpahan, and ſome other towns, jonquils grow wild. They have alſo daffodils, lilies, violets, and pinks in their ſeaſon, and ſome flowers which laſt all the year round; but they have the greateſt quantity of lillies and roſes; they export abundance of roſe-water to other countries; in the ſpring, there is vaſt plenty of yellow and red gillyflowers, and another red flower which reſembles a clove, of a beautiful ſcarlet colour, and every ſprig bears thirty of theſe flowers, which form a fine head as large as a tennis-ball.

Their roſes are white, yellow, and red, and others white on one ſide and yellow on the other; but notwithſtanding all this great variety of beautiful flowers, their gardens are not comparable to thoſe of Europe. As flowers are ſo common they are very little regarded; you ſee them intermixed with fruit trees and roſe buſhes without any order; but large walks planted with trees, fountains, canals, caſcades, and pleaſure houſes, at proper diſtances, are all that muſt be expected in their fineſt gardens; nor do the Perſians take any manner of pleaſure in walking in them, any more than in the fields; but ſet themſelves down in ſome alcove or ſummer-houſe as ſoon as they come into them, totally negligent of that exquiſite variety that every foreigner is charmed with.

8. Perſia alſo affords great plenty of phyſical drugs, as caſſia, ſenna, antimony, nux vomica, gum armoniac, galbanum, ſal armoniac, and a kind of rhubarb, with which they purge their cattle; but the beſt rhubarb comes from China, or rather from eaſtern Tartary, which lies to the northward of China. The Perſian poppies are in great eſteem from the quantity of juice they yield, and the ſtrength of it; they grow four feet high in ſome places, and have white leaves. They extract the juice from them in June, when they are ripe; by making little inciſions in the head of the poppy, a thick liquor diſtills from them, which is gathered very early in the morning before ſun-riſe. It is ſaid to have ſuch an effect on the people, who are employed in this work, that they look as if they had been buried and taken up again, and their limbs tremble as if they had the palſy. The liquor which is thus drawn from the poppies in a little time grows thick, and is made up into pills. The Perſians give it the name of afioun, and we, probably from thence, call it opium. The Perſian bakers ſtrew poppy-ſeed on their bread, which incline thoſe that eat it to ſleep, and the eating it is not reckoned unwholeſome after their meals; the common people eat the ſeed at any time almoſt for pleaſure.

Saffron grows plentifully in Perſia, and aſſafœtida is to be had every where almoſt, which is much admired by the natives of Perſia as well as India, and frequently eaten with their food; that which to us is moſt offenſive of all ſcents, by them is eſteemed a perfume.

Aſſa

Aſſafœtida is a liquor which diſtills from the plant called hiltot; it thickens after it is drawn, and grows as hard as gum; there is the white and black kinds of it, of which the white is reckoned the beſt to eat. The ſmell of this drug is ſo very ſtrong, that if any goods be near it in a ſhip, the ſmell is communicated to them, let them be wrapped up every ſo cloſe, and it is almoſt impoſſible to clear them of it; nay, it affects the colour, and therefore Sir John Chardin tells us, the veſſels uſed in tranſporting it are frequently broke up and burned, to prevent other goods from being ſpoiled by being carried in them, from which no package can ſave them.

The Perſian bezoar is eſteemed preferable to that of India, which having already deſcribed, we ſhall not dwell upon it here. It is ſufficient to obſerve, that the reaſons it is not ſo much eſteemed in Europe as it was formerly, are theſe; in the firſt place, it is frequently ſophiſticated, notwithſtanding that ſeveral methods are in uſe for detecting theſe frauds, of which I ſhall mention a few. The genuine bezoar, at leaſt that which comes from Perſia, has a very fine ſmell reſembling that of ambergris but not near ſo ſtrong; if thrown into hot water, and left there for three or four hours it, loſes nothing either of its colour or weight; if pricked with a hot iron, no ſmoke ariſes; if rubbed upon a leaf of Dutch vellum, it leaves a yellow impreſſion; if broke or cut, it appears to be compoſed of ſeveral coats unequally diſpoſed, in the ſame manner as appears in cutting an onion. Another reaſon why it has loſt its credit, is the humour people have of embracing the contrary extreme to that of their anceſtors; heretofore bezoar was ſold very dear, and was held to have many and great virtues, and now it is faſhionable to affirm that it has little or no virtue at all; which though it has driven it out of uſe, has not much beat down its price, becauſe in the eaſt, and even in other parts of Europe, it is ſtill in eſteem.

A third reaſon is, our giving it in too ſmall doſes, ſo that its virtues are not diſcernible. A famous Perſian phyſician had a great ſecret for curing lunacy, which he ſold to a French gentleman for a large ſum of money, and this ſecret conſiſted in giving equal quantities of bezoar, muſk, and camphire, as I found in a French manuſcript of receipts, in which it is ſaid, that very ſingular cures were performed by it; but the quantities of theſe drugs in a doſe were not mentioned.

In the province of Choraſan they frequently find human bodies preſerved in the ſand, the fleſh of which they ſell under the name of mummy, for medicinal uſes; and there are alſo ſuch bodies found in a cavern not far from the borough of Abin, in the province of Farſiſtan. It is however neceſſary to inform the reader, that in the Perſian and and Turkiſh languages, the word moum, from whence we have formed mummy, ſignifies literally a ſoft clammy ſubſtance, of the conſiſtency of balſam, which explains ſufficiently what is meant by mineral mummy, which is a kind of natural balſam diſtilling through the rock of a large cavern in the province of Lar, eſteemed ſo precious, that the Shah keeps it entirely for his own uſe, the doors of this cave being ſealed by the governor of Lar, who opens it only once a year, to take out the balm the quantity of which ſeldom exceeds ten ounces. A multitude of virtues are aſcribed to it, particularly in the cure of fractures, in which it is ſaid to perform wonders; but it may very well be doubted, whether any of this was ever brought into Europe.

9. We will now proceed to ſpeak of the animals that are found in Perſia, and in reference to theſe, the camel, for a beaſt of burthen, much excels all the reſt, whether we conſider the weight he carries, the diſpatch he makes, or the little charge of keeping him. Of theſe camels there are ſeveral kinds; ſome have two bunches upon their backs, and others but one, and there is a third ſort ingendered between a dromedary or camel, with two bunches, and a female with one, which are eſteemed much the beſt,

and

and ſold for twenty or thirty pounds a-piece, for they are ſeldom tired, and will carry nine hundred or a thouſand weight. Thoſe which travel between the Perſian Gulph and Iſpahan are of a much leſs ſize, and do not carry above five or ſix hundred weight; but theſe, notwithſtanding, are almoſt as ſerviceable as the other, for they are much ſwifter, and will gallop like a horſe, whereas the others ſeldom go faſter than a foot pace. Theſe ſwift camels are kept by the Shah and great men, and ſerve to tranſport their women from place to place, and carry their baggage; they are uſually adorned with embroidered cloths, and ſilver bells about their necks; a ſtring of ſix or ſeven of them are tied together when they travel, and governed by one man; they uſe neither bridles nor halter to hold them, or whips to drive them, but they are directed by the driver's voice, who ſings or plays to them as they travel; good uſage only moves them, for they are naturally ſo obſtinate, it is in vain to beat them if they tire.

When they are to take up their burthen, the driver touches their knees, whereupon they lie down on their bellies till they are loaded, groaning however, and giving ſigns of uneaſineſs, under a ſenſe of the fatigue they are about to undergo; they let them graze by the road-ſide, with their burthens on their backs, on weeds and thiſtles, and ſometimes they feed them with balls made up of barley meal and chaff, into a paſte, with which they often mix the cotton ſeed; but the camel is the leaſt feeder of any beaſt, conſidering his bulk. It is very happy alſo that they can live without water two or three days together, there being ſcarce any to be met with in thoſe deſarts the caravans are forced to croſs. They ſhed all their hair every ſpring, and are perfectly naked. Of the camel's hair, abundance of fine ſtuffs are made, as we ſhall ſhew in ſpeaking of manufactures; theſe creatures are very tame and tractable, except when the luſtful fit is upon them, which laſts thirty or forty days, and then they are very unruly, which makes their drivers increaſe their burthens at that time, to keep them under. When once the male has covered the female, he grows ſluggiſh, and does not care for ſtirring out of the ſtable: they go with young eleven months, and ſome ſay twelve.

Oxen, buffaloes, aſſes and mules, are alſo uſed indifferently for carrying of paſſengers, or burthens, and their land being plowed by buffaloes and oxen, theſe beaſts are very ſeldom killed for food, though ſome Perſian governors, in the ſouth of Perſia, have extorted conſiderable ſums out of the Indian Banians, who reſide thereabouts, under pretence they would order them to be butchered, if the Banians did not redeem their lives by a conſiderable preſent. The aſſes of Perſia are much larger and ſwifter than ours, and will perform a journey very well.

But the fineſt beaſts are their horſes, theſe are beautiful creatures, and no where better managed than in Perſia. They have fine forehands, and are exactly well proportioned, light and ſprightly, but only fit for the ſaddle, or at leaſt, not uſed for any other purpoſe; they are never gelt, and wear their tails at their full length; but though they are lovely creatures to look on, they are neither ſo ſwift as the Arabian, nor ſo hardy as the Tartar horſes, and the Shah therefore has always a ſtable of the Arabian breed. Horſes are very dear in Perſia, ſome of them being ſold for two or three hundred pounds, and ſeldom any that are good for leſs than fifty. It is not ſo much the ſcarcity of them, as the ſelling ſuch numbers to India and Turkey, which enhances the price.

They have mules alſo that carry very well, and are valued, ſome of them at thirty or forty pounds a-piece, and ſome aſſes at not much leſs, after they have been taught to pace. The ordinary food for horſes is barley and chopt ſtraw; they have no mangers in their ſtables, but give their horſes their corn in bags. In the ſpring they cut green graſs for their horſes, but never make any into hay to be eaten dry; ſometimes they

they feed their horſes with balls made of barley-meal, as in India; inſtead of litter their own dung is dried, and beaten to powder, and laid a foot deep for them to lie on; and if any of it be wetted, it is dried in the ſun the next day. Their horſes' hoofs are much ſounder and harder than ours, and they are ſhod with thin plates, as the oxen are, on account of their travelling over the ſtony mountains. They daub their horſes legs in winter with a yellow herb, called Hannah, and ſometimes anoint their bodies with it as high as their breaſt, to keep out the cold as it is ſaid; but it ſeems to be rather by way of ornament, for in ſome places it is done all the year round.

The Shah has large ſtables of horſes diſperſed throughout the kingdom, almoſt in every city, for the public ſervice. A horſe is ſeldom denied to any man that demands one, if he will keep him, but then ſuch perſons are accountable to the government for them, when they ſhall be called out into the field; but they have the liberty of riding them in the mean time. Theſe troopers' horſes are ſometimes quartered upon people, who would gladly be excuſed from the trouble and charge of keeping them, and if any horſe dies in their hands, oath muſt be made, that it did not die for want of corn, or looking after. Their horſes are ſubject to many diſtempers, ſometimes their legs ſwell, and a humour riſes on their breaſt, which proceeds from eating too much barley; and in this caſe, they clap a hot iron to the ſwelling, or lance it, and keep the ſore open, by running a willow twig through it, but a hot iron applied to the part is the moſt general remedy for lame or diſtempered horſes.

Of ſheep and goats there are great plenty in Perſia; the natives ſeldom eat any other meat, their ſheep are large and remarkable for their fat tails, which weigh eight or ten pounds, and ſome it is ſaid are above twenty pounds in weight; they are remarkable alſo in ſome parts of Perſia for having more horns than ours. Some have ſix or ſeven horns ſtanding ſtraight out of their forehead, ſo that when their rams engage, there is uſually a great deal of blood ſpilled in the battle. The Perſian goats are not only valuable for their fleſh, but the fine wool they yield, of which great quantities are annually exported, more eſpecially from Carmania. Hogs there are ſcarce to be met with, for as the Mahometans, who are the governing part of the country, abhor this animal, their Chriſtian ſubjects do not endeavour to increaſe the breed, unleſs towards Georgia and Armenia, where the Chriſtians are numerous.

Wild beaſts there are not many, either in the middle or the ſouthern part of Perſia. Deer they have ſome, and antelopes, which are much of the ſame nature, except that they are ſpotted, and have finer limbs. In Gilan and Curdiſtan, the woody parts of the country, wild beaſts abound, ſuch as lions, tygers, leopards, wild hogs, jackals, &c. And in Media and Armenia, there are abundance of deers, wild goats, hares, and rabbits, and there are ſome found on the mountains almoſt all over the country, but not many.

Inſects they are not much troubled with in the heart of Perſia, which is very dry, unleſs it be with ſwarms of locuſts, which viſit them ſometimes in ſuch numbers, that they look like a cloud, and perfectly obſcure the ſun, and wherever they light deſtroy the fruits of the earth; but there are certain birds which generally viſit the country about the ſame time, and eat up the locuſts, and ſo prevent the ruin of the huſbandmen. That part of of the country which lies upon the Caſpian or Hyrcanian Sea, is full of ſerpents, toads, ſcorpions, and other venomous inſects, which in ſummer-time die, many of them for want of water, and infect the air, rendering that part of the country very unhealthy at that ſeaſon.

Scorpions particularly there are of an immoderate ſize, and there ſting is mortal, if proper remedies be not immediately applied, and at beſt a perſon ſtung by one of them,

is in such torture, that he becomes raving mad for some time. Musquitoes or gnats are very troublesome in the flat country, near the Caspian Sea; and there is a white fly no bigger than a flea in Persia, which makes no noise, but its sting is like the prick of a pin. Here is also the millepedes, almost like a caterpillar, and whose bite is as pernicious as the sting of a scorpion; the Persians call them hezarpai, or a thousand feet.

10. There are the same sorts of tame and wild fowl in Persia as in Europe; as geese, hens, ducks, partridges, snipes, &c.; but more of them in the north than in the south part of the country. Turkies have been carried to Ispahan, but they do not thrive. The breed of pigeons they take all imaginable care to increase and propagate, on account of their dung, with which they raise their melons. Their dove-houses are five times as large as ours, of a round figure, and handsomely built of brick; of these, it is said, there are not less than three thousand in the city of Ispahan only. The dung is always sold for four-pence the bisty, or twelve pounds weight, and the government, it seems, lay a small tax upon it. Their partridges are reckoned the largest and best tasted that are to be met with.

The pelican, which the Persians call tacob, or the water-drawer, is as remarkable as any of their fowls, for the body of it is said to be as large as a sheep, its head at the same time wonderous small, but a large bill of sixteen or eighteen inches long, as big as a man's arm, and under the bill there is a large bag, travellers tell us, which will hold a pail of water; they build their nests in the deserts, where there is no water, and consequently no inhabitants, for their security, and frequently go two days' journey for water for their young ones; but then they bring enough in the receptacle above mentioned to last for some time, if we may give entire credit to these accounts.

There is another extraordinary bird mentioned by travellers, in the province of Chorasan, which has such an appetite towards the water of a certain spring in that country, and such sagacity in discovering it, that they will follow any person that carries it in a bottle several hundreds of miles. As to eagles, hawks, falcons, and other birds of prey, there is no country where they have more, or where they are better instructed, than in Persia. The Shah has eight hundred or a thousand of them, and there is no man of any figure without his hawks and his falconers; and their hawks are taught not only to fly at birds but at hares, deer, and all manner of wild beasts, and by fixing themselves on the head of the animal, and beating him with their wings, he is so terrified and distracted, that the dogs and huntsmen which follow have very little difficulty in taking him; and the Persians, it is said, breed up the very crows to fly at game.

There are the same kinds of singing birds in Persia as with us, such as the linnet, the chaffinch, the nightingale, the lark, &c.; and some birds there are which are taught to speak, but no parrots or parroquets on this side India. However, there are several party-coloured birds to be seen in Persia, with a plumage of blue, green, and yellow, beautifully mixed. Of sparrows there are such numbers, that they are very troublesome to the husbandmen, who are forced to place their servants in the fields all day long when the harvest approaches, to keep them from their corn.

In the heart of Persia there are scarce any fish to be met with, the few rivulets they have hardly supplying the country with water for necessary uses, and in the summer time they are almost all dried up; even the river Zenderhood, to which the government, at a prodigious expence, have joined other streams for the supply of the city of Ispahan, is perfectly lost in the sandy deserts about twenty leagues from thence; and it may be doubted whether there be one stream which rises in the middle of the kingdom that ever reaches the sea in the summer; though in the spring, when the snow melts on the mountains, they make a considerable figure. In the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulph there are great plenty of sea-fish of all kinds almost, and the rivers Kur and

Arras, which fall into the Caſpian, have plenty of river-fiſh, but they lie at two great a diſtance from Iſpahan to ſupply that city; ſo that fiſh is very rarely eaten there.

11. We are to ſpeak next of the metals and minerals in this country; and to proceed methodically, we ought to begin with thoſe of gold and ſilver, if any were now wrought in Perſia, but there are not; for, notwithſtanding what old writers relate of the rich mines in Bactriana, and that almoſt all the Perſian authors agree, that there are mines of this metal in Choraſan, yet from the neighbourhood of the Tartars they have been long neglected; and it is the ſame with reſpect to the ſilver mines in other places, though from the accounts lately given by Tavernier, one would ſuſpect that the Perſians are but indifferently ſkilled in the art of mining, and that of refining of metals; they have, however, good mines of iron, ſteel, copper, and lead. The iron and ſteel mines are in Hircania, Media, and the provinces of Erak and Choraſan; their ſteel is ſo full of ſulphur, that if the filings are thrown into the fire, they will give a report like gunpowder; it has a fine grain, but is as brittle as glaſs, and the Perſian artificers, who do not underſtand how to give it a due temper, cannot for that reaſon make wheels or ſprings, or any minute pieces of workmanſhip. Their copper mines are moſt of them near Seris, in the mountains of Mazanderan; they mix it with Swediſh and Japan copper, and the proportion is one part foreign to twenty of their own metal.

The lead mines are, moſt of them, near the city of Yeſd, and in theſe are found the greateſt quantity of ſilver. Sulphur and ſaltpetre are dug in the mountain Damaverd, which divides Hircania from the province of Erak. Antimony is found in Carmania, but it is a baſtard ſort. Emery is had near Niris; vitriol and mercury they have none, and their tin is imported from abroad. There are two kinds of ſalt in Perſia, the one upon the ſurface of the ground, the other dug out of the rock: there are plains of ten or twelve leagues over quite covered with ſalt, as others are with ſulphur and alum. The ſalt is ſo hard in ſome parts of Carmania, that the poor people make uſe of it inſtead of ſtone to build their cottages.

Their marble is either white, black, or red, and ſome veined with white and red; it is dug near Hamadan, and in Chuſiſtan ſome of it will break into large flakes or tables like ſlate, but the beſt comes from Tauris, which is almoſt as tranſparent as cryſtal. This kind is white, mixed with green. In the country about Tauris alſo is found the mineral azure, but this is not ſo good as that which comes from Tartary, loſing its colour by degrees. In the provinces of Fars and Shirvan there is found abundance of bole armoniac, and ſo rich and fat a marl, that the country people uſe it inſtead of ſoap. There are ſome mines of iſinglaſs in the ſame country. In ſeveral parts of Perſia we meet with naptha, both white and black; it is uſed in painting and varniſh, and ſometimes in phyſic, and there is an oil extracted from it which is applied to ſeveral uſes. The moſt famous ſprings of Naptha are in the neighbourhood of the town of Baku, which furniſh vaſt quantities; and there are alſo upwards of thirty ſprings about Shamaſchy, both in the province of Shirwan. The Perſians uſe it as oil for their lamps, and in making fire-works, of which they are extremely fond, and in which they are great proficients.

But the moſt valuable product of the Perſian mines is the turquoiſe, concerning which there have been ſo many miſtakes made, that notwithſtanding we find ourſelves preſſed for room, we cannot avoid treating ſomewhat largely upon this ſubject. In the firſt place, it is aſſerted that it derives its name from Turkey, which is true enough when rightly underſtood, but abſolutely falſe according to the common acceptation; for there neither is or never was any of theſe ſtones found in the dominions of the Turks, but in the country of Turcomania, which was indeed the ſeat of that nation, though for any thing I know, this has never been obſerved by the writers upon this ſubject. Theſe ſtones are diſtinguiſhed into oriental and occidental. The oriental turquoiſes come from

Perſia, and from Perſia only; and theſe are diſtinguiſhed into thoſe of the old and thoſe of the new rock; the former are taken out of the mines of Nicapour and Caraſſon, and, as Sir John Chardin juſtly obſerves, differ greatly from other ſtones that bear the ſame name. They are hard, firm, of a beautiful blue, inclining a little to a green, take a fine poliſh, and are never obſerved to loſe their colour. The Shah endeavours to preſerve theſe entirely for himſelf; and though after chuſing the largeſt and the fineſt, he permits the ſmaller turquoiſes to be ſold, yet foreign merchants are not contented with that manner of dealing, but have ſtruck out a better. The officers belonging to the mines, and their ſervants, frequently deceive the Shah, and inſtead of ſending him the fineſt and largeſt, vend thoſe for their own profit, but always to Europeans, that they may be leſs liable to diſcovery; and by this means very fine turquoiſes find their way into theſe parts of the world. The new rock is at five miles diſtant from the old, and the ſtones are ſofter, leſs firm, veiny, of a green, inclining to blue, and are apt in proceſs of time, to loſe their colour. The occidental turquoiſes are found in Bohemia, France, and other countries, but they are not valued, and have generally the ſame faults with thoſe taken from the new rock.

Dr. Cromwell Mortimer, in the laſt tranſactions of the Royal Society, for the months of January and February 1747, has given us a much better account of theſe ſtones than I ever met with before; and diſtinguiſhes them very juſtly into true and falſe turquoiſes; the former, he ſays, is a true mineral ſubſtance, impregnated with copper ore, which is highly probable, for there is no country in the world that has more copper mines than Perſia; the latter is an ivory or boney ſubſtance, tinctured alſo with ſome metallic juice, and probably that of copper, which is a diſcovery worthy of notice, as it frees this ſubject from abundance of difficulties, under which it has hitherto laboured.

12. After having taken a view of the country, and of its produce, we will ſpeak next of the habitations erected upon it, and this will naturally lead us to the principal cities that yet remain to be deſcribed; but without taking a previous view of what with them paſſes for magnificent buildings, ſuch deſcriptions would be in a manner unintelligible. The houſes of perſons of quality here are generally built in the middle of a fine garden, and make little or no appearance to the ſtreet, for there you ſee nothing but a dead wall, with a great gate in the middle of the wall, and perhaps a ſkreen or wall within the gate, to prevent people looking in; ſo fond are they of privacy and retirement. Another thing that the Perſians differ from us in is, that they ſeldom have more than one floor, which is laid out in this manner; in the front of the houſe ſtands a little piazza, or cloiſter, open before, where they ſit and tranſact their ordinary affairs; beyond this is a large hall, eighteen or twenty feet high, which is uſed at great entertainments, or on any ſolemn occaſions: on the farther ſide of the houſe is another piazza, with a baſon or fountain of water before it, beyond which runs a walk of fine trees, as there does alſo from the ſtreet to the houſe: at each corner of the hall is a parlour or lodging room (for it ſerves for both purpoſes); between thoſe parlours on the ſides, there are doors out of a hall into an open ſquare ſpace, as large as the rooms at the corners; there are alſo ſeveral doors out of the hall into the piazza, before and behind the houſe; ſo that in the hot ſeaſon they can ſet open nine or ten doors at once in the great hall, and if there be any air ſtirring, they will have the benefit of it.

In ſome palaces there is a handſome baſon, and a fountain playing in the middle of the hall, which contributes ſtill more to the coolneſs of the place. The walls of their houſes are built ſometimes of burnt bricks, but more commonly of bricks dried in the ſun. The walls are of conſiderable thickneſs, and the roof of the great hall is arched, and five or ſix feet higher than the other rooms about it. The roofs of the buildings on

every ſide of the hall are flat, and there is a pair of ſtairs up to the top, where the Perſians walk in the cool of the day, and ſometimes carry up a mattreſs, and lie there all night, there being baluſters all round the top of the building. As for the kitchens and other offices, they are at a diſtance on the right or left, and it is obſervable, that all their rooms, except the hall, ſtand ſeparate, and there is no paſſage out of one into another, but only from the hall; chimneys there are ſome, but uſually, inſtead of a chimney, there is a round hole, about four or five feet broad, and a foot and a half deep, in the middle of the room, in which a charcoal fire is made, and the place covered with a thick board or table, about a foot high, ſo cloſe that no ſmoke can get out, and over that table is thrown a large carpet, under which they put their legs in cold weather, and ſit round, there being a paſſage for the ſmoke by pipes laid under the floor. The doors of their houſes are narrow, and ſeldom turn upon hinges as ours do, but there is a round piece left at the top and bottom of the door which is let into the frame above and below, on which they turn, and the very locks and bolts are frequently made of wood.

As to their furniture, it conſiſts only in carpets ſpread on the floor, with cuſhions and pillows to lean on, and at night there is a mattreſs brought to ſleep on, and a quilt or two to cover them, but very ſeldom any ſheets are uſed. As to their ſervants, they lie about in any paſſage upon mats, and take up very little room. The floors of the rooms are either paved or made of a hard cement, on which they lay a coarſe cloth, and over that a carpet: the ſides of ſome of their rooms are lined with fine tiles about a yard high, and the reſt of them well painted, or hung with pictures.

13. Iſpahan, or as it is pronounced, Spahawn, is ſituated in thirty-two degrees forty minutes north latitude, and in the fiftieth degree of longitude, reckoning from the meridian of London. It ſtands in a fine plain, almoſt ſurrounded with mountains, which lie about two or three leagues from it, and the form is pretty near oval. The river Zenderhood runs by it at about a mile diſtance, but there are ſeveral channels and pipes above the town, which convey the water from it into canals and baſons, for the ſervice of the court and city. The town is without walls, and about ten or twelve miles in circumference. Thoſe who extend it ten leagues take in the town of Julpha, and ſeveral others. There were formerly twelve gates to the town, but four of them are now cloſed up, the others are always open; as for the walls, which ſome travellers mention, it is probable there was a mud wall formerly, but there is no part of the wall viſible at preſent. There is an old caſtle, it is true, without artillery, which runs to ruin, but is no more tenable than the town.

The ſtreets of Iſpahan are for the moſt part narrow and crooked, and either exceeding dirty or duſty, for ſcarce any of them are paved, and though there are no coaches or carts, yet all people of faſhion riding through them with great trains of ſervants, renders the paſſage not very pleaſant. There are, however, ſome very fine ſquares in the town, particularly the royal ſquare or meidan, into which there opens two of the palace gates. On the ſides of this ſquare, which is one-third of a mile in length, and more than half as much in breadth, are buildings with ſhops on both ſides, where every particular trade has a quarter aſſigned, and there is a ſecond ſtory where the mechanics have their working-ſhops. There ſeems to be little difference between theſe exchanges and ours, but that thoſe of Iſpahan have no windows, but great openings at proper diſtances to let in the light, and people ride through them as they do along the ſtreets.

In the middle of the ſquare there is a market for horſes and cattle, and all manner of goods and proviſions are expoſed to ſale, though the great Shah Abbas, who built the ſquare, deſigned it for manly exerciſes, and particularly thoſe of horſemanſhip, and handling

handling the bow and lance, at which no people are more dextrous than the Perſians. On that ſide of the ſquare next the palace there is a fine row of trees planted, and a handſome baſon of water, and ſome great braſs guns, which were taken from the Portugueſe at Ormus, ſerve to make a ſhow.

There ſtands a great moſque at the ſouth end of the ſquare, and another moſque on the eaſt ſide over againſt the great gate of the palace; ſeveral ſtreets in Iſpahan are covered and arched over, which makes them pretty dark, and this ſeems to be peculiar to the Perſian towns. Another thing they ſeem to be particular in is, that their houſes and ſhops are never in the ſame places, and it is a common thing for a tradeſman to go half a mile in the morning to the bazar, or market-place, where his ſhop is, and in the night-time they lock up their valuable goods in cheſts and counters, and the reſt they leave packed up, ſometimes in the open ſquare, and it is very rare any thing is loſt; ſo careful are the watch appointed to guard their market-places, or ſo very little given to thieving are the people in this part of the world, and no doubt the ſpeedy and exemplary puniſhments inflicted upon pilferers is one great means to deter them from it.

As to foreign merchants, they lodge their goods in the public caravanſerais about the city, which ſerve them alſo inſtead of inns for lodging and diet; but there is this difference between an inn and a caravanſerai, that every perſon finds his own bedding and cookery in the caravanſerai, whereas in our inns we have not that trouble. There are two things, however, that render a caravanſerai preferable to an inn; one is, that a perſon is not ſubject to the extortions of an innkeeper, but buys his proviſions at the beſt hand; and the other, that let the merchant take up ever ſo many rooms, he ſhall not be diſturbed in them, and pays but a trifle for his warehouſe or lodgings; and upon the road he pays nothing. There are not, it ſeems, leſs than fifteen hundred of theſe public caravanſerais in Iſpahan, which have been erected by charitable people for the uſe of ſtrangers; moſt of them are built after one model, and differ only in the dimenſions. There is a handſome portal at the entrance, on each ſide of which are ſhops, from whence you enter into a ſquare, about which there is a cloiſter or piazza, and within are lodging-rooms and warehouſes for goods: there is alſo ſtabling and conveniences for horſes and other beaſts on the outſide, or they may be brought into the ſquare and faſtened there, as is frequently done upon the road, more eſpecially where there is danger of robbers.

As to taverns, there are none at Iſpahan, their religion prohibiting wine. However, ſome of the Perſians will drink pretty plentifully in private. There are very handſome coffee-houſes in the principal parts of the town, where people meet and talk politics, though they have no printed papers in them, and there we meet with ſome amuſements peculiar to the country, as the harangues of their poets, hiſtorians, and prieſts, who hold forth and get a crowd about them; and it ſeems they expect a ſmall preſent from their audience for their amuſements and inſtructions.

14. The buildings of the palace, with the gardens belonging to it, take up above a league in compaſs. The two gates which come up to the royal meidan or ſquare, are, one of them called alicapi, and the other, doulet cuna; over one of them is a gallery where the Shah uſed to ſit and ſee martial exerciſes performed on horſeback. No part of the palace where the court reſides comes up to the royal ſquare; but having entered the principal gate, there is a hall or court on the left hand, where the vizier and other judges adminiſter juſtice on certain days; and on the right are rooms where offenders are allowed to take ſanctuary. From hence to the hall, where the Shah uſually gives audience, is a handſome walk: it is a long room, well painted and gilded, and ſupported by forty pillars; it is divided into three parts, one a ſtep higher than the other,

on which the great officers ſtand according to their rank. As to hereditary nobility, there is no ſuch thing in Perſia. On the third aſcent is the royal throne, raiſed about a foot and a half above the floor, and about eight feet ſquare, on which is ſpread a rich carpet; here the Shah ſits on it croſs-legged upon ſolemn occaſions, having a brocade cuſhion under him, and another at his back.

As to the reſt of the apartments of the palace, and particularly the haram, or women's apartment, neither foreigners or natives can give an exact deſcription of them, none being permitted to enter but the eunuchs; but in general we are told, that they conſiſt in ſeparate pleaſure-houſes diſperſed about the gardens, much of the ſame form with the houſes firſt deſcribed, and that their great beauty conſiſts in the fine walks, fountains, and caſcades about them. Beyond the gardens the Shah has a large park, walled in, where the ladies hunt, and take their pleaſure with the Prince. In this city are above one hundred and fifty moſques or temples, covered with domes or cupolas, which appearing through the trees that are planted almoſt over the town, in the ſtreets and gardens, afford a noble proſpect; but the common buildings are ſo low, that they are hardly diſcerned by one who takes a view of the town on the outſide.

All Chriſtians being prohibited to enter their moſques, or even to come within their courts, under ſevere penalties, it is not eaſy to meet with a particular deſcription of them. There is a gate which leads to the great moſque covered with ſilver plates. Through this tower you proceed to a court with a piazza or cloiſter on each ſide, where the prieſts lodge who belong to the moſque. Oppoſite to the great gate are three large doors which open into it. The five iſles the moſque is compoſed of are beautified with gold and azure. In the middle is the cupola, ſupported by four great ſquare pillars; the iſles on the ſides are lower than that in the middle, and borne upon thick columns of free-ſtone; two great windows towards the top of the middle iſle give light to the whole moſque; on the left hand towards the middle ſtands a kind of pulpit, with ſtone ſteps to go up to it; the bricks and tiles on the outſide of the building are painted with various colours, after the manner of Perſia, and the floor of the moſque is covered with carpets, all people putting off their ſhoes as they enter it; there are no ſeats or pews as in the Chriſtian temples, or any kind of imagery or pictures. The outſide is ſtone, and the walls lined fifteen feet high with white poliſhed marble; and in the middle of the ſquare, before the moſque, is a large baſon, where they waſh themſelves before they enter the temple. The moſques have, moſt of them, cupolas, with ſteeples or towers, whither the mollas go up to ſummon the people to their devotions, according to the Mahometan mode, making no uſe of bells.

15. The numerous hummums, or bagnios, in this city is another ſubject of travellers' admiration; ſome of theſe are ſquare buildings, but moſt of them globular. The ſtone of which they are built is uſually white and well poliſhed; the tops are covered with tiles painted blue; the inſides are divided into many cells or chambers, ſome for pleaſure and others for ſweating, and the floors are laid with black and white marble. The Perſians bathe almoſt every day, looking upon it to be extremely conducive to health, an effectual remedy for cold or aches, and many other diſtempers. But what is admired as much by foreigners as any thing about Iſpahan, is the charbag, being a walk above a hundred yards wide, and extending a mile in length, from the city to the river Zenderhood; on each ſide are planted double rows of trees, and in the middle runs a canal, not continued upon a level, but at every furlong's diſtance the water falls into a large baſon and forms a caſcade, and the ſides both of the canal and baſons are lined with hewnſtone, broad enough for ſeveral men to walk abreaſt upon them. On each ſide of this walk are the royal gardens, and thoſe of the great men, with pleaſure-houſes,

houſes, at ſmall diſtances, and altogether form as agreeable a proſpect as can be imagined.

At the end of this walk is a bridge over the river Zenderhood, which leads to the town of Julpha; there are alſo two other bridges, one on the right and the other to the left, by which the neigbouring villages have a communication with the city, and which moſt of our travellers are pleaſed to call its ſuburbs, though they are diſtant a mile from Iſpahan, and on the other ſide the river. Theſe bridges are taken notice of for the oddneſs of the architecture, for it ſeems on each ſide, both above and below, are arched paſſages, through which people ride and walk from one end of the bridge to the other, as in the covered ſtreets of the city; and at little diſtances there are openings to admit the light. The arches of theſe bridges are not very high, there being no veſſels to paſs under them, for this river is not navigable any more than the reſt of the Perſian ſtreams. It is true, in the ſpring, on the melting of the ſnows on the mountains, it makes a pretty good appearance, but at the latter end of the ſummer the channel is exceeding narrow and ſhallow, inſomuch that there is not water enough for the gardens which belong to the city; to ſupply the want whereof they have abundance of wells about Iſpahan, of very good water for all domeſtic uſes.

16. The town, or rather the borough, of Julpha, ſtands on the ſouth ſide of the river Zenderhood; and though there are many who look upon it as a ſuburb of Iſpahan, yet it certainly deſerves to be conſidered by itſelf, as being a very large and a very conſiderable town, the buildings of which are more regular, and to the full as magnificent as thoſe of Iſpahan. It is generally reckoned two miles in length, and about a mile in breadth, and is, beyond compariſon, taking all circumſtances together, the fineſt place in Perſia; for, with reſpect to houſes, trade, manufactures and induſtry, there is nothing comes near it; and as to beautiful walks of trees, cooling ſhades, delightful fountains, pleaſant gardens. and magnificent ſummer-houſes, they are every where to be met with. The principal inhabitants are the Armenians, and beſides theſe there are Georgians, Circaſſians. Mingrelians, and other Chriſtians, but no Mahometans who dwell in it. The foundation of this place and the riſe of the Armenians, who are now as conſiderable merchants as any in the world, are events that deſerve our notice.

It was the famous Shah Abbas who firſt took notice of the candour, affability, diligence, penetration, and integrity of the Armenians, in the management of their little concerns in their native country, where they were liable to the incurſions of the Perſians and the Turks. He was not only an ambitious and powerful but a very wiſe and prudent prince: he was deſirous of introducing trade into his dominions, where, till his reign, it was hardly known; and no leſs deſirous of inſpiring his ſubjects with the ſame views, who were little acquainted therewith. In order to accompliſh theſe great and laudable deſigns, he thought it proper to eſtabliſh a ſtaple commodity, by way of foundation, and for that purpoſe fixed upon ſilk. He then tranſported twenty or thirty Armenians into the province of Gilan, where they acquitted themſelves ſo well, that in a very ſhort ſpace of time vaſt quantities of ſilk were made there. Encouraged by this happy beginning, he demoliſhed the town of Old Julpha in Armenia, as has been ſhewn in the former ſection, and tranſported the inhabitants into the neighbourhood of Iſpahan, where, by his royal munificence, and under his powerful protection, they built the place of which we are now ſpeaking, and by his direction undertook to diſtribute all the ſilk that was not wrought up by Perſian manufacturers, through Aſia and Europe, a reaſonable price being firſt fixed, which at their return they were obliged to pay, all the profit being left to themſelves; when it was neceſſary, the Shah advanced

vanced them money for carrying on their commerce, but by degrees, and as they grew wealthy, the government no longer took any ſhare in their trade.

In this manner, from the right notions of one man, and from his juſt views for the benefit of his ſubjects, aroſe all the trade of the Armenians, who are now become a nation of merchants, and carry on the moſt extenſive dealings of any people in the world; for beſides their eſtabliſhments here, and in all the great cities of Perſia, they ſpread over the whole Eaſt, carry on a prodigious trade in Ruſſia, and have factors of their own nation in moſt of the great trading cities in Europe. In ſhort, they are become as noted in this reſpect as the Jews; but what redounds eternally to their reputation, their application to trade, and their dealings as brokers has not in the leaſt leſſened their character for candour or probity; they are diligent, affable and diſcreet, but content with a moderate profit; ſerve thoſe that employ them faithfully; are grateful to their benefactors; love each other as brethren, and are extremely uſeful to all the countries in which they are ſettled. This digreſſion in favour of ſuch a ſort of men, and in order to explain the prudence and public ſpirit of Shah Abbas their patron, and ſuch of his ſucceſſors as choſe to tread in his ſteps, we thought might be agreeable to the reader, though it carried us a little out of our road, to which we ſhall now return, in order to continue the deſcription we have promiſed of the principal cities in Perſia, before thoſe confuſions began that have produced ſuch fatal alterations.

17. The city of Shiraz, or Sheraz, as we pronounce it, lies about two hundred miles to the ſouthward of Iſpahan, in twenty-nine degrees fifty minutes of north latitude, and is uſually reckoned the ſecond city of the kingdom. It is the capital of the province of Fars, or the ancient Perſia; ſome will have the name derived from Cyrus the Great, there being a tradition that he was buried there; others ſay it is derived from Sherab, which in the Perſian tongue ſignifies a grape, becauſe that fruit abounds in this place; and others from the word Sheer, which ſignifies milk; but as it is not very material from whence the name is derived, ſo I believe it is impoſſible to determine at this day. The town is ſeated in a pleaſant fertile valley, about twenty miles in length, and ſix in breadth, and has a rivulet running through it, which in the ſpring has the appearance of a large river, and ſometimes increaſes to ſuch a torrent as to bear down the houſes in its way, but in the ſummer is almoſt dry. There are no walls about the place, nor does it contain above four thouſand houſes at preſent: the compaſs of it is reckoned to be about ſeven miles, but then it is to be conſidered that much the greateſt part of this ſpace is garden.

The public buildings taken notice of are the viceroy's palace, the moſques, bagnios, the vaulted ſtreets and caravanſerais, which being of the ſame model as thoſe of Iſpahan, do not need a particular deſcription here; only it is obſervable, that they let moſt of their buildings run to ruin, as in other towns of Perſia; every generation chuſing to build new houſes, rather than uſe thoſe of their anceſtors. It is remarked alſo, that there is no place where the Mahometan ſuperſtition prevails more than here, there being a moſque or temple to every twenty houſes almoſt, their domes covered with blue varniſhed tiles, make a pretty appearance among the trees; here is alſo a college where the liberal arts are ſtudied, of which the fame is great for breeding many perſons of renowned learning.

The ſtreets of Sheraz are for the moſt part narrow and duſty, but there are ſome broad ones with canals and baſons faced with ſtone: but what Sheraz is moſt remarkable for, is the fine gardens and vineyards about it. The cypreſs-trees, of which their walks are chiefly compoſed, are the talleſt and largeſt that are any where to be found, and

and grow in a pyramidal form; intermixed with these are several broad spreading trees, and all manner of fruits, as pomegranates, oranges, lemons, cherries, pears, apricots, dates, &c. None of these are planted against the walls, as with us, but stand in the alleys, and sometimes irregularly, as in a wilderness. They have also abundance of sweet flowers of various colours, but not planted in that regular order as in the gardens of Europe. Their vineyards and wines are preferable to any in Persia, and the canals, cascades, fountains, and pleasure-houses in their gardens, are not at all inferior to those of Ispahan. The Shah's garden here is no less than two thousand paces square, and surrounded with a wall fourteen feet high; but of late years the gardens, as well as the buildings of Sheraz, have been pretty much neglected.

18. Thirty miles to the north-east of Sheraz are found the noblest ruins of an ancient palace or temple, that are now to be seen on the face of the earth; even Rome itself, as it is said, has nothing comparable to these venerable remains of antiquity; the place at this day is called Chilmaner, or forty pillars. Mr. Herbert says, it was built upon a mountain of dark-coloured marble, and the steps hewed out of the solid rock; but others who have viewed it more narrowly since observe, that the steps are composed of large stones, fifteeen or sixteen feet in length, and of such a thickness, that six or seven steps are cut out of one stone, the whole being so artificially joined, that they appear to be but one piece, which might easily occasion Mr. Herbert to mistake. It is seated at the north-east end of that spacious plain where Persepolis once stood, and generally held to be part of the palace of Darius, who was conquered by Alexander the Great. The front of this palace stood towards the west, and was about five hundred paces in length, the whole taking up near threescore acres of ground. The ascent to it is by ninety-five steps, thirty feet in length, and twenty inches broad, but not more than three inches deep, so that a horse may easily go up or down them. The staircase divides as you ascend, one branch winding to the right, and the other to the left, each having a wall on one side, and a marble ballustrade on the other; afterwards both branches turn again, and end at a large square landing-place, from whence you go into a portico of white marble, twenty feet wide. On it are carved in bas relievo two beasts as big as elephants, but their bodies are like horses, and their feet and tails like oxen.

Ten feet farther stand two fluted columns of whitish stone, about sixty feet high, besides their capitals and bases, and as thick as three men can fathom; a little farther stand two other pilasters, carved like the first, only that the beasts on the latter have wings and men's heads. Beyond this portal or hall is such another double staircase, leading to the upper rooms, twenty-five feet broad, but incomparably more beautiful than the former; for on its walls are carved in bas relief, a kind of triumph, consisting of a great train of people in distinct companies, carrying some banners, and others offerings, and after all comes a chariot drawn by several horses, with a little altar upon it, from whence the flames of fire seem to ascend. On the other side are carved wild beasts fighting, and among others, a lion and a bull are cut with great exactness, and so hard is the stone, that to this day the most curious part of the workmanship is preserved. On the top of the second staircase is a square place, which has been surrounded with columns, whereof seventeen only are now standing, but there are a hundred pedestals; those that are left are of red and white marble fluted, some of them sixty, and others seventy feet high, and twelve of them near three fathoms round. These, some antiquaries imagine, supported the temple of the Sun.

On the same floor near those columns is a place fifty feet square, enclosed with walls six or seven feet thick, of a much finer marble than any that hath been yet mentioned,

and ſo wonderfully carved, that it would take up ſeveral days to view all the figures; which way ſoever a man turns himſelf in this ſecond floor, there appears figures cut in bas and half relieve. Here you ſee men fighting with lions, and in another place a man holding a unicorn by the horn; in a third, you ſee the figures of giants, and in a fourth, a Prince giving audience to his people or ambaſſadors; and numberleſs other ſcenes. Here are alſo abundance of inſcriptions, in laſting characters, which have been tranſcribed and brought into Europe, but none of them underſtood at this day by the learned, any more than they are by the people of the country: this glorious palace, or temple, with the whole city of Perſepolis, the nobleſt and wealthieſt then in the world, was burnt to the ground by Alexander the Great, about the year of the world 3724, at the perſuaſion of Lais the Athenian harlot, as is ſaid, in revenge for the towns the Perſian Emperors had deſtroyed in Greece.

19. In the former ſection, and in this, almoſt all the great cities have been deſcribed as they ſtood in time paſt, and as they are repreſented to us by ſuch as had ſeen them; yet theſe accounts bear but very little relation to thoſe places at this day; for in the courſe of the civil wars and confuſions with which this empire has been overwhelmed, there is hardly any one of theſe cities that has eſcaped. Tauris has been plundered over and over; Schiras burnt to the ground; and even Spahawn has ſuffered not a little. The port of Gambron, or Bander Abaſſi, has been always conſidered ſince the time of Shah Abbas, as one of the richeſt jewels of the Perſian diadem; and, notwithſtanding the badneſs of the air, and ſome inconveniences that attended the port, it was always a place of great trade, and might have been a place of much greater trade, if the ſucceeding monarchs of Perſia had been princes of the like ſpirit, and had conceived as juſt notions of commerce as he did.

By their fault it was, that the greateſt part of the Perſian trade came to be carried on by land through Turkey, which was neither agreeable to the intereſts of the Perſians, nor requiſite for tranſporting their commodities to Europe, for which other means might have been employed. But when Shah Nadir had aſſumed the empire, and by his amazing ſucceſſes had acquired ſo great a power, that he thought himſelf in no kind of danger from his neighbours, he began to entertain notions of commerce, which, like all his other notions, were of a ſtamp peculiar to himſelf, and which do not ſeem, from any of the accounts that we have met with, to have been at all underſtood in Europe. He ſaw plainly, that the Turks were prodigiouſly enriched by the carrying on of the Perſian trade for ſilk through their country, and this he was reſolved to prevent at any rate. It was with this view, that he formed a project, which we have more than once mentioned, of forcing a paſſage to the Black Sea, and thereby opening a direct trade with Europe, which, with all his power, he could never effect. He then turned his thoughts towards the Caſpian; and having recovered the province of Gilan from the Ruſſians, and provided effectually againſt any impreſſions they could make upon his territories by land, he reſolved to carry on the trade of Perſia that way, by the aſſiſtance of the Armenians, and to reſtore the credit of that nation, which had been very much ſunk in Perſia, by the vaſt loſſes that had been ſuſtained by their eſtabliſhment at Julpha, which, in the courſe of the civil wars, has been almoſt totally ruined.

But beſides theſe ſchemes he had another, the grounds of which it would take up too much room to explain; and, therefore, I ſhall content myſelf with barely ſaying, that from certain motives, that appeared to him reaſonable, he determined to remove the capital of Perſia, and inſtead of fixing, as his predeceſſors had done, the imperial reſidence at Iſpahan, he reſolved to tranſfer it northward, and ſo place the ſeat of his

empire in the province of Choraſan, to which perhaps he might in ſome meaſure be determined by his fondneſs for his native country. He fixed there upon the town of Meſched, which had been formerly the capital of the province. It is to be obſerved, that the word Metſchid ſignifies, both in the Perſian and Turkiſh languages, a houſe or temple conſecrated to the ſervice of God, and it is from thence that we have framed our word Moſque. The name of this city therefore implies a great moſque, and it was ſo called from one of the fineſt in that part of the world, erected over the tomb of the Iman Riza, a great ſaint; which rendered it a place frequented by pilgrims, who out of charity erected there ſeveral public ſtructures of great magnificence. It was beſides famous for its manufactures of all ſorts, ſuch as gold and ſilver brocades, tapeſtry, rich ſilks, and woollen ſtuff, as beautiful and as dear as ſilks; there was beſides a manufacture of earthenware, which was looked upon as the beſt in Aſia, on this ſide China; ſo that an age ago this city for moſques, public baths, caravanſerais, bazars, and other public ſtructures, was not in the leaſt inferior to any city in Perſia; but the Uſbeck Tartars had ſo totally deſtroyed it, that it made but a very indifferent figure when the Shah Nadir made choice of it for the ſeat of his empire.

The city of Meſched is ſituated in the latitude of thirty-five degrees twenty minutes north upon a ſmall ſtream that falls into the river Kurgan, which ſeparates the province of Choraſan from Aſtarabat; and it may be very truly affirmed, that a happier ſituation there is not in the world. The air is extremely mild and temperate, the ſoil about it wonderfully fruitful, and while it continues the capital of the empire, there is no doubt that the Tartars will be kept at a ſufficient diſtance. While Shah Nadir was employed in his expedition againſt the Mogul, his eldeſt ſon Riza Kuli Mirza reſided there with the title and authority of Shah of Perſia; by his care the city was rebuilt and reſtored to its ancient luſtre, and ſuch privileges granted to the inhabitants, as not only came up to but exceeded thoſe that forme r Shahs had granted to the people of Iſpahan. This young Prince was not contented with barely attending to the civil government of the empire, he was deſirious of diſplaying alſo his military capacity, which induced him to attack the Khan of Balkh, the ſovereign of the ſouthern part of Great Bucharia; which country, together with its capital, he reduced, and thereby gained not only an acceſſion of territory, but one of the greateſt and beſt cities in thoſe parts, Balkh having been, for ſeveral ages, the center of the commerce carried on by land to and from the Indies.

By this eſtabliſhment, and theſe conqueſts, the face of affairs in Perſia is abſolutely changed, and this is a thing that has not hitherto been ſufficiently conſidered. It is poſſible, and, indeed, it is probable, that the ſouthern provinces of the Perſian empire will ſuffer extremely by this alteration; and it is not altogether unlikely, that if a civil war ariſes from the death of the late Shah, a new principality may be erected in the ſouthern parts, of which Spahawn, or ſome other great city, may become the capital; but ſtill Meſched will, in all probability, remain the ſeat of the Perſian empire, and the monarchs who govern there will extend their conqueſts northwards, through countries formerly indeed dependent upon the Perſians, but which have been for many ages in the hands of the Tartars; and if this ſhould be the caſe, we muſt conſider ourſelves extremely happy in having ſet on foot a trade through Ruſſia into Perſia by the Caſpian Sea; by which the moſt lucrative part of the commerce of that empire will fall into our hands, and may be juſtly eſteemed the fruits of our great naval power, and the effects of ſending our ſquadrons into the Baltic, which gave the court of Peterſburg ſuch an impreſſion of our power to aſſiſt or diſtreſs them, as it is our intereſt to take care that time ſhould never efface.

20. We promiſed to ſay ſomewhat of the ancient and preſent ſtate of the country and people of Perſia, conſidered in a comparative light, and we will endeavour to execute this as ſuccinctly as poſſible. The learned Dr. Hyde wrote an admirable treatiſe in Latin, of the religion of the ancient Perſians; a work equally curious and uſeful, and which, notwithſtanding, was ſo ill received by the public, that the Doctor boiled his tea-kettle with the greateſt part of the impreſſion, which has made it ſo ſcarce, that from its natural price of ten ſhillings, or leſs, it is now ſold for two guineas; and even at that price will not be eſteemed dear by ſuch as can judge of its real value. It is from this learned book that we are informed of what we ſhould otherwiſe never have known, that the ancient Perſians, on whom the Greeks beſtowed the name of Barbarians, were in reality the beſt governed, the politeſt, and the moſt civilized nation upon the face of the earth. Their religion was far more incorrupt than thoſe of Egypt, Greece, or Rome, for they worſhipped only one God; and though they were over-run with ſuperſtition, they never degenerated into atheiſm or idolatry. The common people were, from principle, extremely induſtrious; they cultivated their country with the utmoſt care, inſomuch that thoſe diſtricts that are now ſandy deſarts were then perfect gardens; and many rich and populous cities were ſeated in places that at this day are waſte and howling wilderneſſes. Yet there even ſtill remain clear and indiſputable proofs of the truth of what this learned gentleman has aſſerted, and theſe are of two kinds; Firſt, The ruins and remains of this ancient magnificence, which even the iron teeth of Time have not been able to deſtroy, as appears from what the reader has been told of Perſepolis; and next, from the temper and diſpoſition of that remnant of the ancient Perſees, Gubers, Gaurs, or fire-worſhippers, that are ſtill left in this country and in India, and who are, beyond all controverſy, the moſt quiet, induſtrious, and moſt inoffenſive nation, if we may yet ſtyle them ſo, on the face of the globe. The ſeat of their preſent habitations is the wildeſt and worſt part of the province of Kerman, and yet even there the ſmall diſtricts they poſſeſs, appear a kind of paradiſe in compariſon of the country about; and by them thoſe woollen ſtuffs are wrought, which the modern Perſians, from a true principle of luxury, think too good for any body's wear but their own, and therefore never ſuffer them to be carried out of their dominions.

As for theſe people, it is no wonder that they have brought the ſame diſcredit upon the large and fruitful provinces they inhabit, that the Turks have done upon the land of Canaan; and, indeed, it is the genius of the Mahometan religion to deface all marks of former improvements, as well as to receive no benefit from ſuch examples. The wars, by which this empire has been continually waſted ſince it fell into the hands of its preſent poſſeſſors, has contributed not a little to thin it of people; ſo that now there are not above a twentieth part of the people in Perſia that there were at the time that Alexander invaded it. Beſides this, there are ſeveral nations ſcattered up and down it, that are rather vaſſals than ſubjects to the Shahs, and live after the manner of the Tartars in their tents. The want of a ſettled nobility, and the little ſecurity that the people in general have for their fortunes, is another great obſtacle to the cultivating their lands, and the improvement of their cities. We may add to this, the revolutions and civil wars which have been ſo frequent in Perſia; as alſo the incurſions of the Tartars and other barbarous nations, from which they are hardly ever free. As to the lazineſs and luxury of the Perſians, though it is in one ſenſe a cauſe of the wide difference between the paſt and preſent ſtate of their empire, yet conſidered in another light, it is the ſource of what little commerce they have; for as they are not willing to work

themſelves, they are very ready to let other nations dwell amongſt them; and provided they reap the fruits of their induſtry, treat them fairly and civilly enough, without any mixture of that haughty, inſolent and unbridled temper which is ſo hateful and ſo intolerable among the Turks. Beſides, as they ſpend without the leaſt conſideration all they get, this occaſions a quick circulation of money, ſo that the Armenians, Indians, and other foreigners that live amongſt them, pick up a tolerable livelihood, and are not impoſed upon and oppreſſed as in the territories of the Grand Signior.

It is the want of people that makes a great part of Perſia lie waſte and barren; and the natural fertility of the country is another cauſe of this, for even the few parts that are now cultivated produce much more than is neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of its inhabitants; and it is from thence that their trade and their riches ariſe; for ſince there are no mines now wrought in Perſia, what gold and ſilver they have comes into that country by the purchaſe of their ſilks, and other rich commodities; whence the reader will eaſily diſcern how powerful and how happy the people might be under a ſettled government, that paid ſome tolerable reſpect to the welfare of its ſubjects; but after all, this is hardly to be hoped for while in the hands of the Mahometans, who, on the one hand, are very little inclined to any kind of induſtry themſelves, and, on the other, are very apt to be jealous of their Chriſtian ſubjects thriving, though they are the better for it. While the Ruſſians were maſters of Gilan, which was but for a very ſhort ſpace, the inhabitants were ſo ſenſible of the change, that there was nothing they dreaded ſo much as returning again under the dominion of their old maſters; and when this actually happened, great numbers of them quitted their habitations, and retired into the neighbouring parts of Georgia, Dageſtan and Armenia, that they might avoid falling under the yoke of Thamas Kuli Kan, notwithſtanding that was as light, at leaſt in time of peace, as any of the former Shahs.

21. It is to very little purpoſe that we increaſe the ſtock of our knowledge by reading, unleſs we enable ourſelves to make ſome uſe of it by reflection; as a trader does not thrive by having his warehouſes ſtocked with goods, but by his knowing where and how to carry them to market. We ſee plainly from the deſcription of the Perſian empire, at the beginning of this ſection, that in point of territory the Shah's of Perſia are very little inferior to any of the great monarchs in the univerſe; but we know experimentally, that for all this the princes of this country, from the time of Shah Abbas, have made but a very indifferent figure, and are not like to make a better in time to come. This ſhews us the terrible effects of arbitrary power, a thing altogether inſupportable; but from the wiſdom of ſome great princes, who by diſſembling and letting it down, preſerve it. Shah Nadir had this in his will, but never in his power; he had acquired his authority by being at the head of an army, and he found it impoſſible to ſuſtain it any other way than by remaining at the head of it; for he neither durſt diſband his troops, nor could he truſt them any longer than they were employed; this was the true reaſon of his Indian expedition, and this muſt be the caſe till ſuch time as the army by which he attained his ſovereignty is in ſome meaſure worn out, and then, perhaps, the feebleneſs of the ſtate may draw upon it foreign invaſions.

If either the extent or the quality of countries could make princes eaſy or happy, the ſovereigns of Perſia might be ſo without making ſlaves of their ſubjects or diſturbing their neighbours. We may from hence alſo diſcover the value of right principles with regard to induſtry and commerce, which always include due reſpect to liberty and property, without which the former can never ſubſiſt, and the latter can never be attained. If we could with any probability ſuppoſe that a well-conſtituted government could take place, and be thoroughly eſtabliſhed in Perſia, it is very evident, that in the ſpace of a century,

century, not only the affairs, but the very face of the country would be changed; their great cities would be repeopled, the trade through Perſia to India and Tartary would be revived, their ſilk-works and manufactures would be reſtored, and multitudes of people would flock into all their provinces for the ſake of that plenty which, in ſuch a ſituation of things, they would be ſure to enjoy. But as this ſuppoſition is on the one hand improbable, ſo, on the other, it is very evident that for this very reaſon the Perſian monarchy muſt, for a long ſeries of years, continue broken and weak; for it is by commerce only that the people of that country can become formidable; for while, on the one ſide, they want a naval power to maintain the ſovereignty of the Caſpian Sea, to which they pretend, and, on the other hand, to have no fortreſſes of great ſtrength to ſecure their frontiers againſt the Uſbeck Tartars on the north, and the Turks on the weſt, they will always be in danger from both thoſe neighbours.

Theſe things are ſo plain that they cannot be denied or doubted. The ſingle inference I would draw from this is, that ſo far as human foreſight reaches there ſeems to be a diſpoſition in Providence to overturn the Mahometan powers every where; for if we compare the preſent ſtate of things with the paſt, we cannot help ſeeing that they are much in the ſame ſituation that the Greeks were at the time their empire began to decline; and though it may be ſome centuries before their total deſtruction comes on, yet we muſt ſhut our eyes againſt evidence if we are not convinced that it is coming. We muſt indeed allow that there are ſome viſionary people here in Europe who apprehended mighty things from the Shah Nadir, and believed that he would overwhelm the Turkiſh empire; but there was no kind of reaſon for this, except the known weakneſs of that empire; and if it were not for this, we might with more reaſon expect that the Turks, at this juncture, ſhould make ſome impreſſion upon Perſia, which however I am perſuaded will not happen. But if the feuds of Chriſtian princes were once laid aſleep, there is no improbability in the conjecture, that the Ruſſians might make themſelves maſters, at leaſt, of ſome of the provinces of this empire which lie neareſt to the Caſpian Sea; and, whenever it ſhall happen, it may prove a beginning to much greater revolutions, ſince there are multitudes of Chriſtians in the adjacent countries, who are either of the Greek religion or very little removed from it; and if their ſpirits ſhould once revive, the weakneſs of the Mahometans, both here and elſewhere, would be quickly ſeen. I know very well how little heed the preſent generation will give to remarks of this nature; but I flatter myſelf, that how weak or how impertinent ſoever they may be now eſteemed, experience will juſtify them to poſterity.

OF THE

# DISPOSITION AND TEMPER OF THE PERSIANS,

Their Perſons, Habits, Manner of Living, their Artificers and Mechanics, the Reſpect paid to Merchants, the Method in which their Inland Trade is carried on, the paſt and preſent State of the Engliſh Commerce, and other Particulars; together with ſome curious Obſervations on the Nature of the Silk Trade, and a Computation of the annual Balance in favour of Perſia.

*Collected as well from Private Memoirs, as from Accounts that have been publiſhed.*

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1. *An Introductory Account of the Subject of this Section, the Difficulty of Drawing National Characters, the likelieſt Way of coming at the Truth, the general Temper, Diſpoſition and Genius of the modern Perſians.* — 2. *Of their Perſons, Dreſs, great Value of their Turbans, and of the Magnificence and Profuſion into which all Ranks of People are apt to run in that Country, in every Thing that regards Appearance and Equipage.* — 3. *Of the Women's Habits, their Painting, their Head-dreſſes uſually adorned with Feathers, frequently ſet out with Jewels, and more eſpecially with Pearls, which were eſteemed the beſt in the World, ſo long as the Perſians were poſſeſſed of the Iſland of Baharen.* — 4. *The manner of living in Perſia, the Method of eating and drinking, their Cuſtoms at their Meals, the commonneſs of Cooks-Shops and Ordinaries amongſt them, and of the open and general Hoſpitality in Perſia.* — 5. *A View of their Entertainments, the Ceremonies and Civilities that paſs upon ſuch Occaſions, their laudable Temperance and great Sobriety, and of the Manner in which, by the Uſe of Opium, they ſupply their Want of ſtrong Liquors.* — 6. *The Manner of Travelling in Perſia, the Nature of Caravans, how they ſupply the Want of Wheel-Carriages, of their Foot-Poſts, and of the wonderful Swiftneſs of their Shatirs or Running-Footmen.* — 7. *Of their Artificers and Mechanics of all Sorts, the Neatneſs of ſome and the Inexpertneſs of other Workmen, and of the Nature of their Companies, and the Rules by which they are governed.* — 8. *Of the Silken, Woollen, and Mohair Manufactures that are carried on in this Empire, the Management of their Domeſtic Traffic, the great Uſe of Brokers; the Manner in which their Foreign Trade is carried on, and the Reaſons that hinder Mahometans from becoming Merchants; with ſome political Remarks upon that Subject.* — 9. *The Nature of the Engliſh Trade in Perſia, the Meaſures, Weights, Money, generally uſed in that Country, and the Alterations that have happened by the Removal of the Capital from Iſpahan to Meſched.* — 10. *A ſuccinct View of the ſeveral Routes by which Foreign Commodities are introduced into Perſia, with a clear View of the Advantages ariſing from the new Trade to that Empire, through Ruſſia.* — 11. *A ſhort Repreſentation of the Value of Silk, conſidered as the Staple Commodity of Perſia, and of the Advantages that would reſult to this Nation by the joint Endeavours of the Ruſſian, Levant, and Eaſt India Companies, to import Perſian and China Silks on the cheapeſt Terms poſſible.*

1. AFTER taking a view of the country of Perſia, and its product of all kinds, it is very natural for us to come next to the inhabitants, for whoſe ſake the other deſcription was held neceſſary, and made intirely with a view to render this more clear and

and intelligible. It muſt indeed be owned, that there is ſomething very difficult and hazardous in attempting to characteriſe a whole nation, and nothing is more common than inſtances even of great authors falling into miſtakes on this head; yet as the thing is neceſſary, ſo it is alſo very feaſible; nations certainly have their characters as well as private men, and theſe are frequently hit, though to be ſure ſometimes they are miſtaken.

The means of hitting them, is to obſerve carefully the points in which all travellers agree, for theſe, without doubt, are founded in truth and nature; when a ſufficient number of theſe are fixed, they will ſerve to guide you in the reſt, for the humours of men, though of ſeveral ſorts, and vaſtly different from each other, yet have a connection among themſelves, that is to ſay, one humour aſſorts with and joins eaſily with another, while there are ſome humours that never come together, or are found in the ſame breaſts. That there really is ſuch a thing as national characters appears from hence, that the inhabitants of the ſame country, through a great diverſity of ages, and deſcribed by authors of various diſpoſitions, keep pretty nearly the ſame character; of this the deſcription of the people of Paris, by the Emperor Julian, is a remarkable inſtance, and others might be mentioned, if that before us were not as good a one as any of the reſt; for whoever conſiders attentively what is ſaid of the temper, genius and cuſtoms of the Perſians, independent of their religion and government, by the Greek and Latin writers, and compares theſe with the writings of modern travellers, will be amazed to ſee what a conformity there is between them, and be from thence convinced that national characters are nothing leſs than imaginary. But to come to the point, and to that deſcription which will juſtify this obſervation, at the ſame time that it carries on the thread of our diſcourſe, and performs the proper buſineſs of this ſection.

The Perſians are men of bright parts, and abundance of vivacity, fond of glory, and known to excel their neighbours of India in point of courage, inſomuch that the Mogul prefers them to the greateſt poſts both in his court and army; and as they were obſerved anciently to be of all men the moſt civil and obliging, they retain the ſame diſpoſition to this day, eſpecially towards foreigners, who admire their hoſpitality and benevolence; they are far from being guilty of that brutiſh behaviour towards Chriſtians as the Turks are; what they ſeem to be moſt juſtly and univerſally charged with, is vanity and profuſion in their cloaths, their equipages and number of ſervants; as to voluptuouſneſs in eating and drinking, this does not appear to be their vice, at leaſt we are much more guilty of it in Europe; for the greateſt part of their food is rice, fruits, and garden ſtuff; they have not any great variety of fleſh, neither have they many ways of dreſſing it; pilo ſeems to be the ſtanding diſh, even among thoſe of the beſt quality. And as for ſtrong liquors, though they drink them now and then by ſtealth, drunkenneſs is very far from being common; liquor is never forced, and every man may retire from an entertainment without ceremony when he ſees fit, without a breach of good manners.

No people have a greater genius for poetry, inſomuch that there is not a feſtival or entertainment made but a poet is introduced and deſired to oblige the company with his compoſitions; and theſe gentlemen are often found with a crowd about them in coffee-houſes, and other places of public reſort. The Perſians are by ſome looked upon to be very covetous; but by this they muſt mean covetous in getting, for as to hoarding up money they are generally abſolved. They only get that they may ſpend, and when they have furniſhed themſelves with an equipage, houſe and gardens ſuitable to their mind, they rather lay out their money in building caravanſerais, moſques, and on other public occaſions, than let it lie by them, inſomuch that ſome travellers obſerve that there

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Engraved by H. Cooper.

Persian Costume.

are no people in the world that take leſs thought for to-morrow. A man who happens to have eight or ten thouſand pounds fall to him, ſhall in a few weeks lay it out in purchaſing wives and ſlaves, clothing and furniture, without conſidering where he ſhall meet a ſupply, and in two or three months after you will ſee him diſpoſing of them again for ſubſiſtence. Theſe people, it is obſerved, have a great command of their paſſions; they are not eaſily moved, and when they are, it proceeds very ſeldom to blows. The quarrel generally ends in ill language, and perhaps ſome hearty curſes; and to ſum up all, they call one another Jews or Chriſtians. They are of a very inſinuating addreſs, and a moſt obliging behaviour; few European nations are more polite.

2. The Perſians are generally of a good ſtature, well ſhaped, clean limbed, and of agreeable features, and, in Georgia and the northern provinces, of an admirable complexion; towards the ſouth they are a little upon the olive. However, the great men having had their wives and concubines chiefly from Georgia and Circaſſia, for a hundred years paſt, their complexions are very much mended even in the ſouthern provinces. Their eyes and their hair are generally black, and they wear only one lock on the crown of their heads, like other Mahometans, by which they expect Mahomet will lift them up to Paradiſe.

As to their beards, the Shah and the great officers of ſtate, and ſoldiery, wear only long whiſkers on the upper lip, which, joined to a tuft of hair on the upper part of their cheeks, grow to a very enormous ſize, inſomuch that ſome of them, it is ſaid, are near half a foot long. Their mollahs and religious people wear their beards long, only clipping them into form, and the common people clip their beards pretty ſhort, but none of the Perſians ſuffer any hair to grow upon their bodies. They wear large turbans on their heads, ſome white, and others ſtriped with red or other colours, and the great men have flowers of gold and ſilver woven or marked on the cloth. They have alſo a ſcull-cap under their turban, and all together does not weigh leſs than ſeven or eight pounds, ſometimes a great deal more. Next to their ſkins they wear a ſhirt of coloured ſilk or calico, generally blue, which they ſeldom or never waſh; this ſhirt has an open boſom, but neither neck nor wriſtbands, and is made cloſe to the arm; they have alſo a pair of breeches, or rather drawers, cloſe before, they reach half down their legs; their ſtockings are made of woollen cloth, but not at all ſhaped to the leg; over the ſhirt they wear a waiſtcoat, and upon theſe a coat with cloſe ſleeves, and buttons and loops before, tied with a ſaſh; this is wide at bottom, and hangs a little below their knees; beſides this, they put on another coat frequently, without ſleeves, the uppermoſt coat being the ſhorteſt, and in the winter time over all they have another looſe coat lined with furs: inſtead of ſhoes they have piqued ſlippers, turned up at the toes, and made of Turkey leather, which are neither tied nor buckled, and when they ride they have boots of yellow leather; their bridle,, ſaddles and houſing are immoderately fine, being almoſt covered with gold; the houſing is ſo large that it almoſt hides the hinder part of the horſe, and whether on foot or on horſeback they wear a broad ſword, and a crice or poniard. Their ladies have alſo a dagger at their ſides, eſpecially thoſe of high rank.

3. The garb of the women is not very different from that of the men, except it be that the women neither wear turbans on their heads, nor ſaſhes about their waiſts, and their coats or veſts reach almoſt down to their heels. If ever they go into the ſtreets, which women of quality ſeldom do, they have a white veil which covers them from head to foot. The girls wear a ſtiffened cap upon their heads, turned up like a

hunting-cap, with a heron's feather in it, their hair being made up in treſſes, and falling down their backs to a very great length, and the quality have pearls and jewels interwoven and mixed with their hair. The married women comb their hair back, and having bound it about with a broad ribbon, or rich tiara, ſet with jewels, which looks like a coronet, let the reſt of their hair fall gracefully down their ſhoulders, than which there cannot be a more becoming dreſs. As for gloves, neither men nor women ever wear them, but their arms and fingers are uſually full of rings and bracelets enriched with jewels.

As black hair is the moſt common, ſo it is in moſt eſteem, and the thickeſt and broadeſt eye-brows are thought the fineſt; the women, if their eye-brows be not black, will colour them, and commonly paint their faces; they rub their hands and feet with an orange-coloured pomatum. Some will have feathers ſtand upright in their tiara, and others have a ſtring of pearls or precious ſtones faſtened to it, which hangs down between their eye-brows; they wear alſo jewels in their ears, and rows of pearls fall down their temples as low as the neck, and in ſome provinces bordering on India, they have jewels in their noſtrils, which to the Europeans do not ſeem very becoming, for hanging down to the mouth it makes them look as if they had hare-lips, but the ladies of Iſpahan never wear theſe noſe-jewels. Their necklaces are either gold or pearl; they fall upon the boſom, and there always hangs a little golden box to them, filled with moſt reviving perfumes.

As their clothes are of the richeſt flowered and brocaded ſilks, it appears that their dreſs is no inconſiderable article in Perſia, where people of mean fortunes endeavour to vie with the quality, and will have fine clothes though they want food. An ordinary turban cannot be purchaſed under ten pounds, and they frequently give twice as much; and they muſt have variety of them, leſt they ſhould be known by their clothes. Their ſaſhes alſo are brocaded, and coſt from twenty to a hundred crowns, and over this they have frequently another of camel's hair, of which the workmanſhip is ſo curious that it ſeldom coſts leſs. Thoſe who wear ſables, which they will not be without if they can purchaſe them, ſeldom pay leſs than a hundred pounds for a cloſe bodied coat; all this, with the rich furniture and equipage they have when they ride out, amounts to a vaſt ſum; and this, as it well may, keeps them exceeding poor. The common mode of living is thus:

4. Early in the morning they uſually drink a diſh of coffee. About eleven they go to dinner, when they eat melons, ſweetmeats, fruit, cheeſe, curds or milk, but their principal meal is in the evening, when you may depend on a diſh of pilo, which is boiled rice well buttered, and ſeaſoned with a fowl, a piece of mutton or kid ſerved up with it: they have an excellent way of boiling their rice all over the Eaſt, the water is perfectly dried away, by that time the rice is enough, after which they ſeaſon it with ſpices, and mix ſaffron or turmerick with it, giving it a yellow, or what other colour they think fit; but there is very little variety either in their food or way of dreſſing it; if they have a large joint, it is baked inſtead of being roaſted, but their uſual way is to cut their fleſh into little ſlices, and ſpitting or ſkewering them together, roaſt them over a charcoal fire, and whether they boil or roaſt, it is always done to rags, or it would be impoſſible to pull the meat to pieces with their hands, as they do without knives or forks. Pork is never eaten here any more than veal, nor do they eat hares or other animals prohibited to the Jews, beef but ſeldom; they do not deal much in veniſon, fiſh or wild fowl, they dreſs only plain diſhes, being ſtrangers to haſhes, ragouts and other compounds, and ſeldom have any other ſauce than a ſlice of lemon or ſome pickles. Bread

they have baked in thin cakes the moment they uſe it, but eat much more rice. They uſe no beaten pepper, only whole, and not abundance of ſalt in their ſeaſoning, nor is there any brought to table: meat is never ſalted before it is dreſſed. They uſually kill their meat and fowls the ſame day they uſe them, and ſet by nothing to be eaten cold.

They ſit down croſs-legged at their meals, and a cloth is ſpread upon the carpet. Then one of the perſons who has the proviſion before him, diſtributes rice and fleſh to the company. They uſe no ſpoons, except for ſoup and liquids, but take up their rice by handfuls. They ſeldom ſit above half an hour at table. They waſh both before and after their meals, making uſe of their handkerchiefs inſtead of a towel. The common people of Iſpahan ſeldom dreſs their victuals at home, but when they have ſhut up their ſhops of an evening, go ſtraight to the cooks, of which there are great numbers in that city, and buy pilo for their families. The cooks have kettles or coppers fixed in brick-work in their ſhops, and ſtoves, over which they dreſs moſt of their meat, making ſcarce any uſe of chimnies. It is remarkable of the Perſians, that they are ſo far from ſhutting their doors at their meals, that they invite every one to eat with them who happens to come to their houſes.

5. When a perſon makes an entertainment, it is uſually a ſupper, notwithſtanding which the gueſts generally come at nine or ten in the morning, and ſpend the whole time at the place to which they are invited. They diſcourſe, they ſmoke, eat ſweetmeats, and paſs away the time with a thouſand amuſements; ſometimes they hear poems repeated in honour of their prince, ſometimes the ſinging women are introduced, who ſing, and dance, and play and ſhow antic tricks to divert the company; and if any one of the gueſts are diſpoſed to withdraw with any of theſe dancing-girls, they are ſhewn into a private room, and when they return nobody takes any notice of it. When ſupper is ſerved up, the ſon, or ſome relation of the maſter of the houſe, takes the honours of the feaſt upon him, and helps the gueſts to their meat.

They generally provide variety of ſherbets on theſe occaſions, their uſual drink being nothing but fair water, and even this, it ſeems, they drink with ice; it is the employment therefore of abundance of people about Iſpahan, in the winter-ſeaſon, to heap up vaſt quantities of ice together, and keep it in repoſitories under ground all the ſummer, when they ſell it to great advantage. Wine is made in ſeveral provinces of Perſia; but the Armenians and other Chriſtians drink the greateſt ſhare of it. The officers will indeed ſometimes indulge themſelves in this liquor, and other people drink it as they pretend for their health, but that is not common; much the greateſt part of it is either tranſported to the neighbouring countries, or drank by the Chriſtians who are diſperſed through the Perſian dominions.

But thoſe who abſtain from wine out of conſcience, becauſe it is prohibited by law, raiſe their ſpirits with opium, bang, poppy-ſeed, and other intoxicating ingredients. The Perſians, like other eaſtern nations, take pills of opium, which ſome of them gradually increaſe to ſuch a doſe as would deſtroy half a dozen Europeans. Within an hour after they have taken the pill it begins to operate, and a thouſant pleaſant ſcenes preſent themſelves to their imagination; they laugh and ſing, and ſay abundance of humorous things like men intoxicated with wine; but after the effect of it is gone off, they find their ſpirits exhauſted, and grow penſive and melancholy till they repeat the doſe again; and ſome make it ſo neceſſary to them that they cannot live without it. There is alſo a decoction of the ſeed of poppies, ſold in moſt cities of Perſia, and in theſe houſes you will ſee people looking and talking as men do when they are drunk: as long as

they keep to the letter of the law, and abſtain from wine, it is no matter how much they diſorder themſelves, they think they ſhall never be accountable for that.

6. There are no wheel-carriages in this country, but all people travel upon camels, horſes, mules or aſſes. The women, who are to be concealed as much as poſſible, are put into a ſquare wooden machine, of which they hang one on each ſide of a camel; they are about three feet deep, and juſt large enough for one to ſit down in, and over head are three or four hoops like thoſe which ſupport the tilt of a waggon, with a cloth thrown over them. Their aſſes are much larger and nimbler than ours, and will trot ten miles at a pretty good rate, but they are very obſtinate, and frequently throw their riders. People uſually travel in this country with the caravan, conſiſting of four or five hundred camels, beſides other beaſts, and there is no place where they travel with greater ſecurity and leſs expence, there being caravanſerais at proper diſtances, where they have their lodging gratis, and purchaſe proviſion at the beſt hand; and though the roads are frequently ſteep and mountainous, yet ſuch care is taken in laying bridges and cauſeways, and to level and enlarge the ways, that a traveller ſeldom meets with any difficulties but what are eaſily ſurmounted.

Here are no general poſts, but if any perſon has letters to ſend, he diſpatches a ſhatir or footman with them on purpoſe, who will travel a thouſand miles in eighteen or twenty days, and not aſk more than twenty pence or two ſhillings a day for his trouble: they carry with them a bottle of water, and a little bag of proviſion, which ſerves them thirty or forty hours: they generally leave the high road, and croſs over the country the neareſt way. There are a great many families which make this their only employment, and breed their children up to it, obliging them to run from their infancy.

The Shah and all the great men have ſeveral of theſe ſhatirs or footmen in their retinue, but before a man can be admitted one of the imperial footmen, he muſt give a very extraordinary proof that he does not want heels or breath; for he muſt run from the great gate of the palace, called Aly Capi, to a place a league and a half from the city, twelve times in one day, and every time bring an arrow along with him, which is delivered him by thoſe who ſtand at the end of the race, to ſhew that he has run the whole courſe; and this he performs, between ſun-riſe and ſun-ſet, in thirteen or fourteen hours at moſt, being no leſs than a hundred and eight miles. It is always ſome favourite ſervant of the Shah's who is admitted to this honour. On the day of trial the elephants and horſemen are drawn up in the royal ſquare, with the muſic, drums and trumpets ſounding, and as if it was a feſtival. All the great men make preſents to the ſhatir, and ſeveral of them ride the courſe with him to ingratiate themſelves with the Shah; and the mob attend him every time he returns with their ſhouts and acclamations. The chams and viceroys who admit a ſhatir into their ſervice, make him run the ſame number of miles, and they are careſſed and preſented by all their dependents in the ſame manner the royal ſhatirs are, though not ſo largely; for it is a very common thing to ſee the Shah's ſhatir preſented with above a thouſand pounds on ſuch an occaſion. This is a very ſtrong mark of the ſpirit of this nation, and of that diſpoſition they have to diſplay their generoſity, ſometimes at the expence of juſtice, but without regard to prudence always.

7. With reſpect to their artificers, manufacturers and common tradeſmen, the regulations that are made in this country are extremely well-contrived, for every company has a head or maſter, who with a ſmall number of his brethren, form a kind of council, and ſettle ſuch rules and orders, for the general benefit of ſuch as are engaged in the particular branch of trade he ſuperintends, as to him and them ſeem requiſite. Whoever

intends to ſet up a trade, goes to the maſter and regiſters his name and abode, and no enquiry is made who was his maſter, or whether he underſtands the buſineſs or not; nor is there any reſtraint laid upon them that they ſhall not encroach upon any other profeſſion; for inſtance, the braziers are at liberty to make ſilver veſſels, as they frequently do, without being in danger of any diſturbance from the ſilverſmiths. Neither do they take apprentices for a number of years, but hire their ſervants, and allow them wages from the firſt day they entertain them. Every trade almoſt is bound to work for the Shah whenever he requires it, and thoſe who are not, pay an annual tax to the government for an exemption.

Their armourers make very good broad ſword blades, and damaſk them as well as any European. The barrels of their fire-arms are not amiſs, they make them very ſtrong, and as thick at the muzzle as at the breech. Their ſtocks are but ill contrived, being thin and light at the butt, and not fit for a man's ſhoulder; and for locks to their guns, or any other locks that have ſprings, they do not pretend to make them any more than watches or clocks, which they either purchaſe abroad, or employ European workmen to make for them. Knives, razors, ſciſſars and ſome other cutlery wares they make very well, and little ſteel mirrors, which they uſe inſtead of looking-glaſſes; they are almoſt all convex, and the air is ſo perfectly dry, that they ſeldom ruſt or grow dull. The art of making looking-glaſſes they do not underſtand, but have them from Europe. However, they have a manufacture of glaſs, which ſerves for windows and bottles. The glaſs of Shiraz is the beſt in the country.

As the uſe of the bow is what the Perſians value themſelves much upon, there are no where better bows made; the chief materials are wood and horn, with ſinews bound about them; they are painted and varniſhed, and made as fine as poſſible. The bow-ſtring is of twiſted ſilk, of the bigneſs of a gooſe-quill; their quivers of leather, embroidered or worked with ſilk. This is a trade they are as well verſed in as any thing, eſpecially the gold or ſilver embroidery, either on cloth, ſilk or leather. They cover their ſaddles and houſings almoſt with embroidery, and their ſtitching of the leather is much beyond any thing we do. Their ſaddles are made after the Morocco model, and the ſtirrups mighty ſhort; they have a kind of breaſt-plate to them, and where we uſe braſſes about our furniture, their men of quality have gold. The leather which we call Turkey leather, from its coming to us through that country, is all made in Perſia. The ſhagreen alſo comes from thence, which is made of the ſkin of an aſs's rump. The tanners dreſs their coarſe ſkins with lime, and uſe no bark, but ſalt and galls inſtead of it.

The making earthen ware is another manufacture the Perſians excel in; it is much beyond the Dutch, and ſome ſay almoſt equal to china ware. The places where it is chiefly made, are, Shiraz, Metſch, Yeſd, and at Kerman: and mending of glaſs and earthen ware, is a particular trade in Perſia; they will drill holes through them, and faſten the pieces together, ſo that a broken bowl or plate will hold liquids, as well as it did at firſt. Their gold wire drawers, and thread-twiſters are artiſts alſo in their way; they will draw a piece weighing a drachm, to the length of three hundred Perſian ells. Their lapidaries underſtand the grinding of ſoft ſtones, and cutting them pretty well. Their dying is preferred to any thing of that kind in Europe, which is not aſcribed ſo much to the artiſt, as to the air, which being dry and clear, gives a livelineſs to the colours, and fixes them.

The Perſian tailors work very neatly; and as the mens' clothes are made of the richeſt flowered and brocaded ſilks, they are fitted exactly to their bodies without the leaſt wrinkle, and their ſowing is incomparably beyond that of our workmen, as the fine

fine materials they work on require it ſhould. They work flowers alſo upon their carpets, cuſhions and window-curtains, ſo very nicely, that they look as if they were painted.

With tailors, we muſt not forget to mention their barbers, who are no leſs excellent in their way; for they will ſhave the head almoſt at half a dozen ſtrokes, and have ſo light a hand, that you can ſcarce feel them; they uſe only cold water, and hold no baſon under your chin as with us, but have their water in a cup, about the bigneſs of a little china diſh: after they have ſhaved a man, they cut the nails of his feet and hands, with a little iron inſtrument like a bodkin, ſharp at the end; then they ſtretch his arms, rub and chafe his fleſh, which is an amuſement, that the Europeans as well as the natives are pleaſed with, in theſe hot countries. But notwithſtanding this, theſe artiſts are nothing comparable in their way to thoſe of India, and theſe again fall as ſhort of the Chineſe barbers.

8. We are now to proceed to the more material parts of the Perſian commerce, from whence their national riches flow, and by which they draw to themſelves the wealth of other countries; for as we before obſerved, gold and ſilver are no longer the produce of Perſia, but are brought thither in payment for their commodities. Silks are the principal manufactures of the country, ſuch as taffaties, tabbies, ſatins and ſilk mixed with cotton or camel and goats-hair, brocades and gold tiſſue, of the ſingle brocade there a hundred ſorts, the double are called duroy or two faces, becauſe both ſides are equally good; they are the richeſt that are to be met with any where; and the gold velvet which is wrought in Perſia is admirable; all their rich ſtuffs are very durable; the gold or ſilver does not wear off or tarniſh while the work laſts, but keeps its colour and brightneſs. The fineſt looms for theſe ſtuffs are at Iſpahan, Caſhan and Yeſd. Thoſe for carpets are chiefly made in the province of Kirman, what are commonly called Turkey carpets are indeed Perſian but obtained that name from being brought to us by way of Turkey.

The camel hair ſtuffs are made in Carmania, it is mighty ſoft and ſmooth, and almoſt as fine as beaver wool, but the ſtuffs they make with it are not very ſtrong. Camlets and ſilk, and worſted druggets are made in the ſame province. Goats-hair ſtuffs are made in Hyrcania, and near the gulf of Baſſora. There is ſome callico-cloth made in Perſia, and they know how to paint and ſtain it, but it is not comparable to the Indian callicoes. A merchant is a very honourable profeſſion in Perſia, and the more ſo, becauſe there is no ſuch thing as hereditary nobility, which deſcends from father to ſon; as to thoſe in great poſts, their honour and their profits terminate with the office; and their lives and fortunes are both in perpetual hazards, eſpecially under a weak and cruel Prince. The trader ſeems more independent than any other ſubject, and notwithſtanding the government be deſpotic, they are uſually encouraged, becauſe they bring in a conſiderable revenue to the crown; and another thing is, the greateſt miniſters do not think the buſineſs of a merchant beneath them, even the Shah himſelf, within our remembrance, has had his factors and agents in the neighbouring kingdoms, and exported ſilks, brocades, carpets, and other rich goods, and his agents at the Mogul's court, and elſewhere, have frequently had the character of ambaſſadors conferred upon them, when indeed their buſineſs was chiefly commerce.

All buſineſs of conſequence is carried on in Perſia by brokers, who are very cunning; after they have agreed and talked over the matter at the ſellers-houſe, they agree about the price upon their fingers, putting their hands under a cloth; the finger's end it ſeems ſtand for one, the bent finger for five, and the ſtraight for ten, the hand open for a hundred, and if ſhut a thouſand; and they keep ſo even a countenance all the while they are tranſacting the affair, that it is impoſſible for a ſtander-by to gather any thing from

from the circumſtances. But notwithſtanding the Mahometans are the governing part of the country, they are not the greateſt foreign traders. The Armenian Chriſtians, and Banians of India, have much the largeſt ſhare.

The Mahometan Perſians trade from one province of their own country to another, and to India pretty much, but the Armenians manage the whole European trade; one reaſon whereof is, that the Mahometans do not care to go into Chriſtian countries, becauſe they cannot there obſerve the cuſtoms their religion preſcribes, for their law it ſeems forbid them to eat fleſh killed or dreſſed by a man of a different religion, or drink out of the ſame cup with him, and even prohibits the touching of perſons in ſome circumſtances, whom they look upon to be polluted. Another thing, which is a diſadvantage to their trade is, that the taking up money at intereſt is unlawful, though they are at liberty to make what advantage they can in buying and ſelling. It appears from hence, that from the very nature of their religion, all Mahometan powers ſtand excluded from commerce, and this is the true ſecret of the declenſion of their governments; for as trade produces ſhipping, as ſhipping in proceſs of time begets naval power, and as it is a maxim, juſtified by experience, as well as founded in reaſon, that naval power will in the end get the better of all other power; it follows that the Mahometans wanting this, can only prey upon each other by land, from whence revolutions in power, but no acceſſion of power can ever ariſe. Whereas if Chriſtians ſhould turn their arms upon the Mahometans, ſo as to make conqueſts, and come into poſſeſſion of their countries, the caſe would be altered, their commerce would follow them, and the new erected principalities would in a ſhort ſpace of time acquire a naval power, and ſo be in a condition to extend their conqueſts at the expence of their Mahometan neighbours.

9. We are indebted to Mr. Lockyer for the beſt, indeed for the only tolerable account we have of the method trade is carried on in Perſia, and therefore from him we muſt borow what is neceſſary for the reader's information upon that ſubject. Their great weights are maunds only, and theſe differ according to the nature of the commodities to be delivered by them. Sugar, copper, tutanag, all ſorts of drugs, &c. are ſold by the maund fabrees; which in the factory and the cuſtom-houſe is neareſt ſix pounds and three quarters, avoirdupois; but in the bazar it is not above ſix pounds and a quarter, which one ought to have regard to in buying out of the ſhops.

Eatables and all ſorts of fruit, as rice, raiſins, prunels, almonds, onions, &c. are ſold by the maund copara of ſeven pounds and three quarters in the factory, and from ſeven pounds and a quarter to ſeven pounds and a half in the bazar. Fine goods, as, gold, ſilver, muſk, acheen, camphire, bezoar, coral, amber, cloves and cinnamon, oils, dried china, ſilk, &c. are ſold by the miſcal, ſix of which are commonly counted an avoirdupois ounce; its juſt weight is 2 dw. 23 gr. 24d. ps. troy. The maund ſhaw is two maund tabrees, uſed at Iſpahan. All bargains in Gambron are made for ſhahees, and the company keep their accounts in them, reckoning them worth four-pence each, though that coin is rarely met with, but in its ſtead cöz and mamoodas are current every where. Horſes, camels, houſes, &c. are generally ſold by the toman, which is two hundred ſhahees, or fifty abaſſes, and they uſually reckon their eſtates that way; ſuch a one, they ſay, is worth ſo many tomans, as we ſay, pounds in England. The laree is uſed about Iſpahan, nor are abaſſes to be got without allowing ſeven or eight per cent. for the difference in exchange, yet returns to Fort St. George, and other parts of India, are commonly made with them. Next to theſe, zechins are the moſt profitable; there are ſeveral ſorts of them, but the Venetian is better than the reſt by one and a half or two per cent. at Surat, and ſeveral other ports on the Malabar coaſts, whither

whither vaſt quantities are ſent every year. When a parcel of Venetian ducats are mixed with others, the whole goes by the name of zechins of Surat; but when they are ſeparated, one ſort is called Venetians, and all the others gubbers indifferently.

The Engliſh Eaſt India Company, as has been obſerved, do not only receive the ſum of three thouſand three hundred and thirty-three pounds ſix ſhillings and eight-pence of the government of Perſia, in lieu of the ſervice the Company did them in taking the iſland of Ormus from the Portugueze, but they have an exemption alſo from cuſtoms, and whatever ſhips trade under their protection have the like exemption, only paying the following port charges, viz. two per cent. on the ſale of goods to the Company, one per cent. conſulage to the agent, one per cent. to the broker. Boat or franky hire for landing goods is thirty mamoodas per 2000 maund tabrees. Hamalgae, or cooly hire at weighing, one coz of every twenty maund tabrees. The Company do not meddle at all with the trade between Perſia and India; this they leave altogether to their factors and ſervants, and to ſuch country ſhips and private traders as put themſelves under their protection, and are content to pay the port duties above-mentioned.

It is to be obſerved, that the Turkey company having always had an opportunity of ſending great quantities into Perſia from Aleppo, abated much of the commerce which the agents of the Eaſt-India company would otherwiſe have carried on in that empire. Of late the Ruſſia company have alſo interfered in this trade, by tranſporting great quantities of Engliſh goods by the Caſpian Sea; and it is generally believed, that ſo long as we maintain an amicable correſpondence with the court of Peterſburgh, this trade will not only go on, but increaſe, which muſt be attended with great advantages to the nation. As this appears to be a matter of far greater conſequence to us than any thing that has occurred in this ſection, it is but reaſonable that the point ſhould be fully explained, as well for the advantage of the preſent age, as for the benefit of poſterity.

10. In order to ſet this affair in as clear a light as it is poſſible, we ſhall obſerve, that all foreign commodities are brought into Perſia by four great routes; and that by each of theſe, more or leſs of Britiſh commodities have been, or may be introduced into this country, where there always has been, and, if we are true to our intereſt, there always muſt be, a very high demand for them. Of theſe routes the firſt is that of Balſora, or Baſſora, a great city at the bottom of the Perſian Gulf, ſubject to its own Prince, and a kind of emporium or magazine of Turkiſh, Perſian, and Indian commodities. The goods that are brought hither for the Perſian market, come by land by the caravan from Aleppo, in about thirty days, and are tranſported from thence either to Bandar Abaſſi, or Iſpahan. It is by this caravan that the Turkey company tranſport Engliſh cloths into Perſia in exchange for ſilk, which they purchaſe at Aleppo, and conſequently this trade is either greater or leſs, according to the good correſpondence between the two empires of Turkey and Perſia. By this means alſo we were led into errors about carpets, leather, and other commodities which paſs for Turkiſh, becauſe imported by the Turkey company from Turkey, though really of Perſian growth and manufacture.

The next great route is that of Gambron, or Bandar Abaſſi, with reſpect to which we have already given a large account from Mr. Lockyer. Goods are brought hither by ſea, but not directly, as many apprehend, from England; on the contrary, they come from ſome Indian port, and conſequently are charged with a very high freight, and with other incident charges, which render them very dear; notwithſtanding which, in times of peace, and when things are well ſettled in Perſia, the Shah keeping his court at Iſpahan, there was large vent for them, and our agent there lived with all the pomp and

and ſplendour of a prince. The reader will eaſily diſcern from hence, how great a change muſt have been wrought in the traffic carried on by this canal, by the diſturbances which laſted ſo many years in Perſia, and by the change of the capital of that empire, which is now removed to a prodigious diſtance from Bendar Abaſſi; and if he deſires any proof of this fact, their calling the Engliſh agents from Iſpahan and Bandar Abaſſi may paſs for inconteſtible evidence.

The third route is that through India to Boſt, which, as we have ſhewn in the deſcription of the Perſian empire, is the eaſtern magazine, as Bandar Abaſſi is the ſouthern, and Baſſaro is the weſtern for all that enter into Perſia. By this means it is very far from being impoſſible that the Eaſt India Company ſhould introduce Engliſh goods into this empire; but whether they are actually carried thither by this road, is more than I am able to ſay; and if they are, I preſume it is done by Indian, Armenian, or Jewiſh merchants.

The fourth or laſt route is by the Caſpian Sea, and the Engliſh commodities that are ſent this way, muſt of neceſſity paſs through Ruſſia. For the carrying on this trade, magazines muſt be erected at Aſtracan, and from thence the goods are tranſported into the provinces of Gilan or Aſtrabat; from which laſt province the caravans go in a week to Meſched, which is the preſent capital of Perſia.

It may be ſaid that this is going a great way about, and taking a vaſt compaſs before our goods arrive at market. To this there are two anſwers; the firſt is, that let the inconveniencies that attend this commerce be what they will, they muſt be borne, for we have before ſhewn that little or nothing can now be expected from tranſporting of goods to Bandar Abaſſi, much leſs from Aleppo, which lies ſtill at a much greater diſtance from Meſched; ſo that we are under the neceſſity of taking this compaſs, if we will not entirely loſe the Perſian commerce, and therefore it is to no purpoſe to complain, even ſuppoſing the objection were well grounded. The ſecond is, that there is not either truth or force in the objection; for goods may be tranſported from Peterſburg from thence, through Ruſſia to Aſtracan, croſs the Caſpian to Gilan, and ſo to Meſched, and the returns made the ſame way in half the time that they could be made by the way of Gambron.

We may add to this, that we now go to the market and ſell our goods, or rather barter them, for Perſian ſilk upon the ſpot, whereas formerly we went a great way about; and notwithſtanding this, the Perſian factors went alſo a great way to get at us, ſince before we could ſhip the Perſian ſilk, it muſt either be carried by land to Aleppo, which was three months' journey, or to Bandar Abaſſi, which was above two. Beſides, it is highly probable, that when our commerce at Meſched is as well fixed as it was at Iſpahan, we ſhall be able to tranſport Engliſh cloths into the remoteſt parts of Tartary, and thereby reap moſt of thoſe advantages that were heretofore wiſhed for and expected from the diſcovery of a north-weſt paſſage. It was by this very canal, and in ſpite of all the inconveniencies with which it has been ſuppoſed to be attended, that the Dutch diſpoſed of prodigious quantities of their cloths in Perſia, which for that purpoſe were bought up by the Armenian merchants; and it was by this way alſo that the French were in hopes of eſtabliſhing a trade to Perſia, as appears by a very curious memoir preſented to the French miniſtry upon that head, the ſubject of which is inſerted in the Dictionary of Commerce, one of the beſt and moſt uſeful works that was ever publiſhed: but there is ſtill ſomewhat behind with which the reader ought to be acquainted, in order to frame a true notion of the value and importance of this trade, about which ſo many diſputes have been of late years raiſed in this kingdom.

11. We have already enumerated the commodities of Perſia, and ſhall not therefore pretend to meddle with them again; for, in order to give the reader a view of the trade of this empire, it will be ſufficient for our preſent purpoſe to inſiſt barely upon the ſilk, of which there are four ſorts; the firſt is, that which in Perſia they call ſhirvan, but which we in Europe call hardaſs; the ſecond, is what they call karvary, but we uſually ſtyle it legee or rather legy, from the little town of Legiam in Gilan, from whence the greateſt part of it is brought; the third is in their language called ked-coda-penſend, which is as much as to ſay, tradeſmen's ſilk; the laſt is what they and we call ſherbaffle, or, as the common people ſtyle it, Turkey ſilk, from the miſtake which has been ſo often mentioned.

Of all theſe kind of ſilks, the provinces of Georgia, Gilan, Mezanderan, Shirwan, Choraſan and Kirman, produce annually, about twenty-two thouſand bales, each of about two hundred and fourſcore pounds weight. Of theſe it is computed, that not above two thouſand bales are wrought up in all the manufactures of Perſia, from the coarſeſt carpets, to the richeſt brocades. At this rate, there are between five and ſix millions of pounds of ſilk yearly carried out of Perſia, and as it is worth about ten ſhillings a pound on the ſpot, the reader will eaſily apprehend, that raw ſilk is a kind of gold mine to the Perſians, ſince it furniſhes them with between two and three millions annually, above one-half of which is received in ready money.

In the next place it is to be ſhewn, how the bringing in vaſt quantities of ſilk turns to the advantage of this nation. In reſpect to our ſilk manufactures, what we bring of this ſort ſerves only for the ſhoote, for the warp of all our raw ſilks is, as we have elſewhere told the reader, organzine or Italian ſilk, which is prodigiouſly dear. If therefore we can abate the price of this, we may the better afford to pay for that; or if we can obtain the quantities we want, in exchange for our manufactures, this will prove a very great ſaving; and whatever can be ſaved in this way, will enable us to work ſo much the cheaper.

It has been ſuggeſted, that it might be attended with inconveniencies for our Turkey and Ruſſia Companies to interfere with each other in this trade, which I confeſs, ſurpaſſes my comprehenſion; and I am ſo far from believing that any bad conſequences will reſult from thence, that I think it may be demonſtrated, this is the only, or at leaſt the moſt practicable and beſt, method of making companies uſeful, by engaging them to vie with each other in exporting Britiſh commodities and manufactures, and provided this can be done, it is of no real conſequence to the nation who does it. But there is another thing that, joined to this, would be of ſtill greater conſequence, and that is, the Eaſt-India Companies, exerting themſelves in procuring of ſilk from China, which would ſupply the place of the Piedmonteſe or organzine ſilk; and thus by the united efforts of theſe three companies, it is very poſſible that twenty or thirty per cent. might be ſaved in the prime coſt of ſilk to this nation; and of what prodigious benefit ſuch a ſaving would prove in our manufactures, and how much it would contribute to enable us to work cheaper than our neighbours, I leave every ſenſible and ſtudious reader to judge.

I know very well, that in order to bring ſuch a project as this to bear, there muſt be ſome application made to parliament for an alteration in the duties; and I am perſuaded that no great difficulty would be found in obtaining this, if the reaſonableneſs of the thing was fairly ſhewn, and as it might be, fully made out. Our great misfortune is, that commerce is not ſufficiently explained or underſtood, the reaſon of which I take to be, that none concern themſelves about the theory, but thoſe who are engaged in

in the practice; and as these must be always interested, it will very rarely happen that they can be impartial judges. It is from this motive that I have so often turned my pen to this subject, with a view, if possible, to excite a more general attention to what is certainly in itself the most considerable and important object of all political considerations.

# AN ACCOUNT

OF THE

# GOVERNMENT AND CONSTITUTION OF PERSIA,

THE NATURE OF THE SHAH'S POWER, THE DISTRIBUTION OF CIVIL, ECCLESIASTICAL AND MILITARY OFFICES, THE INTERIOR POLICY OF THE EMPIRE, THE REGULAR FORCES KEPT UP THERE, BOTH HORSE AND FOOT, AND THE NATURE AND AMOUNT OF THE PUBLIC REVENUES.

THE WHOLE DIGESTED INTO ORDER FROM THE BEST AUHORITIES.

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1. *An Introductory Account of the Reaſon and Subject of this Section, in which the Conſtitution of arbitrary Monarchies is explained, and applied to the preſent Purpoſe.* — 2. *Of the Power of the Perſian Monarch, how far abſolute and terrible; and how, notwithſtanding, mild and equal enough, with reſpect to the Bulk of the People.* — 3. *Of the Conſtitution of the Perſian Court, the principal Officers therein, their Ranks and Subordination, and the Duties of their reſpective Offices.* — 4. *Of the Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution in Perſia, and the Difference between the Head of the Mahometan Church there, and in Turkey.* — 5. *Of the Government of the Provinces, the ſeveral Checks contrived for the Safety of the Prince, and the Preſervation of his Subjects.* — 6. *Of the Regular Troops or old Standing Army of the Perſian Empire, how compoſed, under what Diſcipline, and the Methods by which it was ſubſiſted.* — 7. *Of the new Standing Army introduced by the Shahs, intirely dependent upon them, how modeled and provided for, and corrupted and rendered uſeleſs.* — 8. *Of the Art Military among the Perſians, their Manner of making War, acting offenſively, defenſively, and particularly their Method for ſecuring themſelves againſt Invaſions.* — 9. *Some further Obſervations on the military Affairs of this Empire, on the Advantages enjoyed by, and the Diſadvantages under which the Perſians labour, from the Regulations eſtabliſhed amongſt them in this reſpect.* — 10. *Of the State of Property in this Empire, whence the Imperial Revenues ariſe, how levied, and their Amount.* — 11. *Obſervations and Remarks on ſeveral Particulars delivered in the Courſe of this Section.*

1. AS at this juncture the Perſian empire, by the murder of the Shah Nadir, is in ſuch confuſion, that it may be in ſome meaſure conſidered as diſſolved and no longer a government at all; ſo it might ſeem excuſable, if we had paſſed by this ſection altogether; yet conſidering that even in abſolute monarchies, revolutions are but convulſive motions, and that as ſoon as they ceaſe the body politic recovers its natural conſtitution, we could not but think it very requiſite, for the reader's information, that a view ſhould be given of the form of the Perſian government, and this for three reaſons: firſt, becauſe we are very apt to confound all abſolute monarchies one with another, and to ſuppoſe that there neither is, nor well can be, any difference between them; whereas, in truth, the form of ſuch governments may, and actually do vary, as much as any other of the milder forms, as the reader will ſee by this inſtance. Secondly, of all the abſolute monarchies in the eaſt, the conſtitution of the Perſians

was

was very juſtly held to be the beſt; and therefore it deſerves, of all others, to be repreſented to the view of the reader, who from hence will learn by what modification the arbitrary power of a ſovereign may be rendered in ſome meaſure beneficial to his ſubjects. Thirdly, becauſe, in all human probability, the Britiſh nation may hereafter have a cloſer communication with and enter into a more extended trade amongſt the inhabitants of Perſia than in times paſt; ſo that it is highly requiſite we ſhould enter, at leaſt, briefly, into a ſubject that may to us or our poſterity become of extraordinary importance.

It is by no means fit that ſo large and ſo regular a collection as this ſhould be governed by temporary views, or that we ſhould take the liberty, becauſe this country is at preſent unſettled, to ſlip over its government, which we have a moral certainty will be re-eſtabliſhed, perhaps before this very collection is completed. Beſides all this, there are a great variety of articles which naturally fall within the compaſs of this ſection, that tend to give us a fuller and more perfect notion of the ſtate of this empire and its inhabitants, than can be obtained by the peruſal of any ſingle book of travels, in which the ſtate of the country is repreſented, as it ſtood at the time the author viſited it: but notwithſtanding that, the force of theſe conſiderations have determined us to inſert this ſection; we ſhall not forget the obligation we are under to keep things within their due bounds, and ſhall therefore labour to deliver, as ſuccinctly as it is poſſible, without prejudice to their perſpicuity, the ſeveral articles that we think ourſelves obliged to handle for the reader's inſtruction and entertainment, and in order to render our account of Perſia conſiſtent with the general plan of this work.

2. The Shah of Perſia is an abſolute monarch, and has the lives and eſtates of his ſubjects entirely at his diſpoſal. There is no prince in the world more implicitly obeyed; let his orders be ever ſo unjuſt, or given at a time when he is ſo little maſter of his reaſon that he knows not what he ſays or does, nothing can ſave the greateſt ſubject if he determines to deprive him of his life or his eſtate; neither zeal for his perſon, merit, or paſt ſervices, will avail in the leaſt. If he be in a humour to ruin them, it is done by a word of his mouth, or by a ſign, and executed in an inſtant, without any form of law or evidence of facts. The common people, who are at a diſtance from the court, have much the better of the quality in this reſpect; there are very ſeldom inſtances of any oppreſſion or ſevere judgments executed upon theſe, but they ſeem to enjoy as much ſecurity as in any country in the world; and perhaps the magiſtrates are the more inclined to govern equitably, in regard they know nothing can ſkreen them from the reſentment of their Sovereign, if they are guilty of any ſiniſter practices. The Perſians, out of conſcience, it is ſaid, obey all the commands of their Prince without reſerve, and believe that his orders ought to be obeyed againſt the very laws of nature, inſomuch, that if the ſon be commanded to be his father's executioner, or the father the ſon's, it muſt be complied with: but if he command any thing in prejudice of their religion, they are not obliged to him, but ought to ſuffer any thing rather than violate the law of God.

Yet nothing makes the Perſian government appear ſo tyrannical, as the cuſtom of executing the governors of provinces, and great officers of ſtate, without giving them an opportunity of making their defence, or being informed of the crime they are charged with. It is uſual for the Shah two or three times in a year to ſend every governor the calaat, or royal veſt, and theſe are ſent by ſuch perſons as the court intends a favour to; for the cham or governor to whom they are ſent, always makes a conſiderable preſent to the meſſenger.

When he comes within two or three miles of the place where the governor reſides, the meſſenger ſends him word to come and receive the calaat, but inſtead of a fine coat,

the governor is ſometimes preſented with a halter, and is diſpatched without any farther ceremony.

This makes the governors very circumſpect in their conduct, and they are always under diſmal apprehenſions when they hear the calaat is arrived, knowing how common it is to have their beſt actions miſrepreſented to their Prince. The Perſians ſay in defence of this practice, that the court ſeldom proceeds with that ſeverity but in extraordinary caſes, where the fact is notorious, and there is danger of rebellion, if they ſhould cite the perſon accuſed to anſwer; that if it be otherwiſe, they always give him an opportunity of anſwering his charge.

As for thoſe about the court, whom the Shah looks upon as ſlaves he has purchaſed, he does not think himſelf obliged to obſerve theſe formalities, but dooms them to be puniſhed, or put to death, as he ſees fit. The Shah of Perſia has no council of ſtate, as in the European governments, but he acts as he is adviſed by his prime miniſter and great officers; that which moſt perplexes the miniſtry, is the cabals that are carried on by the women in the haram; the reſolutions that are taken here frequently thwart their beſt laid ſchemes, and the miniſters do not only run the riſk of having their counſels rejected, but they very often turn to their own deſtruction, if they are not ſuitable to the inclinations of the ladies moſt in favour. This is not an evil peculiar to Perſia, but a kind of curſe, throughout all eaſtern courts; and perhaps ſome in the weſt are not altogether free from it.

3. The royal family of Perſia are, generally ſpeaking, more unhappy than the Princes of the Ottoman blood, for though they are not put to death ſo frequently as the former, yet they uſually have their eyes put out, and live in that miſerable condition many years. They have the Tartar title of Mirza added to their names, which is equivalent to our title of Highneſs, and is never given but to thoſe of the imperial line. The firſt miniſter in the empire is the atamadoulet, a word which ſignifies the ſupport of the empire. In petitions, or when they ſpeak to him, they ſtyle him the Grand Vizier, or Vizier Azem. No buſineſs of conſequence is tranſacted in the ſtate but by the direction of this miniſter, nor any grant or act of ſtate of the Shah's held to be valid, till counterſealed by him.

The reaſon whereof is ſaid to be, that their Shahs being bred up in the women's apartment, and perfectly ignorant in affairs of ſtate, it is neceſſary, for the ſafety of the people, and the preſervation of the government, that their orders ſhould be conſidered by ſome wiſe miniſter before they are put in execution. The grand viziers in Turkey, it is obſerved, ſeldom die a natural death; on the other hand, the prime miniſter of Perſia, if it be thought fit to diſcharge him, is uſually permitted to retire, and end his days in peace with his family. The ſecond poſt in the government is that of the divan beghis or bey. This great magiſtrate is the laſt reſort in all cauſes, civil and criminal, unleſs where the Shah in perſon ſits in judgment. The divan bey can command any cauſe to be removed to his tribunal, from any court in the kingdom; and during the late reigns it has not been known that their Shahs have ever ſat in a court of juſtice, or concerned themſelves in examining the decrees of the divan beghi.

In the third rank come the generals, and firſt the generaliſſimo, when there is one. The next place is the general of the courtchis, which are a body of thirty thouſand horſe, of Turk or Tartar original. The third is the general of muſketeers, a body which ſerve on horſeback, but fight on foot like our dragoons. The fourth is the general of the coulars, or royal ſlaves, as they are called; and the laſt the maſter of the ordnance. After the generals, the vacanaviſh, or ſecretary of ſtate, poſſeſſes the next poſt. This officer regiſters the public acts, and has the care of the records; he alſo appoints a deputy

deputy in every province of the empire, who tranſmits all affairs of conſequence to him to be laid before the miniſtry. The laſt great officer is the mirab, or lord of the water. Every province has its particular mirab, who takes care to diſtribute the waters of the rivers and aqueducts in ſuch proportion, that every part of the country may have an equal ſhare.

Theſe are all the principal officers of ſtate. Thoſe of the houſhold are firſt the nazir, who is both lord treaſurer and ſteward, and it is with this gentleman that all ambaſſadors and foreigners tranſact their affairs, but there is a comptroller, and ſeveral other officers, which are a check upon him, as he is on the prime miniſter, and thoſe two have a very great influence in the court of Perſia. But to prevent the Shah's treaſury being miſapplied, no ſums are paid out of the treaſury, but the order paſſes under the ſeals of the prime miniſter, the nazir, the divan bey, and two other officers of the revenue. The next is the ichicagaſi baſſa, who commands all that attend in the outward palace, and the guards.

When the Shah goes out, this lord marches before him with a great ſtaff, covered with gold and precious ſtones; he does not ſit, as ſeveral officers do of inferior quality, but ſtands always ready to obey His Imperial Majeſty's orders, and ſee them executed. And after him is the great huntſman, who has not leſs than a thouſand huntſmen and falconers under him. After this officer the principal phyſician and principal aſtrologer take place, which are poſts of great honour and profit.

4. As to eccleſiaſtical officers in this empire, the grand pontiff is uſually ſtyled the ſedre in Perſia; they alſo give him the titles of prince, head of the true church, ſubſtitute of Mahomet, and lieutenant of the twelve imans, or caliphs, who ſucceeded their patriarch Haly. The churchmen and bigotted part of the Perſians hold, that the dominion of the laity is in uſurpation, and that the government belongs of right to the high prieſt; but that of the majority is, that the regal power exerciſed by their Princes is derived from God, and that the high prieſt and his brethren ought not to meddle with politics, yet the ſedre and his ſubſtitutes are the ordinary judges in all civil as well as eccleſiaſtical cauſes; lawyer and divine are terms of the ſame ſignification in Perſia, their eccleſiaſtical and civil laws being indeed the ſame. The temporal judges have no written laws to go by, but their decrees are founded upon ancient cuſtom, or the equity of the caſe, and the judges in their temporal courts are uſually men of the ſword. The ſedre is the ſupreme judge in the eccleſiaſtical courts, and takes place in all public aſſemblies next to the atamadoulet, or prime miniſter.

The ſecond eccleſiaſtical judge is the ancient of the law, whom the Perſians ſtyle cheik iſlam; his juriſdiction is little inferior to the ſedre's, and the people ſeldom appeal from one of theſe courts to the other, but to the divan beghi, who is the ſupreme judge in all cauſes, eccleſiaſtical as well as temporal. The cadi is the third eccleſiaſtical judge in Perſia; he takes cognizance of the ſame cauſes with the two former, but his authority is confined to ſome particular town or diſtrict. The mufti is the fourth, who has not that authority here as in Turkey, for he cannot controul or reverſe the proceedings of inferior courts, but is reverenced, however, as a perſon well ſkilled in the eccleſiaſtical laws, and his opinion frequently demanded by the other judicatures, who, notwithſtanding, act as they think fit. Theſe judges do not ſit all in one court, but have each their reſpective tribunal, and the people apply indifferently to the one or other, as they are inclined.

5. There is in every province of this empire a chan and a vizier; the vizier has the government of all thoſe towns and villages which are the King's demeſne lands, or which belong to the crown in propriety, and the chan of the province in general. This word

chan, or caun, as we pronounce it, and cham, ſignify the ſame thing, namely, a puiſſant or mighty prince; and this is the title of all the Tartar Princes in Aſia; and the Perſian provinces being of the extent of kingdoms, and formerly diſtinct ſovereignties, the Perſian court have thought fit to give their governors the titles of Sovereign Princes; and the Shah of Perſia is frequently ſtyled now, as his predeceſſors of old, King of Kings. Indeed the chans, in their reſpective provinces, live almoſt in as much ſtate as their ſovereigns, having exactly the ſame kind of officers as are in the Shah's court, with the ſame titles, there being ſcarce any difference but in numbers and penſions. The chan commands the militia of the province, and aſſigns lands for their maintenance; he reviews them at certain times, and ſees that they are fit for ſervice, their arms and horſes in good order, and that they all perform their exerciſes well; but every ſoldier is permitted to live in his own houſe in time of peace.

The chans, or governors of provinces, have their poſts for life, and if they behave well, their children after them. There are two degrees of theſe chans, the greateſt is called beglerbeg, or lord of lords; the other is ſtyled coulembeg, or lord of ſlaves. The governors of the frontier provinces are for the moſt part beglerbegs, as the chan of Armenia, from whom the chans of Churs, Marega, and other diſtricts, in time of war, receive their orders, and are obliged to march under his ſtandard. Sometimes theſe inferior governments are made independent of the chan of the province. In every province there are three officers put in by the government, who are independent of the chan, namely, the Janitelim, his lieutenant, the vizier, or receiver-general of the Shah's revenues, who hath alſo the management of the lands belonging to the crown, and the government of all places where the crown lands lie; and the vacanaviſh, or ſecretary, whoſe buſineſs is to take an account of all tranſactions of moment in the province, and tranſmit them to court.

One principal deſign of placing theſe officers about the chan, is to obſerve his conduct, and oppoſe him if he ſhould undertake any thing againſt the ſtate. Beſides theſe, the governors of cities and caſtles, who are called darogas, are put in directly by the Shah, and have their lieutenants and vacanaviſh alſo independent of them; and the ſame perſon who is governor of the city is never made governor of the fortreſs which belongs to it. The miniſters of ſtate, and generals of armies, have alſo their lieutenants and comptrollers to ſuperintend their conduct, with ſecret orders how to act on certain emergencies; but it is obſerved, that unleſs in matters where the ſafety of the ſtate is concerned, thoſe officers have a very good underſtanding, and agree ſo well together, that the Shah is no leſs cheated and deceived than if the management was in one hand. Beſides, the daroga or governor, the vizier, and vacanaviſh, there are alſo in every town the cadi, or civil judge, before whom all ordinary cauſes are heard; the head officer among the trading people, the provoſt or ſheriff; and every particular trade has a warden or maſter. There is an officer alſo who has a watch, and is principally concerned in keeping the peace in every great town in the night time.

The governor of every town is the judge in the laſt reſort in criminal and civil caſes too, if he pleaſes to interpoſe, and may inflict any pains on offenders ſhort of death. Capital puniſhments are very rare in Perſia, and the ſentence is, in moſt caſes, paſſed by the Shah himſelf. The uſual puniſhment is a fine, which always goes to the Shah, or rather to the governor of the province, who generally brings the crown indebted to him in his accounts. When a governor or vizier is ſent into any province, he has his inſtructions in writing; wherein are contained the extent of his government, of the revenues, and the manner in which he is to treat the people; and inſtructions, in like manner, are given to every officer of ſtate when he enters on his poſt. On the other hand,

hand, when a governor or other officer returns from his command, which he never does but by expreſs order of the court, he waits without at the gate of the palace, and gives notice by ſome of his friends of his arrival, and that he begs to throw himſelf at His Imperial Majeſty's feet; whereupon orders are uſually given for his admittance; but ſometimes, if the perſon has miſbehaved in his poſt, inſtead of an anſwer in the ordinary ſtyle, orders are iſſued to take off his head.

6. The Perſians are naturally a brave people, but the ſloth and inactivity of their Princes had of late rendered them not ſo formidable as they uſed to be. In the laſt century, under Abbas the Great, they made conſiderable conqueſts on the ſide of Turkey, as well as India, though their troops were always much inferior in number to the armies either of the Grand Signior or Great Mogul; but they ſunk in our time ſo much below what they were in that reign, that every little Tartar and Arabian Prince inſulted their frontiers, and robbed them of ſome part of their territories, before the late Shah Nadir aſſumed the government.

The forces of Perſia are divided into the troops of the ſtate and the Shah's. The troops of the ſtate are entertained by the governors of the reſpective provinces, and paid out of certain lands appropriated for that purpoſe, and are divided into militia and regular troops. The regular troops are called courtchis; they were originally of Tartary, a ſtout hardy race of people who lived in tents. Theſe are the ſoldiers which are properly called Cooſelbaſhes, or Red-heads, ſo ſtyled when they came to the aſſiſtance of Cheic Sefi, the founder of the late Imperial family; for which ſervice he allowed them the honour of wearing red caps or turbans, of a particular form, like that he wore himſelf. Theſe cooſelbaſhes remained in their tents, as well in time of peace as war; and employed themſelves in feeding, buying and ſelling of cattle, from whence they were called courtchis, or ſhepherds.

The ſervice they did to Cheic Sefi, and their zeal for the religion of the Imans, procured them great reſpect, and they poſſeſſed the chief poſts both in the court and army; and from theſe the Perſian ſoldiery, and afterwards all the Perſians in general, obtained the appellation of cooſelbaſhes, a name formidable to the Indians, Turks, and Tartars in the laſt age; and it was by this generation that the Turkiſh language was introduced into the court of Perſia, and the northern parts of that kingdom, where they ſpeak it much more than the Perſian. The cooſelbaſhes held the firſt rank in the kingdom till the reign of Abbas the Great, who endeavoured to ſuppreſs them upon account of the unreaſonable influence he obſerved they had in all affairs of ſtate, depoſing and ſetting up what princes they thought fit, like the Turkiſh janizaries. He was ſo jealous of his own ſon, on account of the reſpect he had obſerved they paid him, that he cauſed him to be put to death, and diſperſed the cooſelbaſhes in ſmall detachments through all the the provinces of the empire. Theſe troops ſerve on horſeback, carrying a bow and arrows, a ſword, poniard, and lance, with a hatchet at the ſaddle-ſkirts; and for defenſive arms have a ſhield and helmet; they are commanded always by their own officers, and their general is called Courchibathi, or commander of the courtchis.

Both the courtchis and militia have their pay out of the lands of the ſtate of the reſpective provinces, and enjoy it as their inheritance, from father to ſon, if they do not refuſe to bear arms: they are obliged to march to the place of rendezvous on twelve hours' notice, and every year paſs in review before a commiſſary ſent from court, or before the governor of the province.

7. The troops of the Shah are two bodies, which Abbas the Great inſtituted. One conſiſts of twelve thouſand men, and are called the muſketeers, becauſe inſtead of bows and arrows they carry muſkets, and though they march on horſeback, yet like our

dragoons they fight on foot. Shah Abbas uſed to oppoſe them to the Turkiſh janizaries, of whom he had obſerved the enemy made great advantage in their engagements with him. Before this time neither foot-ſoldier or fire-arms were ever heard of in Perſia, and their neighbours the Tartars have no foot among them to this day. The other body conſiſted of ten thouſand horſe; theſe were called coulars, and carried fire-arms alſo inſtead of bows. They were called coulars or ſlaves, to ſignify their devotion to their ſovereign; or as ſome ſay, becauſe they come from thoſe countries from whence the Perſians had their ſlaves, as Georgia, Circaſſia, &c. Part of them are ſent as preſents to the Shah when they are young; and the reſt are deſcended from the people of thoſe countries, who are ſettled in Perſia. They almoſt all profeſs the Mahometan religion, though deſcended from Chriſtian parents. Abbas the Great had a particular affection for this body, and uſed to call them his horſe janizaries. They are tall and well-made fellows, in whoſe courage and fidelity the Shah has a particular confidence; for as they ſcarce know the country or relations from whence they ſprang, and can have no other views, than to recommend themſelves to their maſter by their ſervices, they are entirely devoted to the Crown, and obey every order without heſitation; and from among theſe, the court uſually prefers men to the higheſt poſts; ſo that conſidering the number of Georgian women which are married into Perſia, and the poſts the men who derive themſelves from thence poſſeſs, the Perſian court may, one half of them, probably be of Georgian extraction.

It is obſerved, that in Perſia, as well as India, the word ſlave is an honourable title, and preferable to that of ſubject: nay, a certain French author tells us, that the word Koulam Shah, or King's ſlave, is equal to that of Marquis in France; becauſe all that have that denomination are ſure to be preferred to ſome poſt if they behave well. Beſides theſe there are two other ſmall bodies, the one called Sophis or Sephis, inſtituted for a guard to the King's perſon by Cheik Sefi; theſe are not above two hundred men, and wear the Sophi's cap on their heads, and for their arms have a ſabre, a poniard, and an axe, which they carry on their ſhoulders. The ſecond, called the Ziezari, or the ſix hundred, who are all of the ſize of grenadiers, ſtout young fellows, inſtituted by Abbas the Second for a guard to his perſon, anno 1654. The monarchs of Perſia before that time had no guards in the palace, or when they went abroad, for the ſephis only ſerved to make a ſhow at feſtivals and on public occaſions; they wear long red caps of the form of a ſugar-loaf, and their arms are a muſket, ſabre, and poniard, which are adorned with ſilver, and exceeding fine; they are under the command of the general of the muſketeers, and a ſmall party of them do duty at the palace gates.

All the the troops of Perſia are comprehended under theſe two names of courtchis and coulars, that is, ſhepherds or ſlaves, by which they underſtand the ſoldiers of the old or new eſtabliſhment. The Shah finds all the troops with horſes, arms, and accoutrements; but every man provides himſelf with clothes according to his fancy, the ſoldiers having no particular livery, any more than the ſervants of the King's houſehold, or of any great man. There was in the reign of Abbas the Great a body of twelve thouſand men, that belonged to the artillery, but they were diſcharged in the reign of Abbas the Second, and the Perſians had no artillery, unleſs ſome uſeleſs guns in the front of the palace at Iſpahan, and in ſome other great towns, which are more for ſhow than ſervice, till they were new diſciplined of late years by Shah Nadir.

8. Their armies were never large, conſidering the extent of the empire: Abbas the Great, who made ſuch conſiderable conqueſts, had never more than a hundred and twenty thouſand men in his ſervice in all the provinces; and the ſoldiers have been ſo

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ill paid in the late reigns, that they have deſerted, and gone into foreign ſervice, or applied themſelves to other employments, which the courtiers winked at, putting their pay in their pockets, and never filling up their places. The Perſian troops not being troubled with artillery or baggage, make prodigious ſwift marches, and fall upon an enemy frequently in his camp or quarters, with incredible fury, when he leaſt ſuſpects ſuch a viſit. At other times they cut off his proviſions, and turn the waters from their uſual courſe; and having ſufficiently haraſſed him in a long march through a deſert country, when he is fatigued and diſpirited, fall upon him. When an enemy makes head againſt them they will fly till they have drawn him into ſome diſadvantageous ground, and then return to the charge again.

In their retreat, as has been obſerved, they ſhoot more arrows than when they advance; as hiſtory acquaints us was the practice of the ancient Parthians. The Perſians never throw up any intrenchments about their camps, their fortification is ſome mountain or difficult paſs; but in ſieges they intrench, and uſually take a place by undermining it; and, it is thought, that no people underſtand mining and ſubterraneous works better than the Perſians. It was thus they took Erivan, the capital of Armenia, from the Turks the laſt time. This city, in a very ſhort ſpace, found almoſt every part of it undermined; but as the Perſians do not trouble themſelves with artillery, ſo neither have they any bread-waggons or ſutlers amongſt them, and yet their camp is generally as well ſupplied as a camp need to be, the country people continually following them with proviſions. Indeed, as rice and fruit is almoſt all they want, it can be no difficult matter to ſupply ſuch ſmall bodies as take the field in Perſia, eſpecially as they are perpetually in motion, and ſeldom ſtay long in a camp.

When they are apprehenſive of an invaſion, their conſtant method is to withdraw all the people on the frontiers, and deſtroy the country in ſuch a manner as the enemy may find nothing to ſubſiſt on, not leaving ſo much as a ſpire of graſs, or a tree upon the ground; but they give the huſbandmen time to ſecure their grain, fruits, and forage, by burying them, with moſt part of their utenſils, in deep pits, which they will do in ſuch a manner that it is almoſt impoſſible to diſcover them; and as the earth is very dry, they receive no manner of damage. The army having thus deſtroyed the country for eight days' journey together, they encamp near it in ſeparate bodies, and as they ſee occaſion, fall upon the enemy and diſtreſs him in his march; ſometimes they fall upon one quarter of his camp and ſometimes on another, in the night-time; and if they cannot by this means put a ſtop to his march, they retire farther into the country, driving the people ſtill before them, and deſtroying every thing as before; and by theſe means they have defeated the greateſt Turkiſh armies.

When the enemy are retired every man returns to his lands again. As for the houſes, thoſe of the common people are no great loſs, they are ſoon run up with clay or ſuch materials as they find upon the place. The Perſians are ſaid to found their conduct upon this dilemma; either the enemy will invade us with great numbers, or but few; if he brings great numbers, conſidering the extent of deſert ground he muſt march over, it is impoſſible he ſhould ſubſiſt; if their numbers are but ſmall, we ſhall haraſs them in their march till they come to nothing, without running the hazard of a battle.

9. The Perſians are excellent markſmen, as well with their fire-arms, as their bows and arrows. Their colours are made of rich ſilks, in much the ſame manner as our horſe ſtandards; for a device they write ſome paſſage of the Alcoran, or part of their confeſſion of faith, and ſometimes have a lion, with the ſun riſing over his back, wrought in them. The great ſtandard-bearer, whom they call Alemdar Baſſa, is one of their

principal military officers. The management of the ſoldiers' pay is much commended, becauſe they do not ſuffer it to paſs through their officers' hands, but every man receives it of the farmers of ſuch lands as are appropriated for that purpoſe; the officer's pay is very good; the general of the muſketeers, and the general of the coulars, have each of them above three thouſand pounds a year; and as the lands aſſigned for the payment of it are valued mighty low, it is thought to amount to four times as much.

In time of peace they uſually keep a body of ſix or ſeven thouſand men in Chaldea towards Babylon, to prevent the incurſions of the roving Arabs. The governor of Armenia has about five thouſand men under his command, and the governor of Georgia a like number. In Choraſan they have uſually eight thouſand men to bridle the Uſbeck Tartars, and ſuch another body in the province of Candahar, towards India, and theſe troops being the out-guards of the empire, and almoſt in conſtant action, were eſteemed pretty good; but as for the reſt, who are cantoned in the inland country, they enjoyed ſo long a peace, that even travellers obſerve, they had not the air of ſoldiers.

In thoſe parts of the country where they have ſea for a boundary, they keep ſcarce any troops, inſomuch, that in Gilan and Mazanderan, which lie on the Caſpian Sea, the Coſſacs have landed ſmall parties. and plundered the country for ſeveral days together; and here the Muſcovites very lately fixed themſelves with very little oppoſition, though it be one of the richeſt and moſt fertile countries in the empire. The Perſian generals are perplexed with nothing ſo much as the ſtupid conduct of the court, in attending to the predictions of their aſtrologers. Theſe men are ever averſe to war, becauſe they are obliged to take the field with the Prince, and therefore ſeldom fail to pronounce it unlucky to enter into one on any conſideration whatever; and if ever they are brought to approve of a war, they muſt prognoſticate the lucky minute when to encamp, and when to march, &c. So that the generals loſe the great advantages which might be made ſometimes, by waiting till they conſult the ſtars. The favourite women, and the eunuchs are no leſs averſe to war than the aſtrologers; for in loſing their Prince they loſe their all, and, therefore, they conſtanly fall in with the aſtrologers, to divert their lord from every enterprize which carries a face of danger.

All this muſt be underſtood of the old line of which Thamas the ſon of Huſſein, depoſed by Mer-Weys, and afterwards reſtored, depoſed again, and at laſt put to death by Thamas Kuli Kan, or with his privity, who thereupon aſſumed the title of Shah Nadir, was the laſt. It is a thing ſurpriſing that, conſidering the great extent of coaſt which they have upon the Perſian Gulph and the ocean on the ſouth, and the number of their provinces bordering upon the Caſpian Sea, they ſhould never think in earneſt, or to ſpeak with the greater propriety, ſhould never think at all of raiſing a naval force, which if they had done, would have rendered them ſecure at home and reſpected abroad.

The only reaſon that can be aſſigned for this is, their neglect of trade, which defect in their conſtitution, if the ingenious reader will attentively conſider, he will without difficulty diſcover, that it is the ſole ſource of the frequent troubles, rebellions, and revolutions, which have ſo often brought the Perſian government to the brink of ruin. This will be the more obvious to the reader, when we come to ſtate the nature of property among the Perſians, from whence it will appear, that the landed intereſt in that country is tolerably ſecured; but as the like proviſion is not made for the monied intereſt, people do not turn themſelves ſufficiently to thoſe methods of ſubſiſtence that would make the government eaſy, and themſelves happy.

10. The lands of Perſia are either ſuch as are cultivated, or ſuch as are uncultivated, and uninhabited, of which the latter are ten to one more than the former. The lands in occupation

occupation are of four kinds; the lands of the ſtate, the Shah's demeſne lands, the lands of the church, and laſtly, thoſe belonging to private men. The lands of the ſtate contain much the greater part of what is cultivated, and are in the poſſeſſion of the governors of the reſpective provinces, who out of them take their own revenue, and aſſign the reſt for the payment of their officers, and the troops they are obliged to maintain; for every ſoldier has his pay aſſigned him upon ſome village or farm, in the ſame manner as in Sweden. The demeſne lands are the Shah's particular eſtate, out of which are paid the officers of the houſhold, and the troops he maintains over and above thoſe which are maintained at the charge of the reſpective provinces, and the reſidue are given among the courtiers and favourites; or managed by the viziers and intendants, who remit the produce of them into the treaſury.

The lands which belong to the church, are the donation of Princes or private men, and are accounted ſacred, ſo that they are never taxed or confiſcated for any crime whatever; and after one year's poſſeſſion, the title of them cannot be called in queſtion, on any account whatever. The lands of private men are held of the crown for the term of ninety-nine years, paying an inconſiderable quit-rent; and at the expiration of the term of ninety-nine years, they are allowed to renew their leaſe for the ſame number of years, on advancing one year's income. As to the cultivated lands, if any perſon deſires to build upon them, or to convert any part of them into ploughed fields or gardens, the King's officers procure him a grant for ninety-nine years, under a ſmall rent, which terms are renewed as other private eſtates; ſo that all ranks of men derive their eſtates immediately from the crown, and by this method have a perpetuity, on payment of their fines and acccuſtomed rents.

The officers of the Shah, as well as private owners, let out their lands to huſbandmen, upon condition of receiving a third part of the produce uſually, but the rent is more or leſs according to the particular agreements of the parties; and the grain in Perſia being ſubject to be deſtroyed by hail, drought, locuſts, and other inſects, the tenants never fail to inſiſt on an abatement in theſe caſes. When the deſtruction is very great, the huſbandmen take the withered branches of trees, and the damaged ears of corn, and reſort to the Shah's officers, complaining of the ſeaſon, and their inability to pay their uſual rent, if they have received never ſo little hurt; their complaints are very loud, and they frequently make an advantage of the misfortune.

Private landlords are leſs ſubject to be impoſed upon in theſe caſes, having the lands under their inſpection; but then their tenants are not ſo much oppreſſed, and ſubject to ſuch hardſhips as the tenants of the crown. The Shah's officers frequently pretend they have no authority to make abatements; and thereupon whole villages go up to court, and deliver their petitions to the Shah in perſon, inſomuch that there is ſeldom leſs than ſeven or eight thouſand people attending at Iſpahan on theſe occaſions. The court uſually ſends orders hereupon to the provinces to make ſuch allowance as the nature of the caſe requires, or depute commiſſaries to enquire into the truth of the complaint, but in either caſe the crown is uſually defrauded; for the countrymen ſo well underſtand the force of bribes, that they commonly ſhake a purſe, and procure a favourable repreſentation of the caſe from the officers ſent to check them.

The Shah and private owners have the like profits of the huſbandmen's cattle, as they have of their corn, as the third fleece, and the third part of the breed; and of fruit, the crown has ſtill a greater ſhare, there being not that charge of manuring and cultivating fruit-trees as there is of the grounds which produce grain.

The governors of provinces receive the ſame profits out of the lands of the ſtate, towards the payment of the officers, and troops of the province, as the Shah does out of

of his own lands, and every province beſides makes large preſents from time to time to the court, of the beſt the country affords, whether ſilk, grain, fruits, cattle, or whatever is in eſteem among them; and theſe are ſent up in ſuch quantities, as are ſufficient to ſupply the Shah's houſhold, and therefore may be accounted a conſiderable part of the revenue. The Shah has alſo the ſeventh fleece, and the ſeventh of the breed of the cattle, in thoſe lands which are not appropriated to his uſe; and this is a great addition to his revenue, for the ſhepherds of Perſia, like the ancient patriarchs, poſſeſs vaſt flocks and herds, on which they continually attend, living in tents, and removing from one place to another, as they can meet with paſture for them; for thoſe lands which are not the property of particular perſons, are at liberty for all men to graze upon, though the the Shah's; and this payment of the ſeventh beaſt ſeems to be an acknowledgment of his property in them. Theſe wealthy ſhepherds the people of the eaſt call Saranetchin, from whence we have the word Saracen, that is to ſay, an inhabitant of the fields; for they live in tents, far from towns, two or three hundred together, and ſometimes you ſee a thouſand or two encamped in one place; they perfectly cover the plains with their flocks and herds, that ſometimes you may be two or three hours in paſſing through them; and the Shah has an officer called Ichomban Baſhi, or chief of the ſhepherds, reſiding in every province, who takes the ſeventh of the cattle for the Shah's uſe, viz. of ſheep, aſſes, mules, camels, and goats; as to horſes, it ſeems the Shah is entitled to every third colt; of ſilk and cotton alſo, it is ſaid the Shah has a third part over the whole kingdom.

Minerals and precious ſtones belong to the Shah only, and he has two per cent. of all money. The money that is raiſed by the waters is another conſiderable part of the revenue, for every perſon pays for their being let into his fields or gardens; nothing will grow in that parched country without it. A tribute is alſo paid to the crown by all people who are not of the religion of the country, whether natives or foreigners, and this amounts to a ducat a head; and there is a tax of ten-pence on every ſhop of the handicraft trades, and twenty pence on the reſt. The cuſtoms and port duties are another branch of the revenue, but theſe do not amount to much here, for they have no conſiderable port except Gambron. As for the merchandize carried into Perſia or out of it by land, they only pay a ſmall ſum for a camel's load, and proportionably for every mule or ox, without examining what the packs contain. But that part of the revenue which is merely caſual, exceeds all the reſt, viz. what ariſes by the confiſcated eſtates, and the preſents which are made by the great lords, governors of provinces, &c. and particularly thoſe which are made on New-year's Day. They preſent the Shah with wrought ſilks, horſes, aſſes, beautiful boys and girls, gold, ſilver, precious ſtones, perfumes, and every thing which is rich and curious, and may ſerve for uſe, ornament, or the pleaſures of life; and as there are ſeveral handicraft trades which pay no duties to the crown, as carpenters, maſons, and ſome others, theſe are obliged to work for the Shah when he requires it, without pay; whatever buildings or palaces the Shah erects or repairs, he has only the materials to find, the warden or chief of the trade is obliged to ſend a certain number of workmen, which ſaves the treaſury a great deal of money, and therefore the labour of thoſe people may well be eſteemed part of the revenue. The maintenance of ambaſſadors, and the providing them with carriages, is done alſo at the charge of the country, and coſts the Shah nothing. When he has a mind to reward any perſon for any ſignal piece of ſervice, this is done alſo at the expence of another; he ſends him perhaps to one of the chans or great courtiers, with the calaat or royal veſt, for which the chan makes the meſſenger a preſent uſually of ten times the value or more, according to the poſt he is in. The Shah ſometimes expreſſes the

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very ſum he expects ſhould be paid, which is commonly exceeded out of reſpect, and as a proof the perſon values the Prince's favour. But notwithſtanding the impoſitions above-mentioned, the people do not ſeem to be oppreſſed or impoveriſhed; even the tradeſmen and huſbandmen appear to be in eaſy circumſtances, and few of them but have rings on their fingers and arms. One great advantage to the ſubject is, that ſcarce any of the duties are farmed, and in times of ſcarcity the court is very indulgent and ready to make abatement of their rents and taxes in proportion to the occaſion. As to poll or perſonal taxes there are none in Perſia, unleſs that which is levied upon thoſe of a different religion; nor are neceſſary proviſions of any kind taxed.

What the revenue of the crown may amount to in the whole is very uncertain, depending ſo much as it does upon caſualties; thoſe who have attempted to compute it ſay, that one year with another the revenue amounts to four millions of our money; which, conſidering their troops are moſt of them paid out of the lands of the ſtate, that are not reckoned into this account, is very conſiderable; but as the ſplendour and magnificence of the Perſian court is much beyond any thing we have in Europe, poſſibly very little of it may remain in the treaſury at the year's end. The court, whether it remains at Iſpahan, Meſched, or any other capital, or removes from one province to another, as it uſed to do during the ſummer, if we conſider the women, the eunuchs, and other officers and ſervants, ſeldom conſiſt of leſs than ten thouſand perſons which belong to the houſehold, not including the troops, or the great men and their dependents, which it muſt require an immenſe ſum to maintain. The officers of the revenue ſend every year up to court the ſtate of their province, and what every town and village produces, examined and atteſted by the principal inhabitants of the reſpective places, which are looked upon as ſo many debentures; and theſe given in payment to thoſe who are entitled to penſions or ſalaries from the crown. In like manner every governor pays all the officers and ſoldiers of his province, with aſſignations on the lands belonging to the province; there is very little money diſburſed on thoſe occaſions, and where the pay is ſmall, as that of the common ſoldiers and inferior ſervants, one man is deputed from the troop or company to receive the wages of the reſt, and the reſidue, after all demands are ſatisfied, is remitted into the imperial treaſury.

It may not be amiſs to add a few words concerning the ſeals under which acts of ſtate are paſſed in Perſia; they have five ſeals, which are uſed in five ſeveral branches of buſineſs, one in all ſuch affairs as concern the demeſne lands. A ſecond for commiſſions, letters patent, &c. The third only in military affairs. The fourth about the revenue; and the fifth in things relating to the houſehold. There are no arms engraven upon them, but on one there are the names of the twelve imans or patriarchs; on the others, a ſcrap of the Alcoran, or ſome pious expreſſion, ſhewing their dependence on God, and his prophet Mahomet. The form of one of the ſeals is round, two others are ſquare, and the other two are of an irregular form. The largeſt are about the bigneſs of a crown-piece, and the others about half that bigneſs. They are made of turquoiſes, rubies, emeralds, or ſome other precious ſtones. The principal ſeal the Shah always wears about his neck, and on every Friday all inſtruments which require theſe ſeals are carried to the palace, and ſealed in the Shah's preſence. The impreſſion is made on the paper with a kind of thick ink, and not on wax as with us; the ſame uſage prevails in moſt of the eaſtern courts

11. The generality of the world will agree, from this view of the Perſian policy, that there is no reaſon, ſo long as their government continues in a ſettled condition, to look upon the whole nation as ſlaves and beaſts of burthen. It is very certain that there are great errors in this, as well as in all the conſtitutions founded in the Khoran, and

and it muſt be ſo, for that book itſelf is a mere ſyſtem of tyranny; and which is worſt of all, it is pretended that this ſyſtem came from God. It is upon this principle that the abſolute power of their princes is built: for as to all the qualifications beſides, they are brought in from the remains of the old Perſian government, which by their apparent wiſdom, and natural rectitude, have continued in uſe through all invaſions, and in ſpite of all changes of government. Thus the governors, treaſurers, and ſecretaries of of provinces are preciſely mentioned, both by ſacred writers, and by the Greek hiſtorians, as well as modern travellers. The profound reſpect borne to the Shah is the remains of that reverence paid to their emperors of old, of which the heathen writers are full, which Alexander would have transferred to himſelf, and for which chiefly the Romans looked upon the Parthians as a barbarous nation.

But above all, the new-years gifts are the ſtrongeſt teſtimonies of the difficulty there is in extirpating ancient cuſtoms among any ſet of people. This was the practice in the moſt early times, and the Perſian emperors with all their pride were then very humble to and familiar with their people. They ate and drank with them in public; they gave audience to all who deſired it, and as they received preſents even from the meaneſt, ſo they received every man's petition, and granted almoſt every man his requeſt.

There are many other things in which the modern Perſians reſemble very much their remoteſt anceſtors, but in nothing more than in their natural inclination to and wonderful genius for poetry. This is ſo univerſal, that every chan, and indeed every rich and powerful man, keeps a poet in his houſe, to whom occaſionally they give themes, and it is wonderful how well and how ſuddenly they execute them. Theſe ſort of people alſo frequent coffee-houſes, and other public places, where, for the amuſement of idle people, they repeat their performances with infinite ſpirit, and with inimitable grace. It is certain that the Perſians are very nice in their rhime, but ſomewhat looſe in their numbers, that is to ſay, they regard cadence more than quantity. Yet no nation in the world has more of that enthuſiaſm, which is the eſſence of poetry, the very ſound of their verſes ſufficiently diſtinguiſhes the ſubject, even to the ears of thoſe who are little acquainted with their language; ſo that foreigners are never at a loſs to know whether their poems are merry or melancholy, humourous or grave, intended to inſtruct, or calculated only to divert.

In ſhort, almoſt all their learning conſiſts in poetry, for their proverbs are in rhime, ſo are their fables, and they have hiſtories in verſe of a great length, which, though ſufficiently crowded with fable, are ſeldom or never without a ground of truth. It is true that their modern writers, many of them, make uſe of proſe, but even this is intermixed with verſe, and they are alſo very apt to quote verſes in converſation, which they are obſerved to do with great propriety. But it is worth our notice, that no kind of writing is here ſo much in faſhion as ſatyr, which is moſtly national, and falls, generally ſpeaking, upon their neighbours. As for example, they repreſent the Turks as brutes and barbarians; and whenever they have a mind to repreſent a blockhead, they are ſure to paint him in a Turkiſh dreſs. The great indolence, effeminacy and luxury of the Indians, are likewiſe common topics of raillery, and ſo are the faults and follies of the Tartars; the pride and ſelf-ſufficiency of the Georgians; the cunning and ſelf-intereſtedneſs of the Ruſſians, and the covetouſneſs of the Europeans are frequently expoſed by their wits.

They are far from being ignorant of muſic as a ſcience; they learn by rule, and they play by note, though in a manner ſo different from ours, that it is a long time before it becomes pleaſant to a ſtranger's ear. There is no ſuch thing as ſinging in parts, but

but they ſing one after another, and they generally ſing to ſome ſtringed inſtruments, like the lute or viol: their men ſing better than the women, but there are not many of them that practiſe it, ſinging being looked upon as a ſcandalous employment in Perſia, as well as dancing. People of condition will not ſuffer children to learn either the one or the other, but it is left almoſt entirely to the common wenches and proſtitutes, as it is indeed all over the Eaſt. It is reckoned an indecency in people of any reputation to ſing, and it would render a man contemptible who ſhould attempt it in company. The Perſians call their ſinging-women, Caine, intimating that they derive their ſkill from the daughters of Cain, who they pretend were the firſt inventors of ſinging and muſic in the Eaſt.

They have a great number of inſtruments both of ſtring and wind muſic, ſome in ſhape like our hautboys and flutes, others like the viol, harp, virginals, kettle-drums and trumpets; but ſurely their trumpet is the moſt monſtrous inſtrument for ſize and ſound that can be met with; it is commonly ſeven or eight feet long, and proportionably wide at the great end, and as much as a man can hold up; theſe and their drums in a manner drown all other ſounds, though the leſſer inſtruments, as has been obſerved, have no great harmony in them: and indeed their muſic, as it is called, ſerves chiefly inſtead of clocks, to let people know the time of day or night, ſounding conſtantly at certain hours, for bells they have none; and when the Shah or any great man goes out of his palace, you have always notice of it by theſe drums and trumpets, who ſtand over the palace gate, or in ſome balcony or gallery, and play upon ſuch occaſions, being heard at a vaſt diſtance. In ſome places the muſic and dancing girls make part of a great man's equipage, and run before him when he goes abroad.

It is obſervable that the ſtrings of their inſtruments are never made of gut, the touching of any thing belonging to a dead animal, eſpecially the entrails, being held a pollution; they make them therefore of twiſted ſilk or braſs wire, and it is not only indecent, as has been obſerved, for people of condition to play upon a muſical inſtrument, but it ſeems alſo to be prohibited by their religion, and therefore their eccleſiaſtics and devotees will not ſo much as be preſent at ſuch entertainments.

Aſtronomy is ſtudied in Perſia purely for the ſake of aſtrology, which laſt they term the revelation of the ſtars. The people of the Eaſt look upon aſtrology as the key to futurity, and they have an inſatiable curioſity for prying into things to come. This ſeems to be the principal end of their ſtudies, and they look upon a perſon to be ſtupid and ignorant to the laſt degree who ſpeaks ſlightly of this ſcience. The aſtrologers of Perſia, at leaſt the moſt celebrated, are all natives of the province of Charaſan or Bactria, and the moſt noted among them of the town of Genabed. The Shah never entertains an aſtrologer who is not of that town. The reaſon that the aſtronomers here have more ſkill in their art than elſewhere, it is ſaid, is becauſe the air is drier and purer, by which means they have a better opportunity to obſerve the motions of the ſtars. If we conſider the number of aſtrologers that are found in Perſia, the rank they hold, and the large penſions they receive from the crown, we may eaſily gueſs at the confidence that people put in them; they are paid by the government no leſs than four hundred thouſand pounds per annum.

To the poſt of chief aſtrologer to his Imperial Majeſty there is annexed a penſion of ten thouſand pounds per annum, and to the ſecond aſtrologer five thouſand pounds per annum, and to the reſt according to their ſkill. They have alſo in preſents annually two hundred thouſand pounds, and yet they are ſometimes arbitrarily puniſhed, and put to death for the moſt trivial offences, and even for actions the moſt innocent in themſelves, according to the caprice of their prince. Sir John Chardin relates, that in

the reign of Sefi, when the Shah and all the great men were aſſembled to ſee ſome criminals of ſtate cut in pieces, and the chief of the aſtrologers was there among the reſt; the Shah viewing attentively the countenances of his courtiers, obſerved that the principal aſtrologer ſhut his eyes at every ſtroke of the ſabre, as not able to behold ſo horrible a ſlaughter; he thereupon called to the governor of a prince who ſat near him, and bid him put out the eyes of that dog who ſat at his left hand, ſince he did not uſe them, which was executed in an inſtant on the unhappy aſtrologer, which part of his deſtiny the ſtars never revealed to him.

There are conſtantly a certain number of aſtrologers in waiting at the royal palace, and always ſome of the chief of them about the Shah's perſon, except when he is in the haram with his women, who advertiſe him of the lucky or unlucky moments. Every one of them carries an aſtrolabe hanging at his girdle, in a neat little caſe not bigger than the hollow of one's hand; they are conſulted not only in affairs of importance, but frequently upon the leaſt trifles; for inſtance, if His Imperial Majeſty ſhall go abroad; if it be an auſpicious hour to enter the haram; if it be a proper time to eat, or to give audience, &c. When theſe queſtions are aſked, the aſtrologer immediately takes out his aſtrolabe, obſerves the ſituation of the ſtars, and by the aſſiſtance of his tables makes his aſtrological concluſions, to which they give entire faith as to an oracle, offending againſt which would be dangerous.

Their aſtronomers obſerve pretty juſtly the eclipſes of the ſun and moon, and often foretel the very moment wherein thoſe luminaries will be obſcured; but there are inſtances of their being miſtaken half an hour, and eſpecially in eclipſes of the ſun; but they differ from us in nothing more than in the calculation of the vernal equinox, there being ſometimes an hour's difference between them and the Europeans. Comets, they apprehend, always portend ſome great calamity, but generally ſuppoſe their malign influences are directed againſt ſome other empire than their own. They had neither celeſtial globes, or charts, or teleſcopes to obſerve the conſtellations, till the Europeans imported them; they have ſince indeed endeavoured to imitate their celeſtial globes, and had only ſome repreſentations of the conſtellations before in a book, called The Schemes of Abdal Rhamen. It is obſervable, however, that the figures were much the ſame as on our globes; the longitudes and latitudes of the ſtars are alſo marked, but a little different from ours. The Perſians generally make forty-eight conſtellations, and the names of them, for the moſt part, are the ſame we give them; but ſome of them are different. The only inſtruments they uſe in any of their operations, are the aſtrolabe and Jacob's ſtaff; and as it is with theſe alone they take the elevation of the pole, it cannot be ſuppoſed that their latitudes are very exact; their aſtrolabes, it is true, are very curiouſly made, and commonly by thoſe who uſe them.

The Perſian almanack is called takumi; it is properly a mixture of aſtronomy and judicial aſtrology, containing an account of the conjunctions, oppoſitions, aſpects, longitudes, latitudes, and, in ſhort, the whole diſpoſition of the heavens. It contains alſo prognoſtics of the moſt notable events, as war, famine, plenty, diſeaſes, and other accidents of human life, with the lucky or unlucky times for tranſacting all manner of affairs, directing the people to regulate their conduct accordingly. The feſtivals alſo are marked, as in our almanacs, but whereas we divide the year into four parts, they make only two, winter and ſummer. What is moſt obſervable is, that though there are great numbers of theſe almanac-makers, and though they frequently diſagree even in their aſtronomical calculations, as well as their predictions, they are nevertheleſs looked upon as infallible; a thing ſcarce to be credited, if we had not ſome examples of the ſame kind nearer home.

Their prognoſtications are generally taken from the moon, their artiſts believing that this ſublunary world, as it is called, is much more influenced by this planet than by the ſun. And theſe aſtrologers, like other oracles, endeavour conſtantly to deliver themſelves in dubious and equivocal expreſſions, which may bear various meanings; ſo that if their predictions prove true in any ſenſe, or but in part, they are ſure to meet with applauſe, though they ſhould fail in ſome circumſtances. They ſeem to regard the earth more than the heavens, and to be governed by the conſideration of probable circumſtances rather than the conſtellations, and their predictions on that account are frequently found true. For inſtance, their almanacks are always publiſhed in the ſpring, when the winter is paſſed, and according to the weather they then had it is no difficult matter to foretel, whether they ſhall have good or bad crops in the ſummer, eſpecially in a climate where it does not vary as in Europe; and from the ſame premiſes they will be able to paſs a tolerable judgment on the health or ſickneſs of the enſuing ſeaſons. But above all, as the aſtrologers are always about the court, and have ſo great a ſhare in the adminiſtration of affairs, and ſuch credit with all the world, they may be ſuppoſed to make very ſhrewd gueſſes in relation to politics. They cannot but obſerve the humours and diſpoſitions of the Prince and his favourites, the likelihood there is that one will be reſtored, and another diſgraced. Nay, they know very well what an influence themſelves have in theſe caſes, inſomuch that there very rarely happens a conſiderable alteration in the ſtate but it is brought about, and is, indeed, the effect of ſome of their own predictions.

But aſtrology is not the only foible of this kind, for they have various other ſorts of divination, which have grown into uſe by degrees, under the ſeveral changes of their government. It is true, that for the moſt part their aſtrologers practiſe theſe, but not excluſively, for there are others who practiſe them likewiſe, more eſpecially geomancy, which is the favourite method of divining throughout all the eaſt. Charms and amulets againſt diſeaſes and enchantments are another part of their ſuperſtition; you will not find a Perſian without his amulet, and ſome of them almoſt loaded with them, they put them alſo about the necks of their domeſtic animals; theſe amulets have certain inſcriptions on paper, and ſometimes on precious ſtones, and theſe inſcriptions they wear in little bags about them; they contain ſome paſſages of the Alcoran, or ſentences of their ſaints or prophets, applicable to the diſeaſe or enchantment they would avert: the Perſians alſo are extravagantly ſuperſtitious in relation to days and times. They depend in theſe caſes as much on the diviners and aſtrologers, as a child upon its nurſe; for inſtance, when the Shah is upon a journey the aſtrologers will make him riſe at midnight, and begin his march in the worſt weather that can happen, and perhaps out of the high road, to avoid the unfortunate hour, or his evil ſtars, as from ignorance or knavery they moſt impudently call them.

We muſt not, however, imagine, notwithſtanding theſe follies are very general, that there is not ſome kind of real and uſeful learning amongſt this great nation. Moral philoſophy is in high credit with them, and is not only taught but practiſed; they have many excellent and judicious books upon this ſubject, in which the viciſſitudes of human life, and the folly of placing happineſs in ſenſual enjoyments, are very fully and very finely ſtated. As for the ordinary parts of education, and ſuch as may fit youth for common buſineſs, they have as many conveniences as other people. There are abundance of ſchools in every town, where, beſides the Perſian, is taught the Arabic, which is their learned language; the Alcoran, and their other ſacred writings, are all in this language; and the Alcoran is looked upon as the ſtandard of good language both for grammar and rhetoric. People of condition chuſe to have private tutors for

their children, rather than ſend them to theſe public ſchools; and no nation, it is ſaid, is more intent on the education of children, and breeding them up to manly exerciſes than the Perſians. Their ſchools are called Mekteb, which ſignifies an entrance; this being, ſay they, the gate by which the lads enter into the ſciences.

There are, as has been ſaid, many in every town, and the expence of ſchooling is very ſmall. They learn the Perſian and Arabian languages, with writing and accounts, which when they are arrived at ſome perfection in, they are removed to ſome college, or Medres, as they call them, which ſignifies a place where their doctrines or principles of their religion are taught. Their colleges are all endowed, and ſome of them very richly; the largeſt have fifty or ſixty apartments, and to each of them belong two chambers. In thoſe colleges that are beſt endowed, every ſcholar has about two ſhillings a day allowed him, which he lays out as he thinks fit, for they do not common together.

There are ſome colleges where the ſtudents have no more than a penny a day, and yet intereſt is made to get into one of theſe on account of having a lodging gratis, and ſome other caſual advantages. Many here are, who get in without any deſign to ſtudy, and live and grow old in thoſe houſes, and are allowed to have their wives and children with them, whoſe principal deſign ſeems to be in eaſe and idleneſs. There are abundance of colleges in the great towns of Perſia, and ſome in the villages. The Perſians lay out the greateſt part of their charities in public foundations. In the firſt place, they uſually build a caravanſerai for the lodging of travellers gratis; afterwards a bagnio, a coffee-houſe, a bazar, or market-place, and they purchaſe alſo a garden, and theſe they let out, and apply the revenues ariſing from them towards the building and endowing of a college. The founder and his heirs have the appointment of the head and governors of the ſociety; and if the founder's eſtate happens to be forfeited to the crown, the Shah has the nomination. In Iſpahan there are fifty-ſeven colleges, moſt of them of royal foundation, or which have devolved to the crown; there are profeſſors who teach the ſciences in every college, to whom the ſcholars make an annual allowance for their trouble; but as there are ſeveral who read lectures gratis, the ſcholars frequently reſort to theſe, and forſake their proper tutors.

Thoſe ſtudents who are men of parts and learning, may have a ſalary in any great man's houſe for inſtructing his children; for theſe never ſend their children either to ſchools or colleges, but have them educated in their own houſe. The head of the houſe admits or excludes whom he ſees fit, and pays the ſtudents their penſions monthly, ſo that they ſhew him abundance of reſpect. Beſides their colleges, there are in every town thoſe who teach the liberal arts gratis, and theſe are frequently great officers who have been diſcarded, or have voluntarily retired from court. Theſe frequently allow their diſciples books and paper, and entertain them at their own expence certain days in the week, and ſometimes clothe their pupils and give them money, and by this means they endeavour to recover their reputation with the people; for nothing gives a gentleman ſuch a reputation in Perſia, as the inſtructing great numbers of ſcholars at their own expence, and their being patrons of learning and learned men. Theſe are circumſtances that muſt effectually prove, that the Europeans have no right to treat the Perſians as a rude and barbarous people.

As the cuſtoms and manners, ſo the reading and learning of all nations muſt differ, and the wider and more remote theſe differences are, the readier the vulgar on both ſides ſeem to be in deriding and contemning each other; but as this humour proceeds from the ſame principle in both caſes, viz. that of preſuming themſelves to be the ſtandard by which the wiſdom and civility, the learning and politeneſs of all other nations are to be determined;

termined; and as this is a point not to be defended, it ought to be given up as no better than a popular error in both. It has been already obſerved, that a great part of the modern conſtitution of Perſia is derived from the ancient form of government that prevailed under their old Emperors, that is, the ſeries of Princes, who governed that which is ſo well known to the learned world, by the title of the ſecond general empire, allowing the Aſſyrian to be the firſt. It is, therefore, well worthy our notice, that conſtitutions judiciouſly ſettled, are of ſo permanent a nature, and have ſuch an interior ſtrength and ſolidity, as not only to reſiſt the power of time, but even of repeated invaſions, to which it is certain, that no country in the world has been more ſubject than this of which we are ſpeaking. We may from hence diſcern, that though nations waſte away, and are loſt, as well as all the monuments of their power and greatneſs, yet the effects of their wiſdom remain, and the coquerors themſelves are content to receive and ſubmit, for their own ſakes, and from a conviction of their excellence, to the laws of the conquered.

We know that this has been heretofore obſerved of the Egyptians; we know that in much later times it has been confeſſed in reference to the Chineſe, but I do not remember to have ſeen this remark made before as to the Perſians. Yet I arrogate nothing to myſelf upon this head; for whoever reads Dr. Hyde's learned book, and compares it with the modern accounts of Perſia, muſt diſcover it at firſt ſight. At this day the whole plan of the Perſian conſtitution, except the eccleſiaſtical part of it, which is changed by the introduction of Mahometaniſm, is very near the ſame that it was three thouſand years ago; and yet the Perſees, who are the remains of the ancient people of Perſia, to whom that conſtitution belonged, are now reduced to ſo inconſiderable a remnant, that it is doubted whether there may be ten thouſand ſouls left in Perſia of this race. Thoſe that are left, indeed, preſerve their primitive cuſtoms, and are authentic witneſſes of the truths reported of them by the moſt learned writers. It is, indeed, true, that there is another ſmall colony of theſe people in the Indies, and it may not be amiſs to put the reader in mind of a conjecture, mentioned in Commodore Roggewin's voyage, that ſome iſlands, diſcovered by him in the South Seas, are actually peopled by the relicts of theſe ancient Perſians.

I had myſelf an opportunity of converſing for ſeveral years with a very ſenſible phyſician, who went that voyage, to whom I was indebted for many of the particulars publiſhed therein; and who is dead ſince they were publiſhed. Of this gentleman I very carefully enquired what the reaſons were which induced him and his companions to advance that notion, which at firſt ſight is none of the moſt probable. He told me the cauſes were chiefly three; Firſt, that their complexions, in the ſentiments of thoſe who had ſeen ſome of the Gubers in Perſia, very much reſembled them, and were very unlike either the inhabitants of Afric, or of India; for whereas the former are of a black, and the latter of a reddiſh or iron colour; theſe were of a light olive, and yet their aſpects differed abſolutely from the Chineſe and Tartars. The ſecond cauſe he aſſigned, was their worſhipping the ſun and fire; turning towards the eaſt when they prayed, and uſing a low or whiſpering voice, all of which are ſuitable enough to the Gubers, or Gaurs, as the Turks call them. The third was the innocency of their manners, the quiet and peaceable life they lead, the pains they took in cultivating their lands, and their great induſtry in ſeveral ingenious manufactures. I ſhall not take upon me to determine what credit is due to theſe conjectures, but ſhall content myſelf with obſerving, that they are worth remembering; and conſidering perhaps, our poſterity may have an opportunity by converſing with theſe people, to enter into them more minutely.

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One thing more I recollect that paſſed upon this ſubject, and it was this that ingenious gentleman obſerved to me, that though we had various travels through and accounts of Perſia, yet we had no general or correct hiſtory of it, by which a curious perſon might ſee in a little time, what changes had happened therein, from the earlieſt ages down to the preſent, which he thought might be of very great uſe, even though it were digeſted into a very narrow compaſs. Upon mature deliberation, I ſaw the truth and expediency of this in the ſtrongeſt light, and that nothing diſabled us ſo much in this part of the world from forming a right judgment of affairs in thoſe parts, as the not having diſtinct and correct views of the ſucceſſions of their Princes.

# OBSERVATIONS

MADE ON

# *A TOUR FROM BENGAL TO PERSIA,*

IN THE YEARS 1786-7.

WITH A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE REMAINS OF THE CELEBRATED PALACE OF PERSEPOLIS, AND OTHER INTERESTING EVENTS.

*By WILLIAM FRANCKLIN,*

ENSIGN ON THE HON. COMPANY'S BENGAL ESTABLISHMENT, LATELY RETURNED FROM PERSIA.

ON the 27th of February 1786, I embarked on board the ſhip Yarmouth, Captain Greenly commander, for Bombay, in my way to Perſia, having obtained a furlough from the Council, for three years.

On the 7th of March we left the pilot. — 22d March we made the land, about 12 o'clock P. M. — ran paſt our port in the night about twelve miles: — 23d, all day nearly becalmed; anchored at ſix in the evening: — 24th, at day-light, made ſail; at ſeven, ſaw the flag-ſtaff at Point de Galle; at twelve, went on ſhore.

*Point de Galle.*] Point de Galle is a ſmall fort, ſituated on the ſouth-weſt ſide of the iſland of Ceylon, belonging to the Dutch Eaſt India Company, and has a commandant and a ſmall military force; the commandant is ſubject to the orders of the governor of Columbo, the chief reſidency on the ſame iſland; the inhabitants, excepting the Dutch, are a mixture of Malabars and native Portugueſe; but great numbers of the latter, eſpecially of the lower claſs of people. There is a tolerable tavern here, the only one in the place; the living very cheap. Here is little trade at this place, excepting on account of the Dutch Company. Topazes, amethyſts, and other precious ſtones, are found on the iſland of Ceylon, and brought here for ſale; but it is dangerous to purchaſe them, when ſet, without being ſkilled in thoſe commodities; the people who ſell them being very expert in making the falſe ſtones appear like true ones, by colouring them at the bottom. No kind of ſpice, nutmegs, or any other rarities for which this iſland is ſo celebrated, are to be met with at this place; nor did we, on our approach to the iſland, perceive any of thoſe odoriferous gales deſcribed by travellers, as exhaling from the cinnamon and other ſpices with which this iſland abounds. The harbour is circular; at the entrance of it lie many rocks, juſt above the ſurface of the water, which make it very dangerous for ſtrange ſhips to go in, without a pilot; the waves beat with amazing violence againſt the fortifications. Along, and almoſt all around the harbour, are the country houſes of the inhabitants, which have a pleaſing effect to the eye; the road to theſe, by land, is through a grove of cocoa-nut trees, which forms an agreeable ſhade. However, this place muſt be very unhealthy, as very high hills lie cloſe behind the houſes, and exhale noxious vapours both morning and evening, which make it very precarious to the inhabitants in point of health; they are in general ſickly, but particularly Europeans. I obſerved, in the courſe of a few hours' ſtay on ſhore, ſeveral people whoſe legs were ſwelled in a moſt extraordinary

extraordinary manner; this the natives account for, from the badneſs of the water, and the vapours which ariſe from the adjoining hills. I have heard that the inhabitants of Malacca are liable to the ſame diſeaſe, and from ſimilar cauſes.

Fiſh is to be had here in great plenty; poultry of all kinds is very ſcarce; the fruits are chiefly plantains, pine-apples, and pumple noſes; the cocoa-nuts are alſo in great plenty and very good; the bread is tolerable, but the butter execrable, it being little better than train oil; and indeed this is the caſe in all the Dutch ſettlements, and moſt other foreign ones, the French and Engliſh excepted. We ſlept on ſhore that night; and, not being able to ſell any part of the cargo, the next morning went on board, and ſailed immediately. On the 29th ſaw the land a little to the eaſtward of Cape Comorin, and the 31ſt of March came to anchor in the roads of Anjengo, where we found the Company's ſhip the Duke of Montroſe, waiting for a cargo of pepper. On the 1ſt of April went on ſhore at day-light, and returned on board in the evening.

*Anjengo.*] Anjengo is a ſmall fort and Engliſh reſidency, the firſt that you arrive at upon the Malabar coaſt from Cape Comorin: the inhabitants are Malabars and native Portugueſe, mixed. It is reported to be one of the firſt places in India for intelligence, and the Engliſh have received great ſervice from it in that reſpect during the late war; it would be ſtill more advantageous if the road to Europe by way of Suez was open, but that has been for ſome time ſhut up, on account of ſome unhappy differences. At Anjengo there is a poſt to ſeveral parts of India; this is but lately eſtabliſhed. On the 2d of April, ſailed; 6th, ſaw a ſhip at anchor in Cocheen roads, which we could not enter, being driven off by the moſt violent gale of wind I ever experienced; it laſted ſix-and thirty hours without ceſſation, the ſea running mountains high. Fortunately, the ſhip received no damage, excepting the loſs of the main yard, which was broken in two. On the 8th we found ourſelves, by obſervation, to the northward of our port: on the 9th, came to anchor in Cocheen roads, and went on ſhore immediately.

*Cocheen.*] Cocheen is a large ſettlement belonging to the Dutch Eaſt India Company. It is very populous, and a place of great trade; the inhabitants are a mixture of a variety of Eaſtern nations, being compoſed of Malabars, Armenians, Perſians, Arabians, Jews, Indians, and native Portugueſe. The Jews occupy a whole village, a little to the weſtward of the town; they live ſeparate from the reſt of the inhabitants: I went into ſeveral of their houſes, and could not help obſerving, in this people, a ſtriking peculiarity of features, different from any I had ever ſeen; a reſemblance ſeemed to run through the whole, as if they were all of one family: they ſeldom or ever marry out of their own tribe, by which the likeneſs is preſerved, from father to ſon, for a long time. I am told there is the ſame ſimilarity of features to be obſerved amongſt the Jews of Amſterdam in Holland, and other parts of Europe. This certainly ſerves to diſtinguiſh them more as an original people than any other. They have a good ſynagogue here, and are leſs oppreſſed, and have more liberty, than in moſt other parts of the Eaſt. The rajah of Cocheen reſides here, but lives in an indifferent ſtate, being ſo much oppreſſed by the Nabob Tippoo on the one hand, and the Dutch on the other, as to have little or nothing left for himſelf. He is a Gentoo. Cocheen, in former times, was a place of conſiderable celebrity, and was one of the places pitched upon by the firſt Portugueſe ſettlers in the Eaſt, after the diſcovery of the paſſage round the Cape of Good Hope by Vaſco de Gama; but that people have now very little left of the vaſt wealth and power they formerly enjoyed; a revolution of three centuries has reduced them below mediocrity in the general ſcale of European adventurers. The fort is a very large one, and very well fortified on the land ſide;

ſide; towards the ſea not ſo well, but it is ſecured by a very dangerous bar, which will not admit of ſhips coming nearer the ſhore than three or four miles. There are ſome regular Dutch troops in the garriſon, and a few native militia; there was alſo here part of a French regiment, which the Dutch borrowed during the late war. Proviſions of every kind are to be had here in the greateſt plenty. The 10th ſailed; on the 15th, we came to anchor in Tellicherry roads; 16th, having received a very polite invitation from my friend and ſchool-fellow Mr. Ince, I went on ſhore, and ſpent ſeveral very pleaſant days with him.

*Tellicherry.*] Among other places I ſaw in and about Tellicherry, I had a view of the fortifications, or rather of the regular lines drawn round Tellicherry, for the defence of the place againſt the Nabob Hyder Ali, during the late war. Theſe lines are exceedingly ſtrong; they take in a ſpace of about three miles and a half in circumference, and are well defended by batteries and redoubts; a river runs parallel to the weſtern angle, which breaking off from thence runs among the hills: here the Engliſh troops ſuſtained a ſevere ſiege for ſeveral years, againſt the army of Hyder, under the command of Sadik Khan; however, on the arrival of Major Abingdon with a reinforcement from the Bombay ſettlement, the garriſon made a moſt ſpirited and ſucceſsful ſally, in which having defeated the enemy and killed great numbers of them, they at length compelled them to raiſe the ſiege; obtaining, at the ſame time, a conſiderable booty of horſes, tents, and elephants. The general of the enemy was dangerouſly wounded and taken priſoner, and died a few days after, of that and a broken heart, at Tellicherry. I am informed that if he had lived and returned to the preſence, he would have been caſhiered, as the Nabob Hyder had ſet his heart on the reduction of the place. He lies buried cloſe to the fort of Tellicherry; a tomb has been erected to him, in which lamps are continually burning, which many Muſſulmen viſit out of reſpect to the memory of the deceaſed. The lines in ſome parts appear rather out of order, as they have not been thoroughly repaired ſince the ſiege of the place, and I am inclined to think a great number of troops would be requiſite for their defence againſt a reſolute enemy, owing to their great extent; they are now repairing throughout, as the government entertain an idea of the importance of the place, which is certainly conſiderable, in caſe of a war with Hyder, as by his being in poſſeſſion of it he might greatly injure the other ſettlements of the Engliſh on the Malabar Coaſt.

The garriſon of Tellicherry conſiſts generally, in time of peace, of one battalion of ſepoys, a company of artillery, and ſometimes a company of European infantry; they are alſo able to raiſe about three thouſand native militia. The view of the country round Tellicherry is very pleaſant, conſiſting of irregular hills and vallies. The boundaries of the Engliſh are terminated by the oppoſite ſide of the river, and at a very little diſtance is a ſtrong fortreſs of the Nabob Hyder; if the lines were once to be forced, the place would ſoon fall, the fort of Tellicherry itſelf having no kind of defence. Tellicherry is eſteemed by all who reſide there, to be one of the healthieſt places in India, Europeans ſeldom dying there; it is alſo much reſorted to by convaleſcents: the ſea produces plenty of very fine oyſters, and proviſions of all kinds are to be had in abundance.

I obſerved, in the Company's garden, the pepper vine, which grows in a curious manner, and ſomething ſimilar to the grape; the pepper on it, when fit to gather, appears in ſmall bunches; it is in ſize ſomething larger than the head of a ſmall pea; the pepper, however, for the Company's ſhips' cargoes, is brought from ſome diſtance in the country. Tellicherry alſo produces the coffee tree.

On the 28th, in the evening, we ſailed; and on the 29th we anchored in the roads of Goa, off the Fort Alguarda.

*Goa.*] Goa is a large city, and was once populous; it is the capital of the Portugueſe ſettlements on this ſide the Cape of Good Hope; it is the reſidence of a Captain General ſent from Portugal, who lives in great ſplendour. The city ſtands upon the banks of a river of the ſame name, about twelve miles diſtant from the entrance of the harbour: the view up this river is truly delightful, the banks on either ſide are adorned with churches, and country ſeats of the Portugueſe, interſperſed with groves and vallies; the river has ſeveral pleaſing openings as it winds along, its banks are low, but the hills behind riſe to an amazing height, and add grandeur to the ſpectacle, greatly tending alſo to beautify the proſpect. The city of Goa itſelf is adorned with many fine churches, magnificently decorated; and has ſeveral handſome convents. The church of Saint Auguſtine is a noble ſtructure, and is adorned in the inſide by many fine pictures; it ſtands on the top of a hill, from whence you have an extenſive view of the city and adjacent country: it is a circumſtance that has always been obſerved, and very juſtly, that the Portugueſe have ever choſen the ſpots for their convents and churches in the moſt delightful ſituations. I have obſerved it in the Brazils, and the inhabitants of Goa have by no means failed in attention to this point, all their public buildings being well ſituated. The body of this church is ſpacious, and the grand altar-piece finiſhed in the moſt elegant ſtyle. The building of the choir is of Gothic architecture, and therefore of antiquity. This church has a convent adjoining to it, in which live a ſet of religious monks, of the order of St. Auguſtine: ſome of the brothers of this convent have given popes and cardinals to the Roman See, as appears by their portraits which are hung up in a neat chapel dedicated to St. Auguſtine, the patron of the order. Adjoining to this church is a convent of religious women, who have taken the veil, and are therefore prohibited from all kind of intercourſe with the world: theſe chiefly conſiſt of the daughters and nieces of the Portugueſe inhabitants of the place; and a ſum of money is generally given with them, on their entrance into the convent. A little lower, on the declivity of the hill, ſtands another church, dedicated to the Bon Jeſus, in which is the chapel of Saint Franciſco de Xaviere, whoſe tomb it contains: this chapel is a moſt ſuperb and magnificent place; the tomb of the ſaint is entirely of fine black marble, brought from Liſbon; on the four ſides of it the principal actions of the life of the Saint are moſt elegantly carved in baſſo relievo; theſe repreſent his converting the different nations to the Catholic faith: the figures are done to the life, and moſt admirably executed: it extends to the top in a pyramidical form, which terminates with a coronet of mother-of-pearl. On the ſides of this chapel are excellent paintings, done by Italian maſters; the ſubjects chiefly from ſcripture. This tomb, and the chapel appertaining to it, muſt have coſt an immenſe ſum of money; the Portugueſe juſtly eſteem it the greateſt rarity in the place. In the valley below is another convent for young ladies who have not taken the veil; out of this convent the Portugueſe and others who go there may marry: ſome of the ladies have ſmall portions, others none. As far as I could learn, the ceremony obſerved on taking out one of theſe ladies is as follows: When a gentleman, after viſiting often at the grate, ſhall have choſen one to whom he wiſhes to pay his addreſſes, an exchange of rings between the parties is firſt made; after which the lover is permitted to viſit his miſtreſs in the convent, in the preſence of one of the matrons; then if he ſtill holds his purpoſe, he is obliged to make a ſolemn promiſe of marriage, in the preſence of the archbiſhop of the place; which being done, he may

take her away whenever he pleaſes: after which the archbiſhop marries them. It is, however, to be obſerved, that the lover, whoever he is, muſt firſt make profeſſion of the Roman Catholic perſuaſion, otherwiſe no connection would be allowed. I ſaw three of the young ladies, who were really fine girls, and could not help making ſome reflections on their unhappy ſituation; ſhut up in a wretched convent, where they muſt pine away their youth, unleſs capricious chance ſhould befriend them in the appearance of a huſband: and being deprived of the company of men, for whom they were formed to grace ſociety and create affection, they muſt, if capable of reflection, think themſelves moſt unhappy.

The Captain-General of Goa is alſo Commander in Chief of all the Portugueſe forces in the Eaſt Indies. They have here two regiments of European infantry, three legions of ſepoys, three troops of native light horſe, and a militia; in all, about five thouſand men. Goa is at preſent on the decline, and in little or no eſtimation with the country powers; indeed their bigotry and ſuperſtitious attachment to their faith is ſo general, that the inhabitants, formerly populous, are now reduced to a few thinly inhabited villages; the chief part of whom have been baptized; for they will not ſuffer any Muſſulman or Gentoo to live within the precincts of the city; and theſe few are unable to carry on the huſbandry or manufactures of the country. The court of Portugal is obliged to ſend out annually a very large ſum of money, to defray the current expences of the government; which money is generally ſwallowed up by the convents and ſoldiery. If other meaſures are not purſued, Goa muſt, in a very few years, ſink to nothing: though it is evident that the internal decay of the government has been occaſioned by the oppreſſion and bigotry of the prieſts, and the expulſion of ſo many uſeful hands; yet the court of Portugal cannot be prevailed upon to alter its meaſures, although the flouriſhing ſituation of the Engliſh and other European ſettlements (and of which one cauſe is certainly the mild and tolerant principles adhered to in points of religion, provided it interferes not with the affairs of government) is continually before their eyes. The Nabob Tippo has lately ſhewn an inclination to attack them, but was ſuddenly called off by the Marratas: the Portugueſe much fear he will return; and ſhould he, there is little doubt but that the place will ſurrender to him. The glorious times of Albuquerque are now no more; power and wealth have long ſince taken their flight from the diſcoverers of the Eaſt! There was formerly an inquiſition at this place, but it is now aboliſhed; the building ſtill remains, and by its black outſide appears a fit emblem of the cruel and bloody tranſactions that paſſed within its walls! Proviſions are to be had at this place in great plenty and perfection; the Captain-General lives in great ſtate; he is a well-bred man, and fond of the company of the Engliſh, whom he treats with great hoſpitality.—24th, ſailed; May 13th ſaw the light-houſe at Bombay, about nine in the morning.

*Bombay.*] The iſland of Bombay is in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh Eaſt India Company; it is ſituated on the Coaſt of Conkan, in Lat. 19 North, and Long. 72. 38. Eaſt; it was granted, as part of the marriage portion with the Infanta of Portugal, to Charles II. The harbour is capable of containing three hundred ſail of ſhips with the greateſt ſafety: there is alſo a moſt excellent dock, in which ſhips of his Majeſty's ſquadron, and others, are repaired, refitted, and completely equipped for ſea. They build alſo here all ſorts of veſſels; and the workmen in the yard are very ingenious and dexterous, not yielding to our beſt ſhip-wrights in England. This iſland is very beautiful, and as populous for its ſize as any in the world; merchants and others coming to ſettle here from the different parts of the Deckan, Malabar, and Coromandel; as well as the Guzerat country: amongſt thoſe of the latter place, are many Perſee

families; these are descended from the remains of the ancient Gubres, or worshippers of fire; most of the country merchants, as well as the menial servants of the island, are of this faith. They are very rich, and have in their hands the management of all mercantile affairs. Their religion, as far as I could gain any information, is much corrupted from the ancient worship; they acknowledge that several Hindoo forms and ceremonies have crept in amongst them, probably in compliance to the natives, in order to conciliate their affections. I have heard it observed, however, that the Hindoo religion does, in itself, bear some analogy to the ancient Persian worship: it seems their sacred book, the Zend, which is said to have been written by their celebrated prophet Zerdusht (called by us Zoroaster), is at present only a copy of a few centuries; which must, of course, invalidate its authenticity; as that prophet, according to the Persian historians, lived more than three thousand years ago; and indeed it is an indisputable fact, that what religious books were in being at the time of the Grecian conquests of that country, were carefully collected and burnt, by the express orders of Alexander, and were totally destroyed at the subsequent conquests of that country by the Saracens: at which period also happened the introduction of the Mahomedan religion. By these means their religion and language underwent a total change, the very traces of both which have long since disappeared, as is evident by the many fruitless efforts made to decypher those inscriptions still discernible on the walls of Persepolis, bearing not the least analogy to any character now existing. Hence it may be inferred, that what is now given as the ancient character and language of this celebrated people, is no more than an invention of a later date, and there remains not a probability that their real Zend will ever be known. The island of Bombay is about eight miles in length, and twenty in circumference: the most remarkable natural curiosity the island produces is a small fish; this fish, according to the description of a gentleman who has seen it, and from whom I received my information, is in form somewhat like a muscle, about four inches long, and has upon the top of its back, and near the head, a small valve, on the opening of which you discover a liquor of a strong purple colour, which, when dropped on a piece of cloth, retains the hue. It is found chiefly in the months of September and October; and it is observed the female fish has not this valve, which distinguishes the sexes. It is not improbable to suppose that this fish is of the same nature as the ancient Murex or shell fish, by which the Romans attained the art of dyeing to such perfection; and is similar to that found formerly on the coasts of Tyre. The Company's forces at this Presidency consist of eight battalions of sepoys, a regiment of European infantry, and a corps of European artillery and engineers. During the late long and very severe war, the Bombay troops have distinguished themselves in a peculiar manner, and the campaign of Bedanore, and the sieges of Tellicherry and Mangalore, will long remain testimonials of high military abilities, as well as of their bravery and patience under severe duty. The breed of sheep on this island is very indifferent, and all the necessaries of life are much dearer than in any other part of India. A work on this island is worthy of observation; it is a causeway on the southern part, about a mile in length, and forty feet in breadth, eight of which on each side are of solid stone; the remainder in the centre is filled up with earth, a cement of clay, and other materials; the whole forming such a body as will endure for many ages. This work keeps up the communication with the other parts of the island during the season of the Monsoon, which would otherwise overflow it, and cause infinite damage.

Dec. 13th, after being detained seven months at this island, for want of a passage, I at length embarked on board an Arabian ship, bound for Bussora, in company with Captain

Captain Mitchell and Lieuts. James and Curry, of the Madras military eſtabliſhment, who were on their way to Europe over land. We had on board an exact epitome of Aſia, being a collection of Armenians, Perſians, Arabians, Ethiopians, Jews, Greeks, and Indians, who created as much confuſion of tongues as at the building of the tower of Babel. On the 24th, in the evening, we ſaw Cape Roſalgate; and on the 1ſt of January, 1787, came to anchor in the harbour of Muſcat. The entrance into this harbour is truly pictureſque; it has a bold ſhore, with a range of high mountains extending about ſixty miles in length from Cape Roſalgate (which is oppoſite the Scindian Gulph), to Muſcat, and forms a very grand natural proſpect: the ruggedneſs of the rocks marking very characteriſtically the country of Arabia. The inner harbour is guarded by two forts, very indifferently ſituated. Muſcat itſelf is a place of conſiderable trade, as well with the Arabian and Perſian Gulphs, as with Surat, Bombay, and the Coaſts of Malabar and Coromandel. The town, as is uſual in moſt Eaſtern countries, is badly built, and the ſtreets very narrow; they have, however, a good and well furniſhed bazar, roofed at the top; the ſtreets croſs each other at right angles, and to each is allotted its particular merchandiſe for ſale. Muſcat lies in lat. 23° 15′ N. oppoſite to the Gulph of Ormuz, and is governed by an Imaum, or independent prince, over the province of Oman, of which Muſcat is the capital. This province of Oman is a part of Yemen, or Arabia Felix; the Imaum reſides at a diſtance of two days journey inland, where he lives in ſplendour; his Vakeel Sheick Khulfaun received us with great civility. The whole country round this place is one continued ſolid rock, without a blade of graſs, or any kind of verdure to be ſeen; but this barrenneſs the natives affirm to be amply recompenſed by the fertility and beauty of the inland country; as indeed it ought to be. The reflection of the ſun from theſe rocks muſt neceſſarily cauſe intenſe and almoſt inſupportable heats, which during the ſummer ſeaſon are ſo great, that all the natives, who are able, retire inland as ſoon as they commence; this, added to the fatal effects of the ſmall-pox, for which they have no cure, being ignorant of the application of medicine, cauſes the people in general to be afflicted with diſorders in their eyes; ſo much ſo, that you ſcarcely meet one perſon out of three, who has not viſibly ſuffered from either of the cauſes above mentioned. Several Gentoo merchants reſide here, for the convenience of trade; alſo a broker on the behalf of the Engliſh Eaſt India Company; but the government will not admit (though often urged to it) of any European factory being eſtabliſhed. The police in Muſcat is excellent. On the 25th of January, Captain James Mitchell, our fellow-paſſenger, died, to the great grief of us all: we interred him the ſame day, on ſhore, at Muſcat; a Dutch ſhip lying in the harbour, commanded by Captain Stewart, ſaluted the corpſe on going on ſhore with nine guns, as did alſo an Engliſh ſnow, there at the ſame time. His funeral was as decently conducted as circumſtances would admit, and every attention poſſible was paid to his remains. On the 26th we ſailed for Buſſora. On the 4th of February, we alſo loſt Lieutenant Thomas James, another of our companions; whoſe body we committed to the deep. Shortly after, Mr. Curry and myſelf, who were the only two remaining, fell ſick of violent fevers, which laſted near a month, and reduced us ſo much, that we had reaſon to expect the ſame fate. On the 28th of February, arrived at Abu Shehr. Lieutenant Curry and myſelf went on ſhore, where we were received by Mr. Galley, the Company's reſident at that place.

*Abu Shehr.*] Abu Shehr is a ſmall ſea-port town on the coaſt of Perſia, and is under the government of a Sheick, who is tributary to Shirauz. The Engliſh Eaſt India Company have a factory here, but I believe little buſineſs is carried on, owing to the ruinous ſtate of Perſia; caravans come frequently to this place from Shirauz, and

bring the commodities of that city, which are exported to different parts of India. On the 9th of March, my good friend, Lieutenant Curry, quitted me, and proceeded to Buſſora: our parting was painful to us, as we had lately experienced many trying ſcenes together, which cemented our friendſhip; but our ſeparate deſtinations made it neceſſary. An opportunity offering ſhortly afterwards of proceeding to Shirauz, I eagerly embraced it, although not yet quite recovered from my fever, and accordingly determined to ſet out with a cafila or caravan, juſt then on the point of departure.

Set out for *Shirauz.*] On the 15th of March, I left Abu Shehr: our cafila conſiſted of about thirty mules, and twenty or thirty horſes; theſe and camels being the only mode of travelling made uſe of in this country. Our firſt day's march was about four furſengs, or ſixteen Engliſh miles; the road at ſetting out lay over a barren plain, but the latter part of the way coming to ſome verdure, we halted at a place called Checanduck. The Perſian furſeng is the παρασανγα *Paraſanga* of the Greeks, and is equal in meaſurement to nearly four Engliſh miles. The 16th, we travelled four furſengs, the moſt part in the night, and arrived about eight o'clock in the morning, near Berazgoon, a conſiderable and populous village, ſurrounded by a brick wall, and flanked with turrets, under the dominion, and dependent of Shirauz. Halted that day and the next, for the purpoſe of ſhoeing the horſes and mules belonging to the cafila, preparatory to our aſcending the mountains, which we were now approaching. 18th. Moved at four in the morning, and about eight encamped near the village of Dowlakie, diſtance three furſengs. 19th. Moved at four in the morning, and a little after ſix entered the narrow paſs which is the road to the four mountains, and is exceedingly difficult, from the great number of looſe ſtones. At nine encamped at ſome diſtance on the other ſide of the village of Dowlakie, at the foot of the firſt mountain. We reckoned this day's journey three furſengs. The heat of theſe three laſt days was exceſſive; but they told me it would ſoon be changed to a piercing cold. 20th. Marched at four in the morning, and began to aſcend the firſt mountain, which is very high, and the road almoſt impaſſable, from the vaſt number of large looſe ſtones that had fallen down on each ſide in the way: near two miles of the latter part of the aſcent is almoſt perpendicular, and ſo very narrow as only to admit of one perſon or beaſt of burden paſſing at a time: the ſcene was truly diſagreeable and even dangerous, from the ſteep precipices, and frequent ſlipping and falling of the horſes and mules; our only means of ſafety on one ſide depending on a ſmall parapet wall, about three feet high; on the other the mountain towering up into the clouds ſtrikes the beholder with an awful dread; a broad and rapid river runs at the bottom, which by its roaring adds to the terrific grandeur of the ſcene. Having at length attained the ſummit, we were ſurpriſed by the appearance of a level extenſive plain; whereas, after climbing ſuch a height, we might naturally have expected a deſcent. This plain is about four furſengs, or ſixteen miles, in extent; it is ſituated between the mountains, and abounds in game, particularly the red-legged partridge, which we ſaw in great abundance. A little after nine we encamped at the village of Khiſht; we here began to experience a ſenſible alteration in the weather. At Dowlakie, in the valley below, we were almoſt ſcorched to death with heat; whereas the air on the top of this mountain, and the plain of Khiſht, is very ſharp and piercing, diſtance three furſengs. 21ſt. Being the Perſian feſtival of the Nooroze, or New Year's Day, we halted. In the ancient times of Perſia this day uſed to be celebrated with great joy and feſtivity throughout the empire, and has ſince been kept as ſuch under the Mahomedan government. The people of the cafila made themſelves as merry as their circumſtances would admit of; and although in general the food of theſe people is no

more

more than a few dates and butter-milk, yet on this occaſion the Cheharwadar, or maſter of the cafila, ſent to the neighbouring village, and procured ſome mutton, which he gave to his men, and partook with them of a comfortable pilau. 22d. Moved at four in the morning; about ſix aſcended the ſecond mountain, which is ſtill higher than the former, but the road not ſo dangerous: we arrived, about nine, at the village of Comarige: at this place the Rah Dar, or toll-gatherer, demanded one toman (about thirteen rupees), as a toll, although the cuſtom for every paſſenger, whether European, Jew, or Armenian, is only one piaſtre, which is equal to one rupee. He alleged that I was a Feringy (Chriſtian), and therefore ought to pay more: as I had no reſource, I ſhould have been obliged to comply, had not the maſter of the cafila oppoſed the impoſition, and threatened to complain on our arrival at Shirauz; on which the toll-gatherer deſiſted. This day we travelled three furſengs. 23d. Moved at four in the morning; about nine arrived at the city of Kazeroon, diſtance five furſengs. 24th. Proceeded at five, and at half paſt eight arrived at the foot of the third mountain, ſituated on the confine of the plain, where the city of Kazeroon is built; diſtance three furſengs. 25th. Moved at four in the morning, and began to aſcend the third mountain, which although not ſo high and ſteep as the two former, yet is ſufficiently ſo to make the aſcent uneaſy and difficult; a great part of the road on one ſide is made of maſons' work entirely, the materials hewn out of the mountain: it has a parapet wall of about three feet high, like the former: its aſcent is winding. About eight o'clock we arrived in a moſt delightful valley, by an eaſy and gentle deſcent; entirely covered with a ſpecies of the oak and birch, which being ſituated between two high mountains, is extremely pleaſant; the air began now to be piercing cold, and we perceived the ſnow lying very thick on the mountain before us, which we were to paſs the next day; proceeded on through the valley, and encamped about nine o'clock at the foot of the fourth and laſt mountain, in our journey to Shirauz; diſtance travelled this day three furſengs. 26th. Marched at two in the morning, and began to aſcend the mountain, which the Perſians call the Peera Zun, or the old woman, by way of diſtinction. This is higher than all the former, and near twelve miles in length; we were near five hours in gaining the ſummit, when a proſpect opened to our ſight, ſcarcely to be equalled in beauty, nor can imagination well conceive a more delightful one; although we beheld it whilſt the ruggedneſs of winter was not yet well worn off, ſtill the great quantity of wood on its ſide denoted it to be a moſt delightful place for a ſummer reſidence; the view from the top is moſt ſtrikingly romantic, the three preceding mountains ſeeming beneath your feet; the ſummit is covered with ſnow, and in many places where the rain had fallen, was ice of conſiderable thickneſs. Below, on each ſide, we beheld the vallies all opening to the beauties of ſpring, well watered by running ſtreams, the great lake on the plain of Kazeroon appearing in its full extent. I cannot but confeſs, that the fatigues of the former part of the way were amply made up by the delightfulneſs of this proſpect, the ſharp clear air giving an increaſe of cheerfulneſs and hilarity to my ſpirits. By a ſteep deſcent we gained the plain below in about half an hour, and at nine o'clock encamped near the village of Deſterjin. This day we travelled four furſengs and a half. 27th. Moved at four in the morning; at a little after eight, arrived at the village of Khoon Zineoon: near this village runs a very pleaſant river, which extends to Shirauz. Mr. Niebuhr has laid this down as the Rodheuna, probably from the people who gave him his information, calling it Rood Khoona, as that name in Perſian implies a ſtream, or river; the natives of the place mentioning it by the appellation of Rood Khoona Zineoon, or the river of Zineoon. 28th. Moved off at four, and at half-paſt nine arrived at a caravanſerai in ruins, near the village of Chinar Rehadar.

Rehadar. This day we travelled four furſengs. 29th. Moved a little after five, and at nine arrived in ſafety, by the bleſſing of God, at the city of Shirauz, the place of my deſtination, four furſengs.

*Shirauz.*] Shirauz, the capital of Farſiſtàn, or Perſia Proper, is ſituated in a valley of great extent and ſurpriſing fertility; this valley is twenty-ſix miles in length, and twelve in breadth, and is ſurrounded on all ſides by very high mountains: it lies, according to Mr. Niebuhr, in 29° 30′ 31″, about a hundred and ninety-ſix miles to the North-eaſt of Abu Shehr. The purity of the air of this place has at all times been celebrated, and with great juſtice. The city in circumference is one furſeng and ſixty meaſured paces; the fortifications, conſidering the country, are tolerably good; a wall extends quite round the city, five-and-twenty feet high, and ten thick, with round towers at the diſtance of eighty paces from each other. Shirauz has a moſt excellent dry ditch around it, the work of the late Vakeel Kerim Khan; it is ſixty feet in depth, and twenty in breadth, and would alone, excluſive of the other works, enable the city to hold out a long time againſt any power in Perſia, where artillery is but little known, and leſs uſed. The city of Shirauz has ſix gates, of which the following are the names: 1ſt. Derwaza Bàg Shàh; 2d. Derwaza Shah Meerza Hamza; 3d. Derwaza Sadi, ſo called from its leading to the tomb of that celebrated poet; 4th. Derwaza Cuſſub Khàna, adjoining to the fleſh-market; 5th. Derwaza Shadaïe; 6th. Derwaza Kazeroon, leading to that city. Each of theſe gates has an appointed guard allotted to it, of one hundred men; and four Khans or officers, who every morning and evening attend at the citadel in order to pay their compliments to the Khan, or in his abſence to the Beglerbeg. It is the duty of theſe guards to prevent all perſons departing from the city who have not permiſſion ſo to do; and if any perſon, obnoxious to government, eſcapes, the officer's head anſwers for it. I was frequently ſtopped by them in going out, before I obtained an order from the government to have free egreſs and regreſs whenever I pleaſed. The gates of the city are ſhut at ſunſet, and opened at ſunriſe, during which periods no perſon is permitted to paſs in or out.

Within the city, at the upper end, neareſt to the gate of Bàg Shàh, ſtands the Citadel, which is built of burnt brick, and is a ſquare of eighty yards circumference, flanked with round towers, and encompaſſed with a dry foſſe of the ſame breadth and depth as that of the city; this is called by the Perſians the Ark, and is alſo the work of Kerim Khan; here Jaàfar Khan, the preſent poſſeſſor of Shirauz, reſides; it alſo ſerves occaſionally as a ſtate priſon. At the door of the Ark is a painting, done in very lively colours, repreſenting the combat between the celebrated Perſian hero Roſtum, and Deeb Sifeed, or the White Demon. The ſtory is taken from Ferdouſi's Shah Nama, and the figures are at full length, but ill proportioned. Oppoſite to the citadel, in a large handſome ſquare, is a gallery where the Khan's muſic, conſiſting of trumpets, kettle drums, and other inſtruments, plays regularly at ſunriſe and ſunſet. When the Khan is in camp, or on a journey, theſe are always placed in a tent near him: one ſide of this ſquare leads to the Dewàn Khàn, or chamber of audience, and the other opens into a ſtreet which leads up to the great moſque. The Dewàn Khàna is a very handſome building, ſituated at the upper end of a large garden, to which you are conducted through an avenue, planted on each ſide with the Perſian Chinar tree, a ſpecies of the ſycamore. This chamber is a large building, of an oblong form, with an open front; the inſide, about one-third up the wall, is lined with white marble from Tauris, and the ceiling and other parts are ornamented with a beautiful gold enamelled work, in imitation of the lapis lazuli: there are ſeveral pictures in it;

two

two of which, repreſenting the late Vakeel Kerim Khan, and his eldeſt ſon Abul Futtah Khan, are tolerably well executed; and I was told by the natives that they were good reſemblances. In front there are three handſome fountains, with ſtone baſons, which are conſtantly playing. In the great ſquare before the Citadel is the Tope Khàna, or park of artillery: it conſiſts of ſeveral pieces of cannon mounted on bad carriages, moſt of the guns (which are Spaniſh and Portugueſe, excepting two Engliſh twenty-four pounders) are ſo dreadfully honeycombed, that they would certainly burſt on the firſt diſcharge.

Shirauz has many good bazars and caravanſerais: that diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the Vakeel's bazar (ſo called from its being built by Kerim Khan), is by far the handſomeſt; it is a long ſtreet, extending about a quarter of a mile, built entirely of brick, and roofed ſomething in the ſtyle of the piazzas in Covent Garden; it is lofty and well made; on each ſide are the ſhops of the tradeſmen, merchants, and others, in which are expoſed for ſale a variety of goods of all kinds: theſe ſhops are the property of the Khan, and are rented to the merchants at a very eaſy monthly rate. Leading out of this bazar is a ſpacious caravanſerai, of an octagon form, built of brick; the entrance through a handſome arched gate-way: in the centre is a place for the baggage and merchandiſe, and on the ſides above and below commodious apartments for the merchants and travellers; theſe are alſo rented at a moderate monthly ſum. About the centre of the above-mentioned bazar is another ſpacious caravanſerai, of a ſquare form, the front of which is ornamented with a blue and white enamelled work, in order to repreſent China-ware, and has a pleaſing effect to the eye. This building is larger than the former, and is chiefly reſorted to by Armenian and other Chriſtian merchants; there are beſides ſeparate bazars in Shirauz, for the different companies of artificers, ſuch as goldſmiths, workers of tin, dyers, carpenters, joiners, hatters, and ſhoemakers; theſe conſiſt of long ſtreets, built very regularly, and roofed.

The Jews at Shirauz have a quarter of the city allotted to themſelves, for which they pay a conſiderable tax to government, and are obliged to make frequent preſents: theſe people are more odious to the Perſians than thoſe of any other faith; and every opportunity is taken to oppreſs and extort money from them; the very boys in the ſtreet being accuſtomed to beat and inſult them, of which treatment they dare not complain. The Indians have a caravanſerai allowed them in another quarter of the city, for which they are alſo under contribution. There is a mint at Shirauz where money is coined in the name of Jaafar Khan, the preſent poſſeſſor, the proceſs of which is very ſimple, like moſt in other places of the Eaſt, the gold or ſilver being laid in a dye fitted for the purpoſe, and ſtruck with a large hammer, which completes the operation. Here alſo the public Seràfs (or money-changers) ſet and regulate the exchange of gold and ſilver.

*Moſques, &c.*] Shirauz is adorned with many fine moſques, particularly that built by the late Kerim Khan, which is a noble one: being very well diſguiſed in my Perſian dreſs, I had an opportunity of entering the building unobſerved; it is of a ſquare form; in the centre is a ſtone reſervoir of water, made for performing the neceſſary ablutions or waſhings, previous to prayer; on the four ſides of the building are arched apartments allotted for devotions, ſome of the fronts of which are covered with China tiles; but Kerim Khan dying before the work was completed, the remainder has been made up with a blue and white enamelled work of the kind before deſcribed. Within the apartments, on the walls, on each ſide, are engraved various ſentences from the Koran, in the Nuſkhi character; and at the upper end of the ſquare is a large dome, with

with a cupola at top, which is the particular place appropriated for the devotion of the Vakeel; this is lined throughout with white marble, ornamented with the curious blue and gold artificial lapis lazuli, and has three large ſilver lamps ſuſpended from the roof of the dome: here mullahs or prieſts are conſtantly employed in reading the Koran. This moſque has very good detached apartments, with places for ablutions and other religious ceremonies: at a little diſtance, on the outſide, the late Vakeel had laid the foundation for a range of very handſome buildings, which he deſigned to have been occupied by mullahs, derviſhes, and other religious men; but, dying before the work was brought to perfection, the troubles in Perſia ſince that period have prevented any other perſons from finiſhing them, and in this imperfect ſtate they remain at preſent, much to be regretted; as it would have added greatly to the beauty of the whole. In the centre of the city is another moſque, which the Perſians call the Musjídí Noò, or the new moſque; but its date is nearly coeval with the city itſelf, at leaſt ſince it has been inhabited by Mahomedans: it is a ſquare building of a noble ſize, and has apartments for prayer on each ſide; in them are many inſcriptions in the old Cufick character, which of themſelves denote the antiquity of the place; in the centre of the ſquare is a large terrace, on which the Perſians perform their devotions, both morning and evening; this terrace is capable of containing upwards of two hundred perſons, and is built of ſtone, raiſed two feet and a half high from the ground; there are here two very large cypreſs trees of an extraordinary height, which the Perſians affirm to have ſtood the amazing length of ſix hundred years: they are called Aàſhuk Maàſhùka, or the lover and his miſtreſs, and are held by the people in great veneration. The moſque has a garden adjoining to it, and places neceſſary for performing ablutions. In another quarter of the city is a ſquare building of a very large ſize, formerly a college of conſiderable note, where the arts and ſciences were taught; and is the ſame as that mentioned by Sir John Chardin, who viſited this city in the laſt century. It is now, however, decaying very faſt, but there are ſtill mullahs and religious men reſiding in it; at preſent it goes by the name of Mudruſſa Khan, or the Khan's college; but literature and the ſciences have long ſince been neglected at Shirauz, and the preſent ſituation of the country does not ſeem to promiſe a ſpeedy revival.

There are places in Shirauz diſtinguiſhed by the name of Zoòr Khàna, the houſe of ſtrength or exerciſe, to which the Perſians reſort for the ſake of exerciſing themſelves. Theſe houſes conſiſt of one room, with the floor ſunk about two feet below the ſurface of the earth, and the light and air are admitted to the apartment by means of ſeveral ſmall perforated apertures made in the dome. In the centre is a large ſquare terrace of earth, well beaten down, ſmooth, and even; and on each ſide are ſmall alcoves raiſed about two feet above the terrace, where the muſicians and ſpectators are ſeated. When all the competitors are aſſembled, which is on every Friday morning by day-break, they immediately ſtrip themſelves to the waiſt; on which each man puts on a pair of thick woollen drawers, and takes in his hands two wooden clubs of about a foot and a half in length, and cut in the ſhape of a pear; theſe they reſt upon each ſhoulder, and the muſic ſtriking up, they move them backwards and forwards with great agility, ſtamping with their feet at the ſame time, and ſtraining every nerve, till they produce a very profuſe perſpiration. After continuing this exerciſe about half an hour, the maſter of the houſe, who is always one of them, and is diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Pehlwaùn, or wreſtler, makes a ſignal, upon which they all leave off, quit their clubs, and, joining hands in a circle, begin to move their feet very briſkly in union with the muſic, which is all the while playing a lively tune. Having continued this for a conſiderable time, they commence wreſtling; but before the trial of ſkill

ſkill in this art begins, the maſter of the houſe addreſſes the company in a particular ſpeech, in part of which he informs the candidates, that as they are all met in good fellowſhip, ſo ought they to depart, and that in the conteſt they are about entering into, they ſhould have no malice or ill-will in their hearts; it being only an honourable emulation, and trial of ſtrength, in which they are going to exert themſelves, and not a contentious brawl; he therefore cautions them to proceed in good humour and concord. This ſpeech is loudly applauded by the whole aſſembly. The wreſtlers then turn to their diverſion, in which the maſter of the houſe is always the challenger; and, being accuſtomed to the exerciſe, generally proves conqueror, by throwing each of the company two or three times ſucceſſively. I have ſometimes, however, ſeen him meet with his equal, eſpecially when beginning to grow fatigued. The ſpectators pay each a Shahee, in money, equal to three-pence Engliſh, for which they are refreſhed during the diverſion with a calean and coffee. This mode of exerciſe, I ſhould ſuppoſe, muſt contribute to health, as well as add ſtrength, vigour, and a manly appearance to the frame. It ſtruck me, in its manner of execution, to bear ſome reſemblance to the gymnaſtic exerciſes of the ancients.

*The Baths.*] The baths in Perſia are very commodious, and well worthy the attention of a ſtranger; they generally conſiſt of two large apartments, one of which furniſhes an accommodation for undreſſing, the other is the bath; on the ſides of the firſt are benches of ſtone, raiſed two feet from the ground, on which are ſpread mats and carpets, where the bathers ſit to undreſs, and from thence they proceed to the bath through a long narrow paſſage. The bath is a large room of an octagon form, with a cupola at top, through which the light and air are admitted; on the ſides of this room are ſmall platforms of wood raiſed about a foot from the ground, on which the people who enter to bathe perform their devotions, a ceremony the Perſians always previouſly obſerve: at the upper end of the room is a large baſon or reſervoir of water, built of ſtone, well heated by means of ſtoves made at the botton, with iron gratings over them; and adjoining is another reſervoir of cold water, of either of which the bather has his choice. When he comes out of the hot bath, which is generally in the ſpace of ten or twelve minutes, the people of the houſe ſtand ready to perform the operation of rubbing, and to effect this he is laid at full length on his back, with a pillow to ſupport his head; a bruſh made of camel's hair is then uſed, which completely rubs off all the dirt the body has contracted. After rubbing ſome time, they rinſe the whole body with ſeveral baſons of warm water, and the perſon is reconducted to the dreſſing apartment, where he ſhifts and dreſſes at leiſure, receiving a calean to ſmoke. The Perſians are much more ſcrupulous than any other Eaſtern nation in permitting foreigners to go into their baths, which if attempted with their knowledge, they prevent. By means however of a ſmall preſent, and on account of my living in a Perſian family, and going privately at night, I had always free acceſs; although Mr. Jones, a gentleman of the Buſſora factory, then reſiding at Shirauz, going one night, after he was undreſſed, was informed by the keeper of the houſe, who underſtood he was an European, that he muſt dreſs himſelf immediately, and quit the place; alleging in excuſe, that if it was known he had admitted a Feringy, he ſhould loſe both his cuſtom and reputation, as the bath would thereby be deemed polluted. This is very remarkable, as I am informed that in Turkey it is quite the contrary, foreigners of all denominations being there allowed to uſe any of the baths whenever their inclinations lead them.

*The Gul Reazee, or ſcattering of Roſes.*] During the ſpring, the baths in Perſia are decorated in great finery, a cuſtom diſtinguiſhed by the natives under the name of Gul

Gul Reàzee (or the ſcattering of roſes), from the vaſt quantity of thoſe flowers ſtrewed in the apartments; this ceremony continues a week or ten days, during which time the gueſts are entertained with muſic, dancing, coffee, ſherbet, &c. and the dreſſing apartment is decked out with paintings, looking-glaſſes, ſtreamers, and other ornaments, at the expence of the maſter of the humaùm, who compliments his cuſtomers on the occaſion, though a ſmall preſent is generally made by them to the muſicians. The baths are uſed alternately by men and women every other day, but each ſex generally uſe them but once a week, or in every ten days at fartheſt.

The bath built by Kerim Khàn is particularly beautiful; it has for the outer apartment a large handſome octagon, to which light is conveyed from the top; on the ſides are platforms of ſtone, raiſed three feet from the ground, each of which has a ſquare reſervoir of water, and a large fountain, which, by conſtantly playing in the centre of the room, renders the place very coöl and agreeable; the ſides are adorned with pictures and tapeſtry; the inner apartment is lined throughout with Tauris marble, and the dome and ſides ornamented with the imitation of the lapis lazuli. To this bath none are admitted but thoſe of a higher rank, it being chiefly uſed by the principal Khàns, or officers of the army, and their families.

*Shàh Cheraùg.*] In the centre of the city, adjoining to the moſque called Muſjidi Noò aforementioned, is a building of a very large ſize, which is called by the Perſians the Shàh Cheraùg, or the king's lamp, and is conſidered as a place of the greateſt ſanctity about Shirauz, being the mauſeolum of the brother of one of their Imaums, or heads of the faith; this place is of conſiderable antiquity, nor is the exact date of its foundation aſcertained; but by an extract I procured from the chronicles of the place, it appears to have been repaired by the celebrated Prince Azzud ad Dowlàh Deilemeè, of the family of Buyàh, who was Ameer al Umrah to one of the Caliphs of the houſe of Abbàs, and was a Prince of great abilities, learning, and piety. He reigned in the fourth century of the Mahomedan Hijra.

Having with great difficulty procured an extract from the chronicles of the place, which are kept in the moſque, I ſhall here inſert a tranſlation of them; and it will appear by this extract, that the building was formerly magnificent, but is now going to ruin. The laſt perſon who repaired it was Kerim Khàn, who gave it a complete new covering, but ſince his time it has been neglected, and has ſuffered much by the rain and other accidents, owing to the very great age of the building; however, there are at preſent ſome of the Imaùms Zàdas, or deſcendants from their Imaùms, reſiding in it, who are ſupported by what little remains of the former ample revenues of the place.

*Extract from the Aáſar Ahumudì, or Chronicles of the Shâh Cherâg, the Sepulchre of Ahumud Ibn Moùſa.*

"IT is related, from the regiſter of moſt reſpectable chronicles, that in the days of Sultaùn Azzud ad Dowlah Deillemee, it was thus revealed to that Prince in a dream, that Meer Mahummed (the ſon of the religious, chief of the tribe of the worſhippers of God, the moſt learned of the holy orators, and prime head of the expounders of the Koràn), as alſo Ahumud Ibn Afeef ad Deen Kubeèr (chief of the ſpeakers of truth, and of thoſe who praiſe the Deity), two perſons, who from purity of heart had become the ſervants and guardians of this holy monument and moſt ſanctified tomb, there reſting from their labours, are interred. The Sultaun, therefore, was enjoined to go to their immediate deſcendants, that is to ſay, Sheik Afeef ad Deen Sàni and Peer Shems ad Deen, who are both now alive, and that he ſhould by their means be pointed

out the ſacred tomb, and from them receive inſtructions for the rebuilding and beautifying the edifice; and as formerly in the days of Sufoot ad Deen, Muſauoòd, Ibn Bedr ad Deen, this holy tomb, as well as that of Seiùd Meer Mohammed Abudeen Mouſa Ibn Jaàfar (upon whom be peace!), and alſo that of Seiùd Allah ad Deen Hoſſein Ibn Moùſa Kaſim (the bleſſing of God be upon them!), had been re-built and beautified; ſo Ameer Sultàn Azzud ad Dowlah Deillemee, who is the ſlave of the poſterity of Ali, having been pointed out theſe things in a dream, ſet forwards towards the holy place; and as this had been revealed to him, ſo it had alſo been revealed to the domeſtics of the ſacred ſepulchre of Sheick Afeef ad Deen Sàni and Peer Shems ad Deen: they, therefore, when the Sultaun arrived, informed him of what they had beheld; and he, agreeably to the command, came to the holy ſepulchre, and ordered it to be opened; which being done, it appeared by meaſurement that this tomb was fifteen yards in length, and ten yards in breadth; and the ſacred corpſe was diſcovered to the eyes of Sultaun Azzud ad Dowla, and thoſe who were with him, as well as to the grandfather of the author of the preſent work, who was on the ſpot. Upon the tomb they perceived a lighted candle, ſcented with camphire; and the body of that holy perſon appeared quite freſh and ſweet, as if but lately interred, whilſt from the bleſſed tomb there was emitted the ſcent of pure muſk and ambergris, and from the top of the dome the rays of a clear and bright light were reflected around. It is further related, in the Shirauz Nàma, that Atta Beg Abu Bukir, the ſon of Saad Zunkèè, in the year of the Hijra 446, added many apartments to this building, as alſo did, after him, the moſt illuſtrious lady Bebee Janì Khatoon, who was either the ſecond or third benefactreſs to it. — The hiſtory further obſerves, that Sultaun Azzud ad Dowla, and thoſe who were with him, perceived on the finger of the corpſe a ſeal ring, on which was engraved the following words: 'Izzut Allà Tààla Ahumud Ibn Mouſa: To God Almighty be glory! Ahùmud the ſon of Moùſa:' and, moreover, Sultaun Ameer Azzud ad Dowla drew this ring off the finger, when ſuddenly it became inviſible to him, and was on the finger of another in company, (but God knows who!) The Shirauz Nàma alſo relates, that at this time Sultaun Ameer Azzud ad Dowla was afflicted with a violent aſthma, and the moment he entered the holy ſepulchre, by virtue of that ſacred body, he became perfectly cured, without the ſmalleſt trace of his diſorder remaining; in acknowledgment of which great bleſſing, Sultaun Azzud ad Dowla determined on rebuilding and beautifying the ſacred tomb; and thoſe buildings which were to be ſeen in the days of Azzud ad Dowla, particularly the foundation of the preſent dome, the tower, the haram, and the ornaments of the ſepulchre, as well as the college adjoining to the court-yard, were all done by him. He alſo appointed fixed ſalaries for the domeſtics of the place. The lady above mentioned, Bebee Janì Khatoon, was the ſiſter of Sultaun Iſhaàc, and not only a moſt noble and illuſtrious Princeſs, but ſo devout and reſpectable as to be the pride and ornament of the Seljukian race: (may the mercy of God be upon her!) She it was that rebuilt the tower, and thoſe apartments which are above the area, both above and below, as alſo the market-place adjoining the Meidàn *, the Nokàra Khanà †, and the Aſh Khanà ‡. The Fars Nama, the Nezam al Towareèk, as well as the Shirauz Nama of Sheick Kuttob, and the Kitab Hizzà Beiaùn, all relate that the above noble character, Bebee Jàani Khatoon, appointed fourteen parcels of arable land, with proper aqueducts for conveying water, the revenues of which were taken from the village of Meimoon, and other places in the neighbourhood of Shirauz, for the maintenance of this holy tomb: ſhe alſo made a

* A ſquare. † The gallery for muſic. ‡ The kitchen.

preſent

preſent of thirty volumes of the Koràn, written in letters of gold (the work of Moulana Yeheeà); and there was written on the top of them, 'May the curſe of God overtake thoſe who preſume to lay hands on, or take away, theſe books.' She even ordained, that, excepting the guardian of the ſepulchre, none ſhould preſume to look into, or meddle with the ſacred volumes; nor ſhould any have concern with the lands allotted for the ſupport of the place, or the ſervants or domeſtics belonging to it, on any account whatever except him; which ordinations were confirmed by all ſucceeding Princes and great men who afterwards became benefactors to the tomb. It is further recorded, that Meer Hubeeb Allàh, the flower of religious and holy men, and chief of the race of the Seiùds (deſcendants of Mahomed), the moſt wiſe, the moſt learned, and the moſt exalted of his age, the diſpoſer of benefices, and the performer of good actions, who, in the reign of Shâh Tehàmaſp al Huſſen al Hoſsèèni Behàder Khàn (whoſe habitation now is paradiſe), was chief magiſtrate of the province of Fars, and guardian of the holy ſepulchre, which he held by right of inheritance from his anceſtors, who in regular ſucceſſion had enjoyed the office of Vizier in Perſia and guardian of this tomb, and voluntarily gave up all they poſſeſſed in ſupport of it; for this reaſon, therefore, Meer Hubeeb Allàh reſolved on re-beautifying the building, in conſequence of which the tower and the apartments, both above and below, as well as the body of the edifice, were by him adorned in the moſt elegant manner, with curious gold enamelled work, in imitation of lapis lazuli, and other coſtly materials, as well within the building as in the outer courts and offices; and excepting the tomb of that illuſtrious Prince and Imaum, Abul Huſſun Alì, Ibn Mòuſa al Reza, the chief of the Imaums, (the bleſſing of God be upon him!) who was brother to this Imaum, there was nothing in the four quarters of the world could equal it, for the quantity of ground allotted for its ſupport, the ample ſalaries of the readers of the Koràn, or for the expences of the Aſh Khana, the Nokàra Khanà, the Muezzins *, its ornaments and buildings, all of which were renewed by this Meer Hubeeb Allàh; no mortal ever beholding its equal in beauty, magnificence, and ſplendor."

The above is as literal a tranſlation as the language would admit of, which is very obſcure and difficult in the original.

*The Tomb of Hafiz.*] The tomb of the celebrated and deſervedly admired Hafiz, one of the moſt famous of the Perſian poets, ſtands about two miles diſtant from the city walls, on the north-eaſt ſide, and neareſt the gate of Sháh Meerzà Hamzà. Here the late Vakeel Kerim Khàn has erected a moſt elegant ivàn or hall, with apartments adjoining: this building is executed in the ſame ſtyle as the Dewan Khàna, nor has any coſt been ſpared to render it agreeable: it ſtands in the middle of a large garden; in front of the apartments is a ſtone reſervoir, in the centre of which is a fountain. In the garden are many cypreſs-trees of extraordinary ſize and beauty, as well as of great antiquity: I take them to be the ſame as thoſe deſcribed by Sir John Chardin. Under the ſhade of theſe trees is the tomb of the poet Mahòmed Shems ad Deen Hàfiz, of fine white marble from Tauris, eight feet in length and four in breadth: this was built by order of Kerim Khan, and covers the original one: on the top and ſides of the tomb are ſelect pieces from the poet's own works, moſt beautifully cut in the Perſian Nuſtàleek character. During the ſpring and ſummer ſeaſons, the inhabitants viſit here, and amuſe themſelves with ſmoking, playing at cheſs, and other games, reading alſo the works of Hafiz, who is in greater eſteem with them than any other of their poets; and they venerate him almoſt to adoration, never ſpeaking of him but in the higheſt

* Criers for the purpoſe of calling the people to prayers.

terms of rapture and enthuſiaſm: a moſt elegant copy of his works is kept upon the tomb for the purpoſe, and the inſpection of all who go there. The principal youth of the city aſſemble here, and ſhew every poſſible mark of reſpect for their favourite poet, making plentiful libations of the delicious wine of Shirauz to his memory. Cloſe by the garden runs the ſtream of Roknabad, ſo celebrated in the works of Hafiz; this, however, is now dwindled into a ſmall rivulet, which takes its ſource from the mountains to the north-eaſt. The water is clear and ſweet, and in that reſpect deſerves the fame it has obtained; it is held in great eſtimation by modern Perſians, who attribute medicinal qualities to it; but with what juſtice I cannot determine.

The following couplet, from the works of the poet, may ſerve to illuſtrate the above paſſage:

بده ساقي مي باقي كه در جنت نخواهي يافت
كنار اب رکباباد و گلگشت مصلارا*

"Boy! bring me the wine that remains! for thou wilt not find in Paradiſe the ſweet "banks of our Roknabad, or the roſy bowers of Moſellày!"

SIR WILLIAM JONES.

Further, he obſerves of Moſellày:

مباك جعفر ابارو مصلا
عبير اميز في ليل شغالش*

"From Jaáfar Abàd to the ſweet bower of Moſellày, the morning gale cometh ſcented "with ambergris!" HAFIZ.

*Moſellày.*] This celebrated bower of Moſellày is ſituated a quarter of a mile to the weſtward of the tomb, but is entirely in ruins, no trace or veſtige remaining of that pleaſantneſs which you are taught to expect on peruſing the preceding couplet; yet one may judge by the ſituation, which is really a delightful one, being lofty, that it might formerly have been agreeable. At preſent the country round about is rugged and barren, and now ſerves as a place for celebrating the Mahomedan feſtival of the Ide Korbàn, or the ceremonies which are obſerved on that day, in commemoration of Abraham's offering up his ſon Iſaac, whom they call Iſhmael.

*Heft.*] A little to the northward of Hafiz's tomb, is a magnificent building, called by the Perſians Heft Tun, or the Seven Bodies, on account of ſeven Derviſhes, or religious men, who coming from a great diſtance to reſide in this country, took up their abode on the ſpot where the above building is erected, and there remained until they all died, each burying the other ſucceſſively, until the only ſurvivor, who was interred by the neighbours upon this ſpot, and in memory of which event Kerim Khan has erected a beautiful hall, with adjoining apartments: this hall is twenty-ſeven feet by eighteen, and forty feet high; one third of the height of the hall is lined with white marble from Tauris, and the reſt and the cieling are ornamented with blue and gold enamel: it is built on the ſame plan as thoſe of Hafiz and the Dewàn Khàna, and is really a noble building. It has alſo ſome tolerable paintings, executed in the Perſian ſtyle, amongſt which is one of Abraham's offering up his ſon Iſaac, with the angel deſcending; and another of Moſes, when a boy, tending the flocks of his father-in-law Jethro. Over the doors of this hall are placed portraits of the two celebrated poets Hafiz and Sàdi, done at full length: that of Hafiz habited in the old Perſian dreſs. He is painted with a freſh roſy complexion, and a very large pair of whiſkers, and in the picture appears to be about ſix-and-thirty years of age; the other, of Sheick Sàdi, is the figure of

of a venerable old man, with a long beard turned white by age, dreſſed in a religious dreſs, with long flowing robes, in his right hand holding a ſmall crooked iron ſtaff, and in the other a charger of incenſe. Before the hall is a very handſome ſtone reſervoir, where the Perſians obſerve their ablutions (enjoined by the Mahomedan laws) previous to their performing their devotions near the graves of the ſeven Derviſhes (each of which have handſome tomb-ſtones over them), in a ſpot of ground allotted for that purpoſe. The garden conſiſts of two avenues of cypreſs trees, bounded by a high wall, and there is a fine ſpacious terrace on the top of this building, from whence you have an extenſive view of the city of Shirauz, and the adjoining country. To this place, as well as to the tomb of Hafiz, the Perſians frequently reſort, and amuſe themſelves until evening, when they return to the city.

*Dil Guſhaie.*] On a parallel line with Heft Tun, about three quarters of a mile diſtant, is the garden of Dil Guſhaie, ſo called from the pleaſantneſs of its ſituation, ſignifying in Perſian, heart expanding: it is ſituated at the foot of a high mountain, out of which iſſues a ſtream of clear freſh water, for the reception of which there has been made a ſucceſſion of ſtone baſons, ſo faſhioned as to make the water fall down from one to the other, after the manner of a caſcade, and at about ſixty paces diſtant from each other; theſe forming ſeparate falls, have a pleaſing effect to the eye. In the centre is a ſummer-houſe, built of ſtone, through which the water runs by means of a ſtone channel: in this place the Perſians ſit and amuſe themſelves, ſmoking and playing at games of chance, and regale themſelves with what they may have brought from the city. This garden is, upon the whole, extremely agreeable, the water clear and cold, and the air delightfully mild and refreſhing.

*The Tomb of Sàdi.*] A mile to the eaſtward of Dil Guſhaie, is the tomb of the celebrated Sheick Sàdi aforementioned, ſituated at the foot of the mountains that bound Shirauz to the N.E. and is a large ſquare building, at the upper end of which are two alcoves, receſſes in the wall; that on the right hand is the tomb of Sheick, juſt in the ſtate it was in when he was buried, built of ſtone, ſix feet in length, and two and a half in breadth: on the ſides of it are engraved many ſentences in the old Nuſkhi character, relating to the poet and his works. Sàdi flouriſhed about five hundred and fifty years ago, and his works are held in great eſteem amongſt all the Eaſtern nations for their morality, and for the excellent precepts they inculcate. On the top of the tomb is a covering of painted wood, black and gold, on which is an ode of the Sheick's, written in the modern Nuſtàleek character, and on removing this board is perceived the empty ſtone coffin in which the Sheick was buried. This the religious, who come here, take care to ſtrew with flowers, roſaries, and various relics. On the top of the tomb is placed, for the inſpection of all who viſit there, a manuſcript copy of the Sheick's works, moſt elegantly tranſcribed. On the ſide of the walls are many Perſian verſes, written by thoſe who have at different times viſited the place. The building is now going to ruin, and unleſs repaired muſt ſoon fall entirely to decay. It is much to be regretted, that the uncertain ſtate of affairs in the country will not admit of any one's being at the expence of repairing it. Men who are to-day in authority and power, are, perhaps, to-morrow ſeized on and dragged to priſon; nor can any one depend upon the fate of the enſuing day. Adjoining to this building are the graves of many religious men, who have been buried here at their own requeſts.

*A remarkable Channel.*] A little to the left of this building, under ground, is a very remarkable channel, to which you deſcend by a flight of ſeventy ſtone ſteps, and at the bottom are ſurpriſed at the ſight of a handſome building, of an octangular form, through which the channel runs. It is built entirely of ſtone, which, although the work

work of many ages paſt, yet remains complete and perfect. This the preſent Perſians ſuperſtitiouſly attribute to its having been built with what they call Pool Helaùl, or lawful money, *i. e.* money not acquired by oppreſſion and tyranny; for they ſay that ſuch buildings as have been erected by tyrants ſoon moulder and fade away; whilſt, on the contrary, the works of good and juſt princes endure for ages unhurt. They have formed theſe opinions by attending to the tradition of the place, which they ſay was built by a king of Perſia named Gemſheed, a prince famous in the Perſian hiſtory for his piety and juſtice, and the ſame who built Perſepolis, he having firſt, at a vaſt expence and much labour, dug out a ſtream of water from the adjacent mountains, which was conveyed by an aqueduct to this well, from whence it flows through a ſtone channel formed under ground, about two feet in breadth, and ſupplies all the places adjoining to Shiraùz with excellent water. The preſent natives attribute great virtues to the ſuppoſed properties of this water, and are fond of bathing in it. On the ſides of this building are receſſes and alcoves, where thoſe who viſit it ſit and ſmoke, and find it perfectly cool and refreſhing, even in the hotteſt day of ſummer. Sir John Chardin mentions a fountain near the tomb of Sàdi, in which, he ſays, were fiſh conſecrated to the Sheick; but as there are no ſigns of any thing at preſent remaining ſimilar to his deſcription, I think it is probable he meant the above-mentioned channel, in which are caught abundance of very fine fiſh. This place, though it may not be of the date tradition mentions, yet certainly bears marks of very great antiquity; and as ſuch is an object worthy the attention of a ſtranger, which induced me to inſert the above deſcription.

A quarter of a mile to the northward of the gate Shaàh Meerza Hamzà, is a large octagon building, in the inſide of which is the tomb of Abdurrahèèm Khàn, the ſecond ſon of the late Vakeel Kerim Khàn, who died in the 12th year of his age. This tomb is eight feet in length, and three in breadth, ſtanding in the centre of the room, covered with a piece of brocade; it is of very fine marble from Tauris, elegantly gilt: on the top and ſides are inſcriptions in the Perſian language, well cut, in the Nuſtàleek character, and the room has a beautiful dome, with the cupola and ſides ornamented with blue and gold enamelled work, imitative of China-ware. The Perſians excel all the Eaſtern nations in this kind of enamel; and what makes it ſo pleaſing to the eye, is the brightneſs of the colours, which far exceed, in their livelineſs, any thing that can be done in Europe; and I think are equal to thoſe produced in China.

Kerim Khan, amongſt other beneficial works during his lifetime, built ſeveral ſummer-houſes in the neighbourhood of Shirauz. The gardens in which they are placed are laid out in an agreeable ſtyle, though quite different to our ideas of the beauties of gardening; they conſiſt generally of long ſtrait plantations of ſycamore and cypreſs trees, planted regularly on each ſide the walk, in form of avenues, and have parterres of flowers in the centre, with ſtone fountains in different parts of the garden, which add much to the coolneſs and beauty of them. On the ſide of the walls are erected ſcaffoldings of wood, covered over at top with thin laths, on which the grape vines grow, and form pleaſant arbours. Indeed this truly great man well deſerved his good fortune, as he ſpent the beſt part of his life in adorning Shirauz, which he conſidered his chief city of reſidence, with every thing that could make it comfortable and agreeable to his ſubjects; a circumſtance the Perſians have been more ſenſible of ſince his death: nor is his name ever mentioned by them, eſpecially the middling and lower claſs of people, but in terms expreſſive of the higheſt gratitude and eſteem.

As the religion of the Perſians is known to be Mahomedan, and as very good accounts have already been given of it, I ſhall touch but lightly on the ſubject; but as they are of the ſect of the Sheiàs, or followers of Ali, ſome of their cuſtoms, as well religious as civil, may probably differ from thoſe of the Turks, who are of the ſect of the Sunnies, or followers of Omar. I ſhall therefore make a few remarks on what I think moſt worthy of obſervation in each of them: and firſt reſpecting their marriages.

*Marriages of the Perſians.*] When the parents of a young man have determined upon marrying him, they look out amongſt their kindred and acquaintance for a ſuitable match; in which having ſucceeded, the father or mother of the young man, or ſometimes his ſiſter, aſſemble a number of their friends, and go to the houſe where the perſon they intend to demand lives: being arrived, a converſation takes place, in which the buſineſs is opened and the match propoſed. If the father of the woman is contented with the propoſals, he immediately orders ſweetmeats to be brought in, which is taken as a direct ſign of compliance; and the company for that time take leave. Some days after, the females of the family of the man aſſemble at the houſe of the intended bride, where the terms of marriage are ſettled, and the uſual preſents on the part of the bridegroom are promiſed. Theſe, if the perſon be in middling circumſtances, generally conſiſt of two complete ſuits of apparel of the beſt ſort, a ring, a looking-glaſs, and a ſmall ſum in ready money of about ten or twelve tomans, which ſum is denominated Mehr u Kawèèn, or the marriage-portion, it being given for the expreſs purpoſe of providing for the wife in caſe of a divorce. There is alſo provided a quantity of houſhold ſtuff of all ſorts, ſuch as carpets, mats, bedding, utenſils for dreſſing victuals, &c. After this a writing or contract is drawn up, in the preſence of, and witneſſed by, the Cadi, or magiſtrate, or in his abſence by an akhund, or prieſt: this writing the Perſians call Akud Bundèè, or the binding contract, in which the father of the bride ſets forth, that on ſuch a day, in ſuch a year, he has given his daughter in marriage to the ſon of ſuch a perſon (mentioning the name of the bridegroom and his father), who alſo on his part enumerates the different preſents he makes in his ſon's name to the bride, as well as the ſtipulated money called Mehr u Kawèèn. This writing is ſigned and ſealed by both parties, as well as the Cadi and the Mullah, and is depoſited in the hands of the bride's father, where it always ſerves as a record, in caſe of a divorce, to enforce the fulfilling of the marriage-articles: for on this occaſion the huſband is obliged to make good the contract, even to the minuteſt agreement, before the divorce can be complete. When this ceremony is finiſhed, the marriage by the Mahomedan law is deemed perfect. It is, however, obſervable that portions are never given with daughters in Perſia, as is the cuſtom in Europe, and in moſt places of the Eaſt. Nothing now remains but to celebrate the wedding, and this is generally performed on the ſecond or third day after ſigning the contract, in the following manner: the night before the wedding, the friends and relations of the bride aſſemble at her houſe, attended by muſic, dancing girls, and other ſigns of feſtivity. This night is diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Sheb Hinna Bundee, or the night in which the hands and feet of the bride are ſtained with the herb of hinna, well known all over the Eaſt. Previous to the ceremony, a large quantity of this herb is ſent by the bridegroom to the houſe of the bride; and on the day of ſtaining ſhe is firſt conveyed to the bath, where having bathed, ſhe is brought back to her own houſe; after which they ſtain her hands and feet, at the ſame time painting her eyebrows and forehead with antimony powder called ſurma: when this is finiſhed, they ſend back what remains of the herb

to

to the houſe of the bridegroom, where the like operation is performed upon him by his friends. The wedding night being come, the friends both of the bride and bridegroom, men and women, aſſemble at the houſe of the bride, in order to carry her to that of her future huſband: they are attended by all ſorts of muſic, ſingers, and dancing girls, and all are dreſſed in their ſmarteſt apparel, each of the women having on a veil of red ſilk. The preſents which the bridegroom has made, are all put into trays covered with red ſilk, which are carried on men's ſhoulders. After waiting at the door ſome time, the bride is brought forth, covered from head to foot in a veil of red ſilk, or painted muſlin; a horſe is then preſented for her to mount, which is ſent thither expreſsly by the bridegroom; and when ſhe is mounted, a large looking-glaſs is held before her by one of the bride-maids, all the way to the houſe of her huſband, as an admonition to her, that it is the laſt time ſhe will look into a glaſs as a virgin, being now about to enter into the cares of the married ſtate. The proceſſion then ſets forward in the following order: — firſt, the muſic and dancing girls; after which the preſents, in trays borne upon men's ſhoulders; next come the relations and friends of the bridegroom, all ſhouting and making a great noiſe; who are followed by the bride herſelf, ſurrounded by all her female friends and relations, one of whom leads the horſe by the bridle; and ſeveral others on horſeback cloſe the proceſſion. Being arrived at the houſe of the bridegroom, they are met at the door by the father and mother, and from thence are conducted up ſtairs: the bride then enters the room. The bridegroom, who is at the upper end, makes a low obeiſance; and preſently after, coming cloſe up to his bride, takes her up into his arms and embraces her. Soon after they retire into a private chamber; and, on their return to the company, it cauſes great rejoicings. They then all ſit down to ſupper in ſeparate apartments, the men eating with the bridegroom in one room, and the women with the bride in another; it being quite contrary to cuſtom for the women to eat in company with the men on this occaſion. The wedding-ſupper is prolonged to a late hour in the night, with cheerfulneſs and feſtive mirth.

Rejoicings in Perſia for a wedding generally continue eight or ten days. If, after marriage, a man ſhould be diſcontented with his wife (which is ſometimes the caſe in this as in other countries), he is at liberty to divorce her; a man, by the Mahomedan law, being always enabled to put his wife away at diſcretion: this is performed by giving her every thing he had promiſed her previous to marriage, and by re-demanding the contract of his wife's relations. The ceremony of divorce is called by the Perſians Tellaàk. If again, after the divorce, the huſband ſhould be inclined to take his wife back, he is at liberty ſo to do, and this for three times ſucceſſively; and when it ſo happens, the contract muſt be renewed each time: but after the third time he is expreſsly forbidden to re-marry the ſame woman. I have heard a ſtory of the woman's being obliged firſt to be married, then bedded, and afterwards divorced by another man, before her firſt huſband can re-marry her; but I never could meet with an inſtance of it in Perſia, or ever knew of any cuſtom of that kind prevalent in the country, although I made frequent enquiries concerning it. It ſeldom happens that a man, who is once divorced from his wife, is inclined to take her back again; thoſe who do ſo being in little eſtimation with their neighbours: and with reſpect to the number of wives a man has, although by the Mahomedan law he is certainly allowed as many as he is able to maintain, yet in general, amongſt the Perſians, that perſon is moſt eſteemed who attaches himſelf to one.

Contracts of marriage in Perſia, as well as in many other places in the Eaſt, are often made between families at a very early period; and although conſummation does

not take place till many years after, yet the woman contracted cannot divorce herſelf, or be abſolved from the contract, unleſs by the conſent of her betrothed huſband, except on forfeiture of a conſiderable ſum of money. The ſame is alſo binding on the part of the man.

A widow in Perſia is obliged to wait four months, after the death of her huſband, before ſhe is permitted by law to marry again; but the concubine of a perſon deceaſed may go to another as ſoon as ſhe pleaſes.

*Chriſtenings or naming of Children in Perſia.*] At the chriſtening, or rather naming of children in Perſia, the following ceremony is obſerved: the third or fourth day after the child is born, the friends and relations of the woman who has lain in aſſemble at her houſe, attended by muſic and dancing-girls, hired for the occaſion; after playing and dancing ſome time, a Mullah, or prieſt, is introduced, who, taking the child in his arms, demands of the mother what name ſhe chuſes the infant ſhould be called by; being told, he begins praying, after a ſhort time applies his mouth cloſe to the child's ear, and tells him diſtinctly three times (calling him by name) to remember and be obedient to his father and mother; to venerate his Koràn and his Prophet; to abſtain from thoſe things which are unlawful, and to practiſe thoſe things which are good and virtuous. Having repeated the Mahomedan profeſſion of faith, he then re-delivers the child to his mother; after which the company are entertained with ſweetmeats and other refreſhments, a part of which the females preſent always take care to carry away in their pockets, believing it to be the infallible means of their having offſpring themſelves. The ceremony of the Sunnut, or circumciſion, in Perſia, is generally performed during the Chehula, or ſpace of forty days from the birth of the child; as within that period it is leſs dangerous than at a more advanced age. Some there are, however, who do not undergo the operation until the expiration of ſeven or eight years; but it is abſolutely neceſſary that it ſhould take place before the age of fourteen, as after that time it is deemed unlawful; on this occaſion the parents of the child invite their relations and friends to an entertainment. The operation is performed after the Jewiſh ritual, and in the manner practiſed by the Muſſulmans of India.

With great men this ceremony is uncommonly ſplendid. During my reſidence at Shirauz, I had an opportunity of being an eye-witneſs to the rejoicings made by the inhabitants in honour of the ſon of Jáafar Khàn, who, on the 27th of April 1787, had the ceremony performed upon him.

*Feſtival of the Cheraugoons.*] On the 20th, great preparations having previouſly been made, all the bazars in Shirauz were ſplendidly illuminated, particularly the grand bazar, which was adorned throughout with luſtres of party-coloured lamps, ſuſpended from the roof about half way down: the ſhops of the merchants on each ſide were dreſſed out in great finery, with ſilver paper, rich hangings, &c.; the walls on each ſide, to a conſiderable height, covered with tapeſtry, looking-glaſſes, and many paintings, done in the Perſian ſtyle, moſt of them repreſenting the ancient Kings of Perſia and India, in the different dreſſes of their reſpective countries; as well as deſigns taken from their moſt admired poets. Bands of muſic, and dancing women, were conſtantly performing night and day, throughout the different bazars, on ſcaffoldings erected for the purpoſe; and the whole was a ſcene of feſtivity for ſeven days and as many nights. Among ſeveral ingenious things obſervable on this occaſion, the ſight preſented at the Juba Khàna, or the Khàn's arſenal, was moſt worthy of notice. In the centre of this building the armourers had ſuſpended in the air a braſs mortar of 800 cwt. by ſome hidden means, as nothing appeared to ſupport it, either above or below; the only viſible thing being a number of coloured bottles ſticking to it, as if

to keep it buoyant in the atmoſphere. I was told, however, that it was effected by means of a wire paſſed from the roof of the place to the mouth of the mortar; but not being viſible to the ſpectators, it gave a very ingenious effect. The decorations on this occaſion coſt the ſhop-keepers and tradeſmen conſiderable ſums, as, beſides the expences of the illuminations, they were obliged to make a handſome peiſhcuſh, or preſent, to the Khan and his ſon, who alſo on this occaſion gave a grand entertainment in the citadel, to which the principal men in the city were invited; and the whole was concluded by a magnificent diſplay of fireworks.

*The funerals of the Perſians.*] The funerals of the Perſians are conducted in a ſimilar manner to thoſe in other Mahomedan countries. On the death of a Muſſulman, the relations and friends of the deceaſed being aſſembled, make loud lamentations over the corpſe; after which it is waſhed and laid out on a bier, and carried to the place of interment without the city walls, attended by a Mullah, or prieſt, who chants paſſages from the Koràn all the way to the grave. If any Muſſulman ſhould chance to meet the corpſe during the proceſſion, he is obliged, by the precepts of his religion, to run up to the bier, and offer his aſſiſtance in carrying it to the grave, crying out at the ſame time, *Làh Illáh Ill Lìllàh!* "There is no God but God." After interment, the relations of the deceaſed return home, and the women of the family make a mixture of wheat, honey, and ſpices, which they eat in memory of the deceaſed, ſending a part of it to their friends and acquaintance, that they alſo may pay him a like honour. — This cuſtom ſeems to be derived from very great antiquity, as we read in Homer of ſacrifices and libations being frequently made to the memory of departed ſouls.

*Price of Blood.*] The Perſians are very ſtrict in reſpect to the price of blood, or *lex talionis*, this being laid down and authoriſed as a poſitive command in the Koran; it is called Deiut. At Shirauz, if a man murders another perſon, he is obliged to pay a Deiut, either in money or goods, to the value of 800 piaſtres, which is to be received by the relations of the deceaſed; but if this is not agreed to, and the relations inſiſt upon it (the acceptance being entirely optional), the murderer is to be delivered up to the neareſt of kindred to the perſon ſlain, and is by them put to death: but ſhould it ſo happen that the murderer eſcapes, the two families are at perpetual variance, until full ſatisfaction be made, either by paying the price of blood, as related, or apprehending the murderer, and ſurrendering him, a circumſtance often attended with very bloody conſequences. There is yet, however, another mode of compromiſe, and to which, in one inſtance, I was an eye-witneſs; which is, the relations of the murderer giving in marriage a daughter, or niece, to the ſon of the deceaſed, as the price of blood; and when this is the caſe, the two families becoming one, the reconciliation is always complete.

*The Management of the Police at Shirauz.*] The police in Shirauz, as well as all over Perſia, is very good. As before obſerved, at ſunſet the gates of city are ſhut; no perſon whatever is permitted either to come in or go out during the night; the keys of the different gates being always ſent to the Hakim or governor, and remaining with him until morning. During the night, three tiblas, or drums, are beaten at three different times; the firſt at eight o'clock, the ſecond at nine, and the third at half paſt ten. After the third tibla has ſounded, all perſons whatſoever found in the ſtreets by the Daroga, or judge of the police, or by any of his people, are inſtantly taken up, and conveyed to a place of confinement, where they are detained until next morning, when they are carried before the Hakim; and if they cannot give a very good account of themſelves, are puniſhed, either by the baſtinado, or a fine.

*Sheick*

*Sheick al Sellaum, or the Head of the Faith.*] Civil matters are all determined by the Càzi, and eccleſiaſtical ones (particularly divorces) by the Sheick al Sellaum, or head of the faith; an office anſwering to that of Mufti in Turkey. Juſtice is carried on in Perſia in a very ſummary manner; the ſentence, whatever it may be, being always put into execution on the ſpot. Theft is generally puniſhed with the loſs of noſe and ears: robbing on the road, by ripping up the belly of the criminal, in which ſituation he is expoſed upon a gibbet in one of the moſt public parts of the city, and there left until he expires in torment; a dreadful puniſhment, but in the end extremely ſalutary, as the ſight deters others from committing the ſame crime, and renders robberies in Perſia very uncommon. The puniſhments in this country are ſo varied and cruel, that humanity ſhudders at the thought; and the happy Engliſhman, viewing them, bleſſes himſelf that he is born in the arms of freedom and liberty, where property is not only ſacred, but juſtice adminiſtered with mercy!

*The Faſt of Ramazàn.*] The Perſians obſerve the faſt during the month of Ramazàn (the ninth month of the Mahomedan year) with great ſtrictneſs and ſeverity. About an hour before daylight, they eat a meal which is called Sèhre, and from that time until the next evening at ſunſet, they neither eat nor drink of any thing whatever. It is even ſo very rigid, that if in the courſe of the day the ſmoke of a calean, or the ſmalleſt drop of water reaches their lips, the faſt is in conſequence deemed broken, and of no avail. From ſunſet until the next morning they are allowed to refreſh themſelves. This faſt, when the month Ramazàn falls in the middle of ſummer, as it ſometimes muſt do (the Mahomedan year being lunar), is extremely ſevere, eſpecially to thoſe who are obliged by their occupations to go about during the day-time, and is rendered ſtill more ſo, as there are alſo ſeveral nights during its exiſtence, which they are enjoined to ſpend in prayer. The Perſians particularly obſerve two; the one being that in which their prophet Ali died, from a wound which he received from the hands of an aſſaſſin three days before; which night is the 21ſt of Ramazàn, the day of which is called by the natives Yeòm al Kutul, or the day of murder; the other is the night of the 23d, in which they affirm that the Koràn was brought down from heaven by the angel Gabriel, and delivered to their prophet Mahomed; wherefore it is denominated Lailut ul Kudur, or the night of power. The firſt of theſe nights the Turks and others of the ſect of the Sunnies do not obſerve, and the latter they keep on the night of the 27th; but both nights are ſpent by the Perſians entirely in prayer; beſides which, the moſt religious men generally allot a part of each day in the month for the purpoſe of reading the Koràn. From this faſt, women under particular circumſtances relative to their ſex, very old perſons, the ſick, and children under the age of fourteen, are exempted; every other perſon is enjoined to keep it, as abſolutely neceſſary to ſalvation. Travellers alſo, during this month (when on actual journey), are exempted from obſerving the faſt; but in lieu thereof are obliged, on their return home, to faſt an equal number of days in another month: though the Perſians ſay, that one day's faſt in the month of Ramazàn is more acceptable to God than all the remainder of the year put together. This month, by way of eminence, is ſtyled by the Mahomedans Al Mubarik, or the bleſſed: and they affirm that whatever Muſſulmàns die during it, will moſt aſſuredly enter into paradiſe; as they believe the gates of heaven are then open by the command of God. People of a religious turn of mind begin this faſt ſeven or eight days before Ramazàn, and ſome continue it as many more during the ſucceeding month.

*Shuwàul.*] The Ide of Ramazàn, or 1ſt of Shuwaùl, is not obſerved here as in Turkey, with any particular ſolemnity.

*The*

*The Feſtival of the Ide Korbàn.*] The 23d of September, which this year happened on the 10th of the Mahomedan month Zul àl Huj, A. H. 1201, is kept in Perſia as a grand feſtival, and was celebrated at Shirauz with extraordinary rejoicings; it is called by the Perſians Ide Korbàn, or the feſtival of ſacrifice; being the ſame, they ſay, as that in which Abraham offered up his ſon Iſaac, whom they call Iſmaèl. A few days previous to its commencement, each family takes care to purchaſe a fine fat ſheep, which they deſign for the ſacrifice, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Goſefund Korbàn, or the ſheep of ſacrifice; this ſheep they take great care of, and he muſt be without ſpot or blemiſh, in order to repreſent the purity of Iſaac. The day being come, they adorn the victim with ribbands, beads, and other finery; alſo ſtaining his face, feet, and different parts of his body with the herb hinna. The neighbours reciprocally viſit each other, and exchange the wiſh of a happy ide, or feſtival. Their mode of ſalutation is *Ide Shùmâ Mubàrik bàſhed!* "May your feſtival be fortunate!" The victim being ſlain, they ſend the different parts of him as preſents to their friends and to the poor. Some, indeed, do not reſerve any part for themſelves; but every Muſſulman is enjoined by his religion to give a part of what he kills that day to the indigent, who generally find means to make a comfortable meal. The day is ſpent in the utmoſt feſtivity. Among thoſe of higher rank, the following ceremonies are obſerved: the Khàn, or in his abſence the Beglerbeg, goes in proceſſion to the place of ſacrifice, which is without the city, and is called the Korbàn Gàh. A favourite camel, choſen for the occaſion, is led forth, which is dreſſed out in great finery, and is conſidered as ſacred. On their arrival at the place, the Khàn firſt ſtrikes a lance into the breaſt of the animal, and the crowd are permitted to ruſh in, by which he is preſently cut into a thouſand pieces; and happy in their eſtimation is the perſon who can procure the leaſt portion of him, as they look upon it a great bleſſing, and an infallible omen of future good fortune. The proceſſion returns to the city, where a ſcaffolding is erected before the palace, and the people are entertained with rope-dancing, ſingers (male and female), tumblers, ram-fighting, and other diverſions until evening. The Perſians, on this occaſion, have all of them by heart an ode made for the day, which they repeat as they walk the ſtreets; and cheerfulneſs, with contentment, ſits on every countenance. As I lived in a native family, I thought it proper on this occaſion to make a preſent to it of a ſheep for the ſacrifice, by which I afforded great ſatisfaction; and we ſpent the day in high mirth. Indeed I attributed my own comfortable ſituation, during my reſidence in Perſia, principally to my ready and general compliance with all their manners and cuſtoms; a practice I would adviſe every traveller, who wiſhes to live agreeably in a ſtrange country, to obſerve; experiencing myſelf the benefit of it in ſo ample a manner.

*Ide Kudeèr.*] The 30th of September, being the 17th of Zu àl Hùj, is alſo obſerved here as a feſtival, and is called Ide Kudeèr, or the feſtival of fate, being, according to the Perſians, the day in which their prophet Mahomet bequeathed the caliphat to Ali his ſon-in-law, nine days before he died; but this is denied by the Turks and others of the ſect of the Sunnies, and has been the cauſe of much animoſity and bloodſhed.

*The Fruits of Shirauz.*] No place in the world produces the neceſſaries of life in greater abundance and perfection than Shirauz; nor is there a more delightful ſpot in nature to be conceived, than the vale in which it is ſituated, either for the ſalubrity of the air, or for the profuſion of every thing neceſſary to render life comfortable and agreeable. The fields yield plenty of rice, wheat, and barley, which they generally begin to reap in the month of May, and by the middle of July the harveſt is completed. Moſt of the European fruits are produced here, and many of them are ſuperior in ſize and flavour to what can be raiſed in Europe, particularly the apricot and grape. Of

the grape of Shirauz there are ſeveral ſorts, all of them very good, but two or three more particularly ſo than the reſt; one is the large white grape, called Reeſh Bàbà, without ſeed, which is extremely luſcious and agreeable to the taſte; the ſmall white grape, called Aſkeri, alſo without ſeed, and as ſweet as ſugar; the black grape, of which the celebrated wine of Shirauz is made. This wine is preſſed by the Armenians and Jews, in the months of October and November, and a vaſt deal is exported annually to Abu Shehr, and other parts in the Perſian Gulph, for the ſupply of the India market. The wine of Shirauz is really delicious, and well deſerving of praiſe; ſo much ſo, that people who have drank it for a ſpace of time ſeldom care for any other, though at the firſt taſte it is rather unpleaſant to an European. They have another kind of large red grape, called Sahìbi, the bunches of which weigh ſeven or eight pounds each: it is ſharp and rough to the taſte, and makes vinegar of a very ſuperior quality. The cherries here are but indifferent; but apples, pears, melons, peaches, quinces, nectarines, and the gage plums, are all very good, and in the greateſt plenty. The pomegranate is good to a proverb; the Perſians call it the fruit of paradiſe.

*Breed of Horſes.*] The breed of horſes in the province of Fars is at preſent very indifferent, owing to the ruinous ſtate of the country; but in the province of Duſhtiſtaàn, lying to the ſouth-weſt, it is remarkably good. The ſheep are of a ſuperior flavour, owing to the excellence of the paſturage in the neighbourhood of Shirauz, and are alſo celebrated for the fineneſs of their fleece: they have tails of an extraordinary ſize, ſome of which I have ſeen weigh upwards of thirty pounds; but thoſe which are ſold in the markets do not weigh above ſix or ſeven. Their oxen are large and ſtrong, but their fleſh is ſeldom eaten by the natives, who confine themſelves chiefly to that of ſheep and fowls. Proviſions of all kinds are very cheap; and the neighbouring mountains affording an ample ſupply of ſnow throughout the year, the meaneſt artificer of Shirauz may have his water and fruits cooled without any expence worthy his conſideration: this ſnow being gathered on the tops of the mountains, and brought in carts to the city, is ſold in the markets. The price of proviſions is regulated at Shirauz with the greateſt exactneſs, by the Daroga, or judge of the police, who ſets a fixed price upon every article, and no ſhop-keeper dares to demand more, under the ſevere penalty of loſing his noſe and ears; ſuch being the puniſhment attached to a crime of this nature; by which means the pooreſt inhabitants are effectually ſecured from impoſition, in ſo capital an article as the neceſſaries of life.

*Manufactures and Trade.*] Manufactures and trade are at preſent greatly decayed in Perſia, the people having had no interval of peace to recover themſelves ſince the death of Kerim Khan to the preſent period: but if a regular and permanent government were once again eſtabliſhed, there is little doubt but they would flouriſh, as the Perſians are very ingenious, of quick capacities, and even the lower claſs of artificers are induſtrious and diligent. They work in filligree and ivory remarkably well, and are good turners. They have at Shirauz a glaſs manufactory, where they caſt very good glaſs, of which great quantities are exported to different parts of Perſia; by which the manufacturers acquire conſiderable profit. Moſt of the woollen goods, ſilks, and worked linens, are brought from Yezd and Carmania, from both of which places they alſo export felts and carpets. A great quantity of copper is produced from Tauris, and other of the more northern parts of Perſia. Kòm is remarkable for excellent ſword-blades; but at preſent all trade with Europeans is ſtopped; and the ſtate of the country does not promiſe a ſpeedy return of it. India goods are imported chiefly from Abu Shehr. In matters of trade amongſt the natives, the whole is under the regulation of the caloònter, or town-clerk, who regulates the duties to be paid to the

the Khan on all imports: this is ſometimes executed with a ſeverity which leaves the merchant little or no profit upon his goods. This officer has an apartment in the grand caravanſerai, where himſelf or his aſſiſtant reſides, who is called the Goom Rook, or cuſtom-maſter, and is always preſent on the arrival of a caravan. All goods are opened here, even to the meaneſt article, and a duty is exacted upon every thing foreign. This office affords a field for great knavery, which I doubt not is often practiſed, as I have frequently heard the merchants complain of the oppreſſive diſpoſition of the preſent ſuperintendant with much acrimony: this proceeding cannot, however, be preſumed to have the ſanction of the Khan, as it is moſt probable he is often defrauded without its coming to his knowledge; for a perſon detected in the practice of theſe tricks would unqueſtionably ſuffer death.

*The climate of Shirauz.*] The climate of Shirauz is one of the moſt agreeable in the world, the extremes of heat and cold being ſeldom felt. During the ſpring of the year the face of the country appears uncommonly beautiful. The flowers, of which they have a great variety, and of the brighteſt hues, the fragrant herbs, ſhrubs, and plants, the roſe, the ſweet baſil, and the myrtle, all here contribute to refreſh and perfume the natural mildneſs of the air. The nightingale of the garden (called by the Perſians boolbul hezar daſtaan), the goldfinch, and the linnet, by their melodious warblings, at this delightful ſeaſon of the year, ſerve to add to the ſatisfaction of the mind, and to inſpire it with the moſt pleaſing ideas. The beauties of nature are here depicted in their fulleſt extent; the natural hiſtorian and the botaniſt would here meet with ample ſcope for purſuing their favourite inveſtigations. With ſuch advantages, added to the ſalubrity of the air, how can it be wondered at, that the inhabitants of Shirauz ſhould ſo confidently aſſert the pre-eminence of their own city to any other in the world? or that ſuch beauties ſhould fail of calling forth the poetical exertions of a Hâfiz, a Sàdi, or a Jàmì? Their mornings and evenings are cool, but the middle of the day is very pleaſant. In ſummer the thermometer ſeldom riſes above ſeventy-three in the day-time, and at night it generally ſinks as low as ſixty-two. The autumn is the worſt ſeaſon of the year, that being the time when the rains begin to fall, and during the autumnal months it is conſidered by natives as the moſt unhealthy; colds, fluxes, and fevers being very general. In winter a vaſt deal of ſnow falls, and very thick, but ice is rarely to be found, except on the ſummits of the mountains, or towards Iſpahan, and the more northern parts of Perſia. One thing, which is moſt to be eſteemed in this country, and renders it preferable to any other part of the world, is their nights, which are always clear and bright, and the dew that in moſt places is of ſo pernicious and dangerous a nature, is not of the leaſt ill conſequence here: there is none at all in ſummer, and in the other ſeaſons it is of ſuch a nature, that if the brighteſt ſcimitar ſhould be expoſed to it all the night, it would not receive the leaſt ruſt; a circumſtance I have myſelf experienced. This dryneſs in the air cauſes their buildings to laſt a great while, and is undoubtedly one of the principal reaſons that the celebrated ruins of Perſepolis have endured for ſo many ages, and comparatively ſpeaking, in ſo perfect a ſtate; that place being ſituated in much ſuch another valley as Shirauz, and but two days' journey from thence. The nights in Perſia, and more particularly in the ſouthern parts of it are moſt excellently adapted for the ſcience of aſtronomy, being of extraordinary brightneſs, and far preferable in that point to what I have obſerved in any country in which it has been my fortune to reſide.

*Slight account of the character of the modern Perſians.*] In attempting to ſay any thing of the character of the modern Perſians, I am ſenſible of the difficulty of the undertaking, from my being ſo ſhort a time amongſt them. An acquaintance with the

real character of a people is only capable of being attained by a very long reſidence; yet as, during my ſtay in Perſia, from the ſituation I was placed in, by living in a native family, I had an opportunity of ſeeing more of the nature and diſpoſition of the middling ſort of people, and their manners and cuſtoms, than perhaps has fallen to the lot of moſt travellers, I am induced to give the few obſervations I made during that period. The Perſians, with reſpect to outward behaviour, are certainly the Pariſians of the Eaſt. Whilſt a rude and inſolent demeanour peculiarly marks the character of the Turkiſh nation towards foreigners and Chriſtians, the behaviour of the Perſians would, on the contrary, do honour to the moſt civilized nations: they are kind, courteous, civil, and obliging to all ſtrangers, without being guided by thoſe religious prejudices ſo very prevalent in every other Mahomedan nation; they are fond of enquiring after the manners and cuſtoms of Europe; and, in return, very readily afford any information in reſpect to their own country. The practice of hoſpitality is with them ſo grand a point, that a man thinks himſelf highly honoured if you will enter his houſe and partake of what the family affords; whereas going out of a houſe, without ſmoking a caleân, or taking any other refreſhment, is deemed, in Perſia, a high affront; they ſay that every meal a ſtranger partakes with them brings a bleſſing upon the houſe: to account for this, we muſt underſtand it as a pledge of faith and protection, when we conſider that the continual wars in which this country has been involved, with very little ceſſation, ſince the extinction of the Seſi family, have greatly tended to an univerſal depravity of diſpoſition, and a perpetual inclination to acts of hoſtility. This has leſſened that ſoftneſs and urbanity of manners for which this nation has been at all former times ſo famous; and has at the ſame time too much extinguiſhed all ſentiments of honour and humanity amongſt thoſe of higher rank.

The Perſians, in their converſation, uſe ſuch extravagant and hyperbolical compliments on the moſt trifling occaſions, that it would at firſt inſpire a ſtranger with an idea, that every inhabitant of the place was willing to lay down his life, ſhed his blood, or ſpend his money in his ſervice; and this mode of addreſs (which in fact means nothing) is obſerved not only by thoſe of a higher rank, but even amongſt the meaneſt artificers, the loweſt of which will make no ſcruple, on your arrival, of offering you the city of Shirauz and all its appurtenances, as a peiſhkuſh or preſent. This behaviour appears at firſt very remarkable to Europeans, but after a ſhort time becomes equally familiar. Freedom of converſation is a thing totally unknown in Perſia, as that "walls have ears" is proverbially in the mouth of every one. — The fear of chains which bind their bodies has alſo enſlaved their minds; and their converſation to men of ſuperior rank to themſelves is marked with ſigns of the moſt abject and ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion; while, on the contrary, they are as haughty and overbearing to their inferiors. The exceſſive fear and awe they ſtand in before the great, is exemplified in a circumſtance I ſhall mention, which happened when I accompanied Mr. Jones, of the Buſſora Factory, to the Perſian camp, in an audience we were admitted to with Jaafar Khan. The Khan had ordered Mr. Jones to be ſhewn his horſes; who having ſeen them, was aſked which he liked the beſt. Mr. Jones told him (through me) that he approved very much of the ſtud in general, but that two horſes (naming them) were entitled to more particular attention. This the man who accompanied us, and who was in the capacity of a gentleman uſher, interpreted to the Khan in the following terms: "He ſays that all the horſes are the fineſt that ever were ſeen; but as to the two marked out, their equal is not to be found in any part of the world." And at this anſwer the Khan himſelf ſeemed pleaſed; no doubt from having been uſed to no other language from his infancy.

The Perſians, in their converſation, aim much at elegance, and are perpetually repeating verſes and paſſages from the works of their moſt favourite poets, Hafiz, Sàdi, and Jàmi; a practice univerſally prevalent, from the higheſt to the loweſt; becauſe thoſe who have not the advantages of reading and writing, or the other benefits ariſing from education, by the help of their memories, which are very retentive, and what they learn by heart, are always ready to bear their part in converſation. They alſo delight much in jokes and quaint expreſſions, and are fond of playing upon each other; which they ſometimes do with great elegance and irony. There is one thing much to be admired in their converſations, which is the ſtrict attention they always pay to the perſon ſpeaking, whom they never interrupt on any account. They are in general a perſonable, and in many reſpects a handſome, people: their complexions, ſaving thoſe who are expoſed to the inclemencies of the weather, are as fair as Europeans.

*The women of Shirauz.*] The women at Shirauz have at all times been celebrated over thoſe of other parts of Perſia for their beauty, and not without reaſon. Of thoſe whom I had the fortune to ſee during my reſidence, and who were moſtly relations and friends of the family I lived in, many were tall and well ſhaped; but their bright and ſparkling eyes were a very ſtriking beauty: this, however, is in a great meaſure owing to art, as they rub their eye-brows and eye-lids with the black powder of antimony (called ſurma) which adds an incomparable brilliancy to their natural luſtre. The large black eye is in moſt eſtimation among the Perſians, and this is the moſt common at Shirauz. As the women in Mahomedan countries are, down to the meaneſt, covered with a veil from head to foot, a ſight is never to be obtained of them in the ſtreet; but from my ſituation, I have ſeen many of them within doors, as when any came to viſit the family where I lived, which many did, directed by their curioſity to ſee an European, underſtanding I belonged to the houſe, they made no ſcruple of pulling off their veils, and converſing with great inquiſitiveneſs and familiarity, which ſeemed much gratified by my ready compliance with their requeſts, in informing them of European cuſtoms and manners, and never failed to procure me thanks, with the additional character of a good natured Feringy (the appellation by which all Europeans are diſtinguiſhed). The women in Perſia, as in all Mahomedan nations, after marriage, are very little better than ſlaves to their huſbands. Thoſe mild and familiar endearments which grace the ſocial board of an European, and which at the ſame time they afford a mutual ſatisfaction to either ſex, tend alſo to refine and poliſh manners, are totally unknown in Mahomedan countries. The huſband, of a ſuſpicious temper, and chained down by an obſtinate and perſevering etiquette, thinks himſelf affronted even by the inquiry of a friend after the health of his wife. Calling her by name, is never allowed of; the mode of addreſs muſt be, "May the mother of ſuch a ſon, or ſuch a daughter, be happy; I hope ſhe is in health." And none, except thoſe of the neareſt kin, as a brother, or uncle, are ever allowed to ſee the females of the family unveiled: it would be deemed as an inſult.—Thrice happy ye, my fair and amiable countrywomen, who, born and educated in a land of freedom, can, without violating the laws of propriety, both give and receive the benefit of ſocial intercourſe, unimpreſſed by the baneful effects of jealouſy! Rejoice that theſe bleſſings are afforded you!—which have inculcated the ſentiments of liberality and politeneſs, and which ſtill contribute to enhance the value of ſociety, and to ſecure you a permanent and unalloyed felicity!—The Perſian ladies, however, during the days of courtſhip, have in their turn pre-eminence; a miſtreſs making no ſcruple of commanding her lover to ſtand all day long at the door of her father's houſe, repeating

verſes in praiſe of her beauty and accompliſhments; and this is the general way of making love at Shirauz; a lover rarely being admitted to a ſight of his miſtreſs, before the marriage contract is ſigned.

*Curious ſpecies of contention.*] The Perſians, in their diſpoſitions, are much inclined to ſudden anger; quick, fiery, and very ſenſible of affronts, which they immediately reſent on the ſpot. They are a brave and courageous people; but I have before ſaid, that their frequent wars have much depraved their ancient urbanity of manners; and this ferocity of diſpoſition has alſo introduced a ſtrife, peculiar to the lower claſs of inhabitants of Shirauz. When two people begin fighting, it always raiſes a great crowd, who generally ſeparately take the part of one or the other in the conteſt, and the whole preſently becomes a ſcene of tumult and confuſion, until the arrival of the dâroga, or judge of the police, who puts an end to the fray. Theſe riots are very frequent and even the boys are fond of running to them, in order to have a ſhare in the contention. In their capacities they are ready, prompt, and ingenious: but theſe talents they too often employ in the moſt diſcreditable way, being the greateſt liars in the world, practiſing the moſt improbable falſities with the graveſt air imaginable; and ſo far from being abaſhed by a detection, they always endeavour to turn it off with a laugh, and even confeſs themſelves, that they think there is no harm in telling a lye, provided it can be of any benefit to themſelves: and they will always, in every buſineſs they are engaged in, endeavour firſt to bring it about by lying and knavery; which, if unſucceſsful (as thoſe with whom they deal are full as expert as themſelves,) they will then conclude the bargain with truth and honeſty; but either way is equally indifferent to them.

*The ſuperſtition of the Perſians.*] The Perſians univerſally have a fixed belief in the efficacy of charms, omens, taliſmans, and other ſuperſtitions. Beſides what they have received ſince their converſion to Mahomedaniſm, they have in general retained all that their anceſtors before practiſed. Indeed, the only difference is, that what was before authoriſed and commanded by the Magian religion, has been ſubſequently allowed by the religion of Mahomed. They are, of all people, the moſt addicted to the idea of fortunate or auſpicious days and hours, the *dies faſti atque nefaſti* of the Romans; and even on the minuteſt and moſt trifling occaſions will ſeek for a lucky moment. Going a journey can never be performed without firſt conſulting a book of omens, each chapter of which begins with a particular letter of the alphabet, which is deemed fortunate or inauſpicious; and ſhould they unluckily pitch upon one of the latter, the journey muſt of courſe be delayed until a more favourable opportunity. Entering a new houſe, the putting on of a new garment, with numberleſs other common and trifling occurrences, are determined by motions equally abſurd and frivolous. In their marriages they pay the ſtricteſt attention to this point; a lucky hour for ſigning the contract, and another for the wedding day, being eſteemed abſolutely neceſſary to the future happineſs of the intended couple. Thoſe alſo who are in good circumſtances, generally ſend for a muunjim, or aſtrologer, at the birth of a child, in order to calculate his horoſcope with the utmoſt exactneſs.

*Their taliſmans.*] To a man they have their taliſmans, which are generally ſome ſentence from the Koran, or ſaying of their prophet Ali, written either upon paper, or engraved upon a ſmall plate of ſilver, which they bind round their arms, and other parts of the body; but thoſe of higher rank make uſe of rubies, emeralds, and other precious ſtones. The women of condition have ſmall ſilver plates of a circular form, upon which are engraved ſentences from the Koran; which, as well as the taliſmans, they bind about their arms with pieces of red and green ſilk, and look upon them

them as never-failing charms againſt the faſcinations of the devil, or wicked ſpirits (whom they call deebs), and who they ſay are conſtantly roaming about the world, to do all the miſchief in their power. They are equally abſurd in their ideas of the heavenly bodies, at leaſt the middling and lower claſs of people, particularly in reſpect to the falling of the ſtars, eclipſes of the ſun and moon, and the appearances of meteors and comets. As for their religious ſyſtem, they believe there are nine heavens, the loweſt of which is that immediately above their heads: they imagine, therefore, that on the falling of a ſtar, it is occaſioned by the angels in the lower heaven giving blows on the heads of the devils, for attempting to penetrate into thoſe regions. Mr. Hanway has taken notice of this circumſtance in his travels; and it is the firm belief of the Perſians in general, and even amongſt ſome of thoſe who, from their education and ſenſe, ought to be better informed.

*Curious manner of charming the ſcorpions.*] Among other cuſtoms of a ſuperſtitious nature, they believe that ſcorpions, of which there are great numbers in this country, and very venomous, may be deprived of the power of ſtinging, by means of a certain prayer which they make uſe of. The perſon who has the power of binding, as it is called, turns his face towards the ſign Scorpio, in the heavens, which they all know, and repeats this prayer. Every perſon preſent, at the concluſion of a ſentence, claps his hands; after this is done they think that they are perfectly ſafe: nor, if they ſhould chance to ſee any ſcorpions during that night, do they ſcruple taking hold of them, truſting to the efficacy of this fancied all-powerful charm. I have frequently ſeen the man in whoſe family I lived, repeat the above prayer, on being deſired by his children to bind the ſcorpions; after which the whole family has gone quietly and contentedly to bed, fully perſuaded they could receive no hurt by them. During the ſummer ſeaſon, ſcorpions appear in great numbers; they are quite black in appearance, and very large, and the ſting of them is dangerous, but not mortal: thoſe, however, which are found in the moſt northern parts of Perſia, and particularly in the province of Caſhàn, are of ſo dangerous a nature, as often to cauſe immediate death.

*Not ſcrupulous of drinking wine.*] The Perſians are, of all Mahomedan nations, the leaſt ſcrupulous of drinking wine, as many of them do it publicly, and almoſt all of them in private (excepting thoſe who have performed the pilgrimage of Mecca, and men of religion): they alſo are very liable to be quarrelſome when inebriated, which is often attended with fatal conſequences. They eat opium, but in much leſs quantities than the Turks; and indeed in every thing they ſay or do, eat or drink, they make a point to be as different from this nation as poſſible, whom they deteſt to a man, beyond meaſure; eſteeming Jews and Chriſtians ſuperior to them, and much nearer to ſalvation. They publicly curſe and abuſe the three firſt caliphs after Mahomed, Abu Beker, Omar, and Oſman, who they ſay were uſurpers and tyrants, and unjuſtly deprived their prophet Ali of his right of the caliphat. It is impoſſible to conceive the great veneration they expreſs for Ali, both in their books and in their converſation: they eſteem him to be the moſt excellent and learned man that ever lived, and not inferior in good qualities to Mahomed himſelf, excepting in his expreſs dignity, as a heavenly miſſionary. They ſay that Ali was the only man the world ever produced, who could converſe in all languages; and that ſince him no one has appeared upon earth with an equal knowledge.

*Exceſſive reſpect for Ali.*] As one inſtance to what exceſs the common people carry their veneration, I ſhall mention a ſpeech made uſe of by the cheharwadar, or maſter of the cafila, with whom I travelled to Shirauz: — One of his aſſiſtants making uſe of

of the common expreſſion, "O God! O Ali!" he immediately replied, "No, no; Ali firſt, God ſecond." The title of Ameer al Moumineen, or commander of the faithful, when made uſe of by the Perſians, is always applied to Ali; for they will not allow there having been rightfully any other. It is a common term of abuſe amongſt the lower claſs of people, when in a paſſion, to call their opponents the ſon of a Sunni, or follower of Omar, implying that they could not wiſh him a more reproachful condition. The Perſians reckon the right of ſucceſſion to the caliphat to conſiſt of twelve Imaums, or heads of the faith, whom they deduce from the family of their Prophet; that is, from his daughter Fatima, whom he gave in marriage to Ali, and from thence to his two ſons by that marriage, Huſſun and Huſſein, and their children, deſcendants. They, moreover, allege, that the Prophet, in his lifetime, did publicly declare that Ali and his family ſhould ſucceed to the caliphat, both in ſpiritual and temporal matters. This, however, the Turks deny, affirming that the right of ſucceſſion was from the free election of the people, and that by that right the three firſt caliphs took poſſeſſion of the throne.

*The twelve Imaums.*] The twelve Imaums, in which the Perſians eſteemed the true right of the caliphat to conſiſt, are as follow: 1ſt, Ali, who ought to have come immediately after Mahomed, but ſucceeded the fourth from him, as above mentioned. 2d, Huſſun, the eldeſt ſon of Ali, put to death by the Caliph Moaweia; or, as others ſay, poiſoned by Ayeſha, the widow of Mahomet, for oppoſing her intrigues. 3d, Huſſein, the ſecond ſon of Ali, killed at Kirbelài, in Eeràck Arabì, in the war againſt the Caliph Yezeed, ſon of Moaweia: the death of which laſt two perſons gave riſe to the annual mourning, obſerved ſo ſolemnly by the Perſians, and others of the ſect of the Sheiàs. 4th, Zein al Abudeen, the ſon of Huſſein, put to death by Wàlid the Firſt, the ſon of Abdul Meleck. 5th, Mahomed al Bawkir, the ſon of Zein al Abudeen, put to death by order of Haſhim, the ſon of Abdul Meleck. 6th, Jaafar al Sadick, the ſon of Mahomed al Bawkir, put to death by order of Abu Jaafar Dowanikeè. 7th, Mouſa Kazim, the ſon of Jaafar al Sadick, put to death by order of Haroon Abbaſi, at Bagdad. 8th, Ali Ibn Mouſa al Rezà, put to death by order of Almàmoun Abbaſi. It was in honour of this Imaum that Shàh Abbàs built the famous moſque at Meſched, and commanded his ſubjects to make pilgrimages thither, to prevent the carrying out the immenſe ſums of money expended annually by thoſe who went to Mecca in Arabia; a very wiſe and politic ſtroke, by which means he cauſed Perſia to flouriſh more in his reign than it had done for a long time before, or has ever ſince. 9th, Mahomed al Tùkee, the ſon of Ali Ibn Reza, put to death by order of Almamoun Abbàſi. 10th, Ali al Nukee, the ſon of Mahomed al Tukee, put to death at Samara, by order of Moàtizim Abbaſi. 11th, Huſſun Aſkeri, the ſon of Ali al Nukee, put to death by order of Moàtizim Abbaſi. 12th, Mahomed al Màhadi, the ſon of Huſſun Aſkeri, who diſappeared in the reign of Moàtemud Abbaſi, and who the Perſians expect will be again viſible before the end of the world. He has the title of Huzurut Sàheb Zimaùn, or lord of time, and is always mentioned by them with the higheſt reſpect. Theſe twelve Imaums are diſallowed by the Turks, and others of the ſect of Omar, who ſay that, excepting Ali, they were all juſtly put to death for rebellious practices, againſt the governments under which they lived: but they are eſteemed as ſaints and martyrs by the Perſians, and the only true and lawful caliphs, which they confirm in the recital of their Kélema, or creed, by adding the words, "and Ali is the friend of God;" an expreſſion which the Turks omit.

*Matters of Religion managed by Sheick al Sellaum.*] Matters of religion in Perſia, as before obſerved, are managed by the Sheick al Sellaum, or the head of the faith, an

an office anſwering to that of Mufti among the Turks. He takes cognizance of all eccleſiaſtical matters, and on public feſtivals and other occaſions preaches in the grand moſque; but he has not, like the Mufti, any power in affairs of ſtate, being entirely confined to his religous office.

In point of dreſs, the Perſians differ remarkably from the Turks; for in Turkey any perſon who was not a Seiùd, or deſcendant of the Prophet, wearing the leaſt green upon his garment, would moſt probably be ſtoned: whereas in Perſia, the general and favourite colour is green, even to their ſhoes; and people of all perſuaſions and denominations may wear it as they pleaſe. A Turk alſo thinks himſelf defiled by the touch of a Chriſtian, even on his garments. The Perſians, on the contrary, will eat out of the ſame plate, drink out of the ſame cup, and ſmoke out of the ſame calean, as readily as they would with their own children; at leaſt I have conſtantly experienced this myſelf, during my reſidence in Perſia, while living in a native family. The Perſians, in ſome parts of their devotions, differ from the Turks, as they always pray with open hands; whereas thoſe of the Turks are cloſed and placed before them. The Perſians alſo, in their ablutions before prayer, waſh their faces and beards with their right hand only, the other being reſerved for meaner occaſions, and they only ſlightly touch the fore and hind part of their feet; but the Turks waſh with both hands, and rub all over their feet. The jaiè numàz, or carpet, on which they pray, is always endeavoured to be placed with the upper part of it facing to the temple of Mecca, but this they only gueſs at.

In religious opinions they are far more tolerant than the Turks: they acknowledge the authority of the Old and New Teſtament, which they ſay were ſent from heaven, and delivered to Moſes and Chriſt, equally with their Koran; only they affirm that the laſt was given to purify and correct the errors of the two former, which they pretend have been much corrupted from their original ſtate, both by Jews and Chriſtians. They acknowledge Jeſus Chriſt to have been a great prophet, but deny him to have been the Son of God, and the Saviour of mankind; and pretend that their prophet Mahomed is the laſt or ſeal of the prophets, the number of which, they ſay, amounts to one hundred and twenty-five thouſand; from which circumſtance he is called Khatim al Ambeai, or as I have expl ined, the ſeal of the prophets. In their opinion, all nations are to be converted to Mahomedaniſm on the day of judgment; and on that day the people of each faith flying to their particular prophet for protection, ſhall by him be ſcreened and defended from God's wrath, through mediation, and finally become all of one faith, which is to be Mahomedaniſm. In like manner they apply many things to their own Impoſtor, which only belong to our Saviour.

*Their mode of living.*] The mode of living of the Perſians is in general as follows: they always riſe at day-break, in order to perform their devotions. Their firſt prayer is denominated numaz ſoobh, or the morning prayer; it is ſaid before ſun-riſe, after which they eat a ſlight meal, called nàſhta, or breakfaſt; this conſiſts of grapes or any other fruits of the ſeaſon, with a little bread, and cheeſe made of goat's milk; they afterwards drink a cup of very ſtrong coffee, without milk or ſugar; then the calean, or pipe, is introduced. The Perſians, from the higheſt to the loweſt ranks, all ſmoke tobacco.

Their ſecond hour of prayer is called numaz zòhur, or mid-day prayer, and is always repeated when the ſun declines from the meridian. Their dinner, or chàſht, which is ſoon after this prayer, conſiſts of curds, bread, and fruits of various kinds; animal food not being uſual at this meal.

The third hour of prayer is called numaz àſur, or the afternoon prayer, ſaid about four o'clock.

The

The fourth hour of prayer is numaz ſhàm, or evening prayer, which is ſaid after ſun-ſet; when this is finiſhed, the Perſians eat their principal meal, called ſhàmi, or ſupper. This generally conſiſts of a pilau, dreſſed with rich meat-ſauces, and highly ſeaſoned with various ſpices: ſometimes they eat kibaàb, or roaſt meat. When the meal is ready, a ſervant brings notice thereof, and at the ſame time preſents a ewer and water; they then waſh their hands, which is an invariable cuſtom with the Perſians both before and after eating. They eat very quick, conveying their food to their mouths with their fingers; the uſe of knives and forks being unknown in Perſia. Sherbets of different ſorts are introduced, and the meal concludes with a deſſert of delicious fruits. The ſupper being finiſhed, the family ſit in a circle, and entertain each other by relating pleaſant ſtories (of which they are exceſſively fond), and alſo by repeating paſſages from the works of their moſt favourite poets, and amuſing themſelves at various kinds of games. The fifth and laſt prayer is ſtyled numaz akhir, the laſt prayer; or ſometimes numaz ſhèb, or the night prayer, repeated about an hour after ſupper.

*The great reſpect of the Perſians for their Imaums.*] The city of Shiraüz is divided into twelve diſtricts, or neighbourhoods; over each of which one of their Imaums, or heads of faith, is believed to preſide, as a kind of guardian angel. Every Thurſday night, which the Perſians call the night of Friday, the criers and other domeſtics of the moſques make a zikir, that is, a recital of the life and good actions of the Imaum, or ſaint, who preſides over the diſtricts, by whoſe influence the inhabitants hope to obtain their wiſhes, and be abſolved from their ſins. Theſe Imaums are alluded to by the Perſians in their converſations; they ſwear by them, and invoke them on all occaſions of diſtreſs and adverſity, as well as return them thanks on any good fortune befalling them. The moſques of the Imaum Zadas, or deſcendants from the Imaums, ſerve as ſanctuaries for criminals; but the moſt ſanctified place in Shirauz, and which no one ever violates, is the Shah Cheraug, of which I have made mention already, where the greateſt criminal can be protected, if the inhabitants of the place ſhould receive him. However, perſons offenſive to government are generally delivered up when demanded. This laſt-mentioned cuſtom ſeems to bear a ſtrong analogy to the mode practiſed in Roman Catholic countries, of the ſanctuary of a church, or monaſtery, ſcreening a criminal from the puniſhment of the law.

*An audience of Jaafar Khan.*] On the 18th of July, 1787, I accompanied Mr. Jones, ſecond of the Engliſh factory at Buſſora, to the Perſian camp, where we were admitted to an audience of Jaafar Khan. On our arrival in camp, at a little after ten A. M. we were conducted to the tent of the miniſter, Meerza Mahomed Hoſſein, where we ſtaid a conſiderable time, and were entertained with a calean and coffee, the uſual mode of treatment in Perſia to viſitors. The tent of the Meerza was a very handſome one, of an oblong form, with an open front, the inſide lined with a fine chintz, and the walls of a curious open work; the floor was covered with a Perſian carpet, and with long felts, made at Yezd, but no cuſhions, as the Perſians never uſe any in public, and very ſeldom in private. At half an hour after twelve, an officer came to acquaint us, that the Khan was ready to receive us, and deſired us at the ſame time to follow him. We accordingly ſet out, and, although the Khan's tents were in a parallel line with that of the miniſter, yet, agreeably to the etiquette obſerved in Perſia, we were obliged to make a circuit of about thirty yards, in order to approach through a counaught, or ſcreen of canvas, painted red. On our paſſing this ſcreen, the firſt officer quitted us, and another immediately coming up, conducted us towards the tent, and at the ſame time called out to the attendants ſurrounding, to open to the

right and left, by which we had a full view of the Khan. Upon this the officer deſired us to ſalute, which we did by pulling off our caps after the Engliſh faſhion, bowing at the ſame time. The Khan made a ſlight inclination with his head, and we were then conducted round the outſide of the tent, and entered at the back door. On our entrance, the Khan made a ſecond inclination with his head, and deſired us to ſit down, which we did, at about four yards diſtance; though at a former interview Mr. Jones had, he was obliged to ſit much further off. The Khan ſeemed pleaſed: he aſked ſeveral queſtions concerning Europe, the Engliſh, and their manners and cuſtoms: expreſſed his wiſh that Mr. Jones had benefited by the air of Shirauz, and aſſured us both of his protection whilſt we ſtaid there, and ordered his ſecretary to make out a firmaân, or order, for that purpoſe. After ſtaying a conſiderable time, we took leave in the ſame manner as we entered. The tent of the Khan was a noble one, of an oblong form, and pitched with three poles, which were adorned at the top with gilt balls. The front is open in all weathers; the inſide was lined throughout with a beautiful clouded ſilk, and the open work much the ſame as that of the miniſter's: the floor was covered with a rich carpet, and long felts. At the upper end of the tent ſat Jaafar Khan, upon a large felt bent double under him: oppoſite to him ſtood Meerza Mahomed Hoſſein, without the tent, and ſeveral other officers of the army. The Khan's dreſs differed not from that of the other great men; he wore an orange-coloured cuba, or coat, and had his ſcimitar on. The calean which he ſmoked was of gold, beautifully filligreed, with a ruby in the ſer pooſh, or head.

In the rear of the Khan's tent, about the diſtance of forty yards, was the haram, or women's apartments: theſe were completely walled in by ſcreens of red painted canvas, about twelve feet in height. The Khan has always a certain number of women, whom he ſelects to accompany him when in camp; and they have the ſame number of attendants and accommodations as thoſe within the palace.

### *A ſhort Account of the Remains of the celebrated Palace of Perſepolis.*

On Thurſday evening, the 30th of Auguſt, I left Shirauz, in company with Mr. Jones, for the purpoſe of viſiting the ruins of the celebrated palace of Perſepolis. We ſlept that night at a garden without the city, and at three o'clock on Friday morning we ſet off: at nine A. M. arrived at the village of Zarkan, ſituated eight furſengs, or thirty-two Engliſh miles, from Shirauz. The road to this place is chiefly through a rocky, mountainous country; approaching, however, to Zarkan, you meet with ſome cultivated land. Zarkan is a large village under the government of Shirauz, and is ruled by a calentar, or chief magiſtrate. From its vicinity to the mountain, the view of this place is very pleaſing; the neighbourhood produces the large red grape. On the road we met with ſome hundreds of wandering Curds, and Turkomans: they ſaid the name of their tribe was Ort, and that they were going towards Gurmaſeer, a place to the ſouthward of Shirauz, in order to ſpend the approaching autumn and winter. Theſe people lead a wandering life, having no ſettled place of abode, but move about with their families, flocks and herds, in a manner ſimilar to the ancient Scythians: their complexions were the ſame as thoſe of the gypſies in Europe, ſun-burnt and tawny.

Saturday, September the 1ſt, moved at half paſt twelve A. M. At five we croſſed the Bund Ameer river, which Mr. Niebuhr has laid down as the ancient Araxes; over this river is a ſtone bridge, which the natives call Pool Khan. We proceeded on through the plain, and at half after ſix arrived at the ruins. This ſtage is five furſengs: the road

road lies entirely through the plain, which beginning about five miles to the ſouthward of Zarkan, is continued up to Perſepolis, which is ſituated cloſe under the mountains. Our cafila encamped in a garden a mile and a half to the northward of the ruins, near the village of Merdaſht, from whence the whole plain takes its name. This plain is exceedingly delightful; it abounds in game of ſeveral ſorts, amongſt which we diſcovered partridges, wild pigeons, quails, and hares.

At nine A. M. went to viſit the ruins. What remains of the celebrated palace of Perſepolis, is ſituated on a riſing ground, and commands a view of the extenſive plain of Merdaſht. The mountain Rehumut encircles the palace in the form of an amphitheatre: you aſcend to the columns by a grand ſtaircaſe of blue ſtone, containing one hundred and four ſteps. The firſt object that ſtrikes the beholder on his entrance, are two portals of ſtone; I judge them to be about fifty feet in height each; the ſides are embelliſhed with two ſphinxes of an immenſe ſize, dreſſed out with a profuſion of bead-work, and, contrary to the uſual method, they are repreſented ſtanding. On the ſides above are inſcriptions in an ancient character, the meaning of which no one hitherto has been able to decypher.

At a ſmall diſtance from theſe portals you aſcend another flight of ſteps, which lead to the grand hall of columns. The ſides of this ſtaircaſe are ornamented with a variety of figures in baſſo relievo; moſt of them have veſſels in their hands: here and there a camel appears, and at other times a kind of triumphal car, made after the Roman faſhion; beſides theſe, are ſeveral led horſes, oxen and rams, that at times intervene and diverſify the proceſſion. At the head of the ſtair-caſe is another baſſo relievo, repreſenting a lion ſeizing a bull; and, cloſe to this, are other inſcriptions in ancient characters. On getting to the top of this ſtaircaſe, you enter what was formerly a moſt magnificent hall; the natives have given this the name of Chehul Minàr, or forty pillars; and though this name is often uſed to expreſs the whole of the building, it is more particularly appropriated to this part of it. Although a vaſt number of ages have elapſed ſince the foundation, fifteen of the columns yet remain entire; they are from ſeventy to eighty feet in height, and are maſterly pieces of maſonry: their pedeſtals are curiouſly worked, and appear little injured by the hand of time. The ſhafts are influted up to the top, and the capitals are adorned with a profuſion of fretwork.

From this hall you proceed along, eaſtward, until you arrive at the remains of a large ſquare building, to which you enter through a door of granite. Moſt of the doors and windows of this apartment are ſtill ſtanding; they are of black marble, and poliſhed like a mirror: on the ſides of the doors, at the entrance, are bas-reliefs of two figures at full length; they repreſent a man in the attitude of ſtabbing a goat: with one hand he ſeizes hold of the animal by the horn, and thruſts a dagger into his belly with the other; one of the goat's feet reſts upon the breaſt of the man, and the other upon his right arm. This device is common throughout the palace. Over another door of the ſame apartment is a repreſentation of two men at full length; behind them ſtands a domeſtic, holding a ſpread umbrella: they are ſupported by large round ſtaffs, appear to be in years, have long beards, and a profuſion of hair upon their heads.

At the ſouth-weſt entrance of this apartment are two large pillars of ſtone, upon which are carved four figures; they are dreſſed in long garments, and hold in their hands ſpears ten feet in length. At this entrance, alſo, the remains of a ſtair-caſe of blue ſtone are ſtill viſible. Vaſt numbers of broken pieces of pillars, ſhafts, and capitals, are ſcattered over a conſiderable extent of ground, ſome of them of ſuch enormous

ſize,

ſize, that it is wonderful to think how they could have been brought whole, and ſet up together. Indeed, every remains of theſe noble ruins indicate their former grandeur and magnificence, truly worthy of being the reſidence of a great and powerful monarch; and whilſt viewing them, the mind becomes impreſſed with an awful ſolemnity! — When we conſider the celebrity of this vaſt empire, once the patron of the arts and ſciences, and the ſeat of a wiſe and flouriſhing government; — when we reflect on the various changes and revolutions it has undergone, at one period a field for the daring ambition of an Alexander, — at another for the enthuſiaſtic valour of an Omar, we muſt conſequently feel the ſtrongeſt conviction of the mutability of all human events! — Excluſive of the ancient antique inſcriptions already mentioned, are others of a modern date, able to be read, as well as ſome in the Syriac character; the whole of which the celebrated Mr. Niebuhr has accurately copied and publiſhed. Being deſtitute myſelf of all materials neceſſary for copying inſcriptions, and at the ſame time ignorant of the rules of architecture, I have refrained from entering into a diffuſive account of this celebrated palace. What I thought moſt worthy of notice, I have endeavoured to deſcribe to the beſt of my abilities.

Behind the hall of pillars, and cloſe under the mountain, is the remains of a very large building of a quadrangular form; this may either have made part of the palace, or, not unlikely, a detached temple, as there is a conſiderable ſpace of ground filled up with earth and mounds of ſand, betwixt the two; and as it has within-ſide ſymbols emblematical of a religious meaning. This building has four principal entrances to it, two from the north-eaſt, and two from the ſouth-weſt. The walls are divided into ſeveral partitions, which are ornamented with various pieces of ſculpture, the moſt common of which have the figure of a man at full length; he is ſitting in a chair, with his feet ſupported by a ſtool; behind the chair ſtands a domeſtic holding an umbrella; the man has in his hand a round ſtaff; before him are two branched candleſticks, with candles in them; beyond theſe is a little boy, and behind him is a woman with a goblet in her hand. Underneath this figure are ſeveral others in long garments; ſome of theſe are armed with bows and arrows, others with ſpears, and all of them have caps in the form of turrets, which we learn from ancient hiſtorians was the mode of dreſs obſerved by the Medes. Over the doors of this building, which are twelve in number, are bas-reliefs of a lion ſeizing hold of a bull, ſimilar to that obſervable on the grand ſtaircaſe: the receſſes in the walls are all lined with fine granite, and their fronts have handſome cornices of ſtone. Beſides the uſual figures, is a very extraordinary one, and is, I ſuppoſe, emblematical of the ancient religion of the Perſians: it repreſents a man ſeated on a pillar, who holds in his hand a ſmall veſſel; he has a girdle twiſted round the centre of his body, the two ends of which project a conſiderable diſtance beyond his cloaths, and have much the appearance of wings; he is dreſſed in long garments, with a cap, turret-form. Underneath the figure are ſeveral lions (a ſymbol of empire among the ancient Perſians) very well executed.

Behind this ruin, a conſiderable way up the mountain Rehumut, to the north, is the remains of a curious place cut out of the rock, which had formerly an aſcent to it by ſteps, but theſe being deſtroyed by time, you are obliged to clamber up by the rock. As there is another building parallel to this, about the diſtance of eight hundred yards to the ſouth, I ſhall deſcribe them both together, and add a few obſervations of what I conceive to have been their original deſign. — They are lofty buildings of three ſides, two of which are plain, and forty feet in height; the third has ſeveral fine ſculptures boldly executed; in the centre is a pillar with the myſtic figure already deſcribed ſitting at the top: oppoſite to this ſtands a man upon a pedeſtal of three ſteps; in his

left hand he holds a bow, his right is held up, pointing to the figure on the pillar. To the left is an altar of ſtone two feet high, upon which fire is burning, and, a little on one ſide, is a large globe ſuſpended in the air, which has much the appearance of being intended for the ſun. Theſe two laſt-mentioned ſymbols, we are informed, were conſidered by the Perſian Magi as the two grand principles of their religion, as they adored the Omnipotent Creator of the univerſe under theſe types, being each in their nature the pureſt and freeſt of corruption of all created things: it may, therefore, be preſumed they were intended to repreſent certain myſteries in the Magian faith. The man with the bow may poſſibly be deſigned for a chief of the Magi; or, to hazard a further ſuppoſition, the celebrated lawgiver and prophet, Zoroaſter himſelf. However, this is only a ſuggeſtion, and I would not be thought to lay it down for a certainty. Every perſon, on viewing thoſe noble ruins, muſt have different ideas ariſe to him concerning them; but as all traces of the original religion have long ſince periſhed, together with their learning and language, the world muſt remain in ignorance until the characters on the walls can be decyphered, which, alone, can clear up the much wiſhed-for aſcertainment of the real date of the palace, its devices, emblems, and its real founder. Some have given it as their opinion, that theſe are tombs of the ancient Kings of Perſia, and of this opinion are Mr. Le Bruyn, and Sir John Chardin.

The modern natives call this place Mujilis Gemſheed, or the aſſembly of King Gemſheed, as they ſay that Prince uſed to viſit the place, with the nobles and great men of his court, in order to enjoy a delightful view of the adjacent country, of which, indeed, there cannot be a finer proſpect than from thence.

Underneath the above-mentioned devices are ſmall openings, which lead to a ſubterraneous paſſage, cut out of the mountain; it is ſix feet in height, and four in breadth: the paſſage leads a conſiderable way into the rock, but is quite dark after advancing about thirty yards, and emits a moſt noiſome damp ſmell. The natives call this place the Cherk Almàs; that is, the taliſman, or diamond of fate: they affirm that at the end of the paſſage is the taliſman, and that whoever arrives thither, and aſks queſtions of future events, will be anſwered from within; but they ſay that no one has ever yet been able to penetrate to the extremity of the paſſage, being oppoſed by the Demons and Gehii, whom they believe to dwell there; and ſuperſtitiouſly imagine, that all lights taken in there will go out of themſelves. Sir John Chardin, and Mr. Le Brun, however, penetrated a conſiderable way into this paſſage, till, they relate, it ended in a path too narrow to admit further progreſs. As no account has hitherto appeared of theſe ſubterraneous paſſages, but what the ſuperſtition of the natives has choſen to invent, it may not deemed preſumptuous in giving a conjecture, that they were originally intended as places for concealed treaſure, a cuſtom time immemorially obſerved, and to this day ſubſiſting among Eaſtern Princes. Not having lights with us, neither Mr. Jones nor myſelf thought proper to explore the paſſage.

Deſcending to the foot of the mountain, to the ſouth, you meet with the remains of a ſmall ſquare building, which has ſeveral doors and windows ſtill ſtanding, having carved figures on them; but as theſe are only viſible to the waiſt downwards, it is moſt likely the ſand from the mountains has choked up the remainder: the figures are the ſame with thoſe in other parts of the palace. A little to the weſtward of this building, you aſcend by a ſtone ſtaircaſe into a magnificent court, of a quadrangular form. Several pedeſtals of pillars, and the remains of two grand portals to the eaſt, are ſtill viſible: they are all of granite, and the cornices of the portals appear to have been very ſuperb; they are of an oblong ſhape. On many of the broken pieces of the pillars are ancient inſcriptions.

In

In ſeveral parts of the palace are ſtone aqueducts, made for the purpoſe of draining off the water that comes from the mountains: they are of blue ſtone, cut under ground eight feet deep, and two and a half in breadth.

Theſe venerable ruins have ſuffered much by the ravages of time and weather; but what ſtill remains of them is as hard and durable as the rock itſelf. Earthquakes, which are frequent in Perſia, have alſo proved the means of throwing down many of the columns, and otherwiſe injuring the apartments; and ſeveral of thoſe which have not been overturned by the violence of the ſhocks, have had their tops nearly removed off, and in this ſituation remain. The ſand which is conſtantly waſhed down from the mountains by the rain, in the winter ſeaſon, has choked up numbers of places, and even covered the pedeſtals of ſeveral pillars.

The old inſcriptions diſcernible on the walls, and other parts of the palace, may be reckoned among the greateſt curioſities, as they have never yet been decyphered, either in the Eaſt or in Europe; and what is very extraordinary, the moſt learned and curious in the Oriental languages have been baffled in every attempt made to learn their meaning: — like the hieroglyphics of Egypt, they remain buried in an impenetrable myſtery. Mr. Niebuhr has given all theſe inſcriptions in his ſecond volume, moſt elegantly and accurately copied, which may poſſibly aſſiſt the curious in their attempts to elucidate them. It is one of the moſt conſiderable difficulties to ſolve when and by whom this palace was originally built. The Grecian hiſtorians have given very imperfect and dubious accounts of it, and the Perſians no leſs ſo. By the preſent natives, the place is called Tukht Gemſheed, or the throne of King Gemſheed; who they affirm built it between three and four thouſand years ago: he is alſo expreſsly mentioned as having erected the Chehul Minár, or hall of forty pillars. It is related, in Grecian hiſtory, that Alexander the Great ſet fire to and deſtroyed this rich and ſplendid palace, inſtigated to it in a fit of debauchery by the celebrated courteſan Thais. This circumſtance, although it has the ſanction of hiſtory, if one reflects upon the appearance of what ſtill remains of theſe ruins, any perſon on viewing them would ſuppoſe ſuch an event impoſſible to have taken place; as, in their preſent ſtate, all the fire that could be applied would not make the ſmalleſt impreſſion on thoſe huge maſſes of ſtone, equal in point of durability and hardneſs to the ſolid rock; and of ſuch are the materials of the whole building. Theſe ſentiments aroſe to me whilſt on the ſpot, and my opinion was ſtrengthened by the fulleſt acquieſcence of Mr. Jones, who thought, like myſelf, it was abſurd to give credit to the idea of its having been burnt by Alexander.

Having met with a ſhort account of the building of this palace, in a Perſian manuſcript, being part of a work called Rouſut al Sefa, or the Garden of Purity, I ſhall here take the liberty of inſerting a tranſlation.

"It is related by hiſtorians, that King Gemſheed removed the ſeat of government, which was formerly in the province of Sejeſtaun, to Fars; and that in the neighbourhood of Shirauz, having taken in a ſpot of ground, of twelve furſengs in length (48 Engliſh miles), he there erected ſuch a palace, that in the ſeven kingdoms of the world there was nothing could equal it. The remains of that palace, and many of the pillars on it, are viſible to this day; and he cauſed the palace to be called Chehul Minar, or Forty Pillars. Moreover, when the ſun, quitting the ſign Piſces, in the heavens, had entered Aries, Gemſheed having aſſembled all the princes, nobles, and great men of his empire, at the foot of his imperial throne, did on that day inſtitute a grand and ſolemn feſtival; and this day from henceforth was called the Noo Roze, or firſt day of the new year (when the foundation of Perſepolis was laid), at which period he commanded, from all parts of the empire, the attendance of the peaſants, huſbandmen,

ſoldiery, and others, in order to proſecute the deſign; requeſting that all, with joyful hearts and willing hands, ſhould lend their aſſiſtance in completing this work. This numerous aſſembly obeyed the command of their monarch, and the building was finiſhed with all ſigns of mirth and feſtivity."

It is further obſerved, in the Jehan Arà, a book of Perſian chronology, that Queen Homaie, who flouriſhed about 800 years after Gemſheed, added a thouſand columns more to this palace. — Such are the Perſian accounts, which are believed by the preſent natives to be true ones; but I ſhould preſume, that until the ancient characters on the walls can be decyphered, no account of this place, either Grecian, or Perſian, or any other, can be depended upon as genuine or authentic, as they are unqueſtionably of an antiquity far beyond the records of any language now known in the world.

It is to be remarked, that in the figures throughout the whole of the palace, the rules of art are not attended to; the muſcles of the figures are wanting, yet the drapery is finely done, and the proportions in general are well kept up, though the contour is only obſerved, which gives a fameneſs to the whole. Sir John Chardin obſerves, that he thinks it is evident, whoever was the architect of this celebrated palace, was ignorant of Grecian and Roman architecture; and ſuppoſes that the defects already mentioned were occaſioned by his being obliged to finiſh the work in a hurry, and by that means the figures were left in the imperfect ſtate we find them at preſent. But Mr. Jones obſerved to me that he rather ſuppoſed it to have been the *ne plus ultra* of thoſe days; and remarked alſo, that the ornaments he had obſerved in Sadick Khan's palace at Shirauz, were in the ſame ſtyle as thoſe of Perſepolis, and that the architecture of the preſent Perſians was ſimilar to that of ancient times; an obſervation by no means unworthy of attention. With reſpect to the figures on the ſtair-caſe, I have before obſerved, that the variety of animals which appear, the camels, led horſes, the rams, the triumphal car, and the men with veſſels in their hands, all give room to ſuppoſe the pomp of a proceſſion is meant to be repreſented; and I think the poſition may be corroborated by ſome part of the tranſlation before inſerted.

The materials of which the palace is compoſed, are chiefly hard blue ſtone; but the doors and windows of the apartments are all of black marble, and ſo beautifully poliſhed as to reflect an object like a mirror. One of the principal things worthy of admiration, is the immenſe ſtrength of the foundation. The whole of the palace takes in a circumference of 1400 ſquare yards: — its front is 600 paces from north to ſouth, and 390 from eaſt to weſt. Being built at the foot of a mountain, a great deal of it has been ſmoothed with infinite labour, to make the ſtones lie even. The height of the foundation, in front, is in ſeveral parts from forty to fifty feet, and conſiſts of two immenſe ſtones laid together: the ſides are not ſo high, and more unequal, owing to the vaſt quantity of ſand which has fallen from the mountain. It is much to be feared, that in the courſe of a few centuries, the earthquakes may totally deſtroy the columns and remaining apartments; but whatever may be their fate, the foundation muſt endure until the rock itſelf, on which it is built, ſhall ceaſe to exiſt.

I ſhall conclude with a few obſervations on the Hall of Pillars.

This hall appears to have been detached from the reſt of the palace, and to have had a communication with the other parts by hollow galleries of ſtone. By the pedeſtals of the pillars, which I counted very exactly, the hall ſeems originally to have conſiſted of nine diſtinct rows of columns, each containing ſix; making conſequently, in all, fifty-four. The fifteen that remain, are from ſeventy to eighty feet in height; the diameter at the baſe is twelve feet, and the diſtance between each column twenty-two. By the poſition of the front pillars, the hall appears to have been open towards the plain;

 but

but four of the pillars, facing the mountain, and which are at ſome diſtance from the reſt, ſeem to have been intended for a portico, or entrance from the eaſt; they are alſo of a different ſtyle of architecture. The materials of the columns are a mixed ſort of red ſtone, granular.

The hall, ſituated on an eminence, and commanding an extenſive view of the plain of Merdàſht, is ſtrikingly grand, and conveys to the beholder the idea of an hall of audience of a powerful and warlike monarch.

On Monday afternoon, the ſecond of September, Mr. Jones and myſelf ſet off to viſit the tomb of the celebrated Perſian hero, Roſtum (called by the natives Nukſhee Roſtum). It is ſituated three miles and a half to the north-eaſt of Perſepolis: the place conſiſts of four diſtinct chambers, excavated high in the rock. The devices, in the upper parts, are exactly the ſame as thoſe of Perſepolis, repreſenting the myſtic figure, with the altar of fire and the ſun. Underneath the ſculpture of the ſecond chamber, is a gigantic figure on horſeback, cut in ſtone, and very perfect; he is completely armed and accoutred, and dreſſed ſomething after the Roman faſhion. On his helmet is a globe; two figures are before him, the one kneeling down in a ſupplicating poſture, and the other is in the act of taking hold of the horſeman's hand, as if to mitigate his wrath; the horſeman is looking ſternly upon the figures, and the hand at liberty is applied to the hilt of his ſword. On one ſide of the figure is an inſcription in ancient characters but different from thoſe on the walls of Perſepolis. Several attendants are in waiting behind the equeſtrian figure, all of them as large as life; but the proportions are not at all adhered to in the firſt ſculpture, the man being twice the ſize of the horſe on which he rides.

A little to the northward is another repreſentation. At the foot of the rock there are two figures completely armed; one of them is in the action of letting go a ring, which the other graſps. The figure to the right has a globe on his helmet, and a large battle-axe in his hand: that to the left has a domeſtic behind him, holding an umbrella. Under their horſes feet are two human heads; and a little on one ſide appear the heads of ſeveral figures, attendants; moſt of them have a broad fillet encircling their temples, and a profuſion of hair flowing looſe. Sir John Chardin ſuppoſes, that this may be intended to repreſent the action of Alexander the Great, receiving the ſubmiſſion of the Perſian monarch Darius; but as we are informed by Grecian hiſtory, that Darius never ſaw Alexander, being murdered in his flight ſhortly after the loſs of the battle of Arbela, by his ſervant Beſſus, ſo I ſhould imagine the Perſians themſelves would hardly have taken ſuch pains to render the diſhonour and ruin of their lawful king ſo permanent and known to the lateſt poſterity, in order to praiſe one who had utterly overturned their religion and their laws. Moreover, the work itſelf bears not the leaſt trace of having been the production of any Grecian artiſts, as the Greeks at that period were arrived at the higheſt perfection in the arts and ſciences; and had ſuch a thing been done during the time of Alexander, he would moſt certainly have made uſe of one of the many celebrated artiſts who followed him into Aſia; but theſe figures are diſproportionate, and executed in a rude manner. To hazard a ſuppoſition of my own, I ſhould rather conceive the above device was of a date prior to the Grecian conqueſts of Perſia, and that it was intended to repreſent ſome remarkable action in the life of the hero Roſtum (from whom the whole of the place takes its name), and that it was cut to perpetuate the memory of it.

Near the foot of the rock is a ſquare building of blue ſtone, twenty feet in height, by eight in breadth. This place has ſeveral windows; the inſide is empty, and there are ſmall niches in different parts of the wall. The natives affirm that the celebrated

Roſtum

Roſtum was interred in this ſpot; but many travellers have ſuppoſed it to have been the tomb of Darius Hyſtaſpes, from a paſſage of Herodotus, the Grecian hiſtorian, amongſt whom Sir John Chardin and Mr. Le Brune are both of the latter opinion.

In a part of the rock, to the eaſtward, is a ſculpture of a figure on horſeback, the face of which has been much mutilated, and is ſcarcely viſible; enough, however, remains to perceive that the figure is that of a man — he has long flowing hair, and has a projection, reſembling a horn, on the left ſide of his forehead. The natives call this figure Iſkunder Zu Al Kerneen, or Alexander Lord of the Horns, that is, of an empire extending from eaſt to weſt; and they affirm, that it is poſitively intended for Alexander the Great. Horns, we know, were conſidered by the ancients as emblems and ſymbols of power and majeſty, and from this we may conclude, without a contrariety to reaſon, that the Perſian idea of this figure is a juſt one; as Alexander is always deſcribed by the Grecian hiſtorians, having a horn on his forehead, or rather a particular lock of hair, reſembling one; and it is alſo obſerved on the coins and medals of that prince, which are ſtill to be ſeen in the cabinets of the curious. Behind the figure on horſeback are ſeveral others; they are in armour, on foot, and ſeemingly attendants on him.

Having ſtaid a ſhort time at Nukſhee Roſtum, we returned to Shirauz, September 4th.

*Original cauſe of the Mohurrum.*] The firſt ten days of the month Mohurrum (being the firſt of the Mahomedan year) are obſerved throughout Perſia as a ſolemn mourning; it is called by the natives Dèha, or a ſpace of ten days. During this period the Perſians, and all the followers of Ali, lament the death of Imaum Hoſſein, the ſecond ſon of that prophet, who was ſlain in the war againſt Yezzeed, the ſon of Moaweia, Caliph of the Muſſulmans. This event happened at a place called Kerbelaiè, which in Perſian implies grief and misfortune. It is ſituated in Eerack Arabi, the ancient Meſopotamia, between the cities of Cuffa and Medeena. The particulars of the ſtory are as follow:

On the death of Caliph Ali, who was aſſaſſinated at Cuffa, Moaweia, of the houſe of Ommia, ſucceeded to the caliphat, which he had diſputed with Ali during his lifetime. Moaweia, dying ſhortly after, was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Yezzeed. In the interval, the inhabitants of Cufa [anno Hijera 60.] had ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to Hoſſein at Medeena, requeſting him to come and take poſſeſſion of the government, giving aſſurance of their faithful ſupport. Upon this aſſurance, Hoſſein determined to ſet forwards, at the ſame time taking with him the whole of his family (excepting his youngeſt daughter, who was at that time ſick). He began his march to Cufa on the 8th of Zùlhuj, accompanied by a conſiderable body of troops: intelligence of this being carried to the Caliph Yezzeed, who was then at Damaſcus, he ſent orders to Obeidollah, the governor of Cufa, to aſſemble an army and to cruſh the riſing rebellion, by cutting off Hoſſein and his followers. Obeidollah, in obedience to the command of his maſter, ſent his deputy Ibn Saàd, with ten thouſand men, giving him expreſs orders to intercept Hoſſein in his route. The army in conſequence began their march; and Obeidollah, remaining in the city, took care, by ſeizing the heads of the faction, entirely to quell the inſurrection; by which means, the Cufians perceiving the ſituation of affairs, regardleſs of the oaths and promiſes they had made, treacherouſly left the unhappy and deluded Prince to his fate; for which behaviour they are curſed by the Perſians and all the followers of Ali to this day. Hoſſein with his army had not advanced far, before intelligence was brought him that the enemy had taken their ſtation between him and

the river Euphrates, which lay in his intended route, by means of which he was entirely cut off from the water; an event of the moſt diſtreſſing nature, in the ſultry climate of Meſopotamia, where, from the violence of the heat, the weary traveller, even when ſupplied with water, can ſcarcely exiſt. Deprived of that neceſſary article, how trying muſt the ſituation be! Indeed this circumſtance was the primary cauſe of all the misfortunes which befel him: — his men, diſheartened at the idea of periſhing with thirſt, forſook him in great numbers, deſerting ſo very faſt that in a few days his whole force was reduced to the inconſiderable number of ſeventy-two perſons, among whom were ſeveral of his own kindred, particularly his brother Abbàs Ali, his nephew Càſim, the ſon of his brother Haſſan, his own ſon Zein al Abudeèn, a youth of twelve years of age, and his two infant children, Akbar and Aſkur; of the females, were his daughter Sekeena, his ſiſter Zeineb, and his aunt Koolſom. In this ſituation continual ſkirmiſhes and diſtreſſes thickening upon him were finally terminated on the 10th of Mohurrum, when Ibn Saàd advancing with his whole force, ſurrounded his little troop, and they were cut to pieces, after fighting moſt deſperately. Aſker, Hoſſein's infant ſon, was killed by arrows in his father's lap; and Hoſſein himſelf, at length exhauſted with fatigue, and fainting under a multitude of wounds, fell. His head was immediately cut off, and the enemy's troops then ruſhing into the tent, began a general plunder, and took priſoners the remaining ſon of Hoſſein, who was ſick in bed, together with the females of the family already mentioned; bereaving them at the ſame time of their ornaments and jewels, and treating them in a moſt inſulting manner. A few days after, they were all conveyed to Damaſcus, with the head of Hoſſein, to be preſented to the Caliph Yezzeed.

The tradition goes, that at this period an ambaſſador from one of the European ſtates happened to reſide at the Caliph's court, who, on the arrival of the priſoners, was ſtruck with compaſſion at the miſerable appearance they made, and aſked Yezzeed who they were; the Caliph replied, that they were of the family of the prophet Mahomed, and that the head was the head of Hoſſein the ſon of Ali, whom he had cauſed to be put to death for his rebellion; whereupon the ambaſſador roſe up and reviled the Caliph very bitterly for thus treating the family of his own prophet. The haughty Yezzeed, enraged at the affront, ordered the ambaſſador to go himſelf and bring him the head of Zein al Abudeen, on pain of immediate death; this, however, the ambaſſador flatly refuſed; and, as the Perſians believe, embracing the head of Hoſſein, turned Muſſulman; on which he was immediately put to death by the command of Yezzeed.

All theſe various events are repreſented by the Perſians during the firſt ten years of Mohurrum. On the 27th of the preceding month of Zùlhuj, they erect the mumbirs on the pulpits in the moſques, the inſides of which are on this occaſion lined with black cloth. On the 1ſt of Mohurrum, the Akhunds, and Peiſh Numazzs (or Mahomedan prieſts) mount the pulpits, and begin what is denominated by the Perſians, al wakàa, or a recital of the life and actions of Ali, and his ſons Huſſun and Hoſſein; deſcribing at the ſame time the circumſtances attending the melancholy fate of the Imaum Hoſſein: the recital is made in a ſlow ſolemn tone of voice, and is really affecting to hear, being written with all the pathetic elegance the Perſian language is capable of expreſſing. At intervals the people ſtrike their breaſts with violence, weeping bitterly at the ſame time, and exclaiming, ah Hoſſein! ah Hoſſein! Heif az Hoſſein! Alas for Hoſſein! — Other parts of the wakàa are in verſe, which are ſung in cadence to a doleful tune. Each day ſome particular action of the ſtory is repreſented by people ſelected for the purpoſe of perſonating thoſe concerned in it; effigies alſo are brought out and carried in proceſſion through the different neighbourhoods: among theſe they have

one repreſenting the river Euphrates, which they call Abi Ferat. Troops of boys and young men, ſome perſonating the ſoldiers of Ibn Saàd, others thoſe of Hoſſein and his company, run about the ſtreets, beating and ſkirmiſhing with each other, and each have their reſpective banners and enſigns of diſtinction. Another pageant repreſents the Caliph Yezzeed ſeated on a magnificent throne, ſurrounded by guards; and by his ſide is placed the European ambaſſador before mentioned.

Among the moſt affecting repreſentations is the marriage of young Càſim, the ſon of Huſſun, and nephew of Hoſſein, with his daughter; but this was never conſummated, as Càſim was killed in a ſkirmiſh on the banks of the Euphrates, on the 7th of Mohurrum. On this occaſion, a boy repreſents the bride, decorated in her wedding garments, and attended by the females of the family chanting a mournful elegy, in which is related the circumſtances of her betrothed huſband being cut off by infidels—(for ſuch is the term by which the Sheias ſpeak of the Sunnies). The parting between her and her huſband is alſo repreſented, when on his going to the field ſhe takes an affectionate leave of him; and, on his quitting her, preſents him with a burial veſt, which ſhe puts round his neck: at this ſight the people break out into the moſt paſſionate exclamations of grief and diſtreſs, and execrate the moſt bitter curſes upon Yezzeed, and all thoſe who had any concern in deſtroying the family of their Imaum.

The ſacred pigeons, which are affirmed by the Perſians to have carried the news of Hoſſein's death from Kerbelài to Medeena (having firſt dipped their beaks in his blood as a confirmation) are alſo brought forth on this occaſion. The horſes on which Hoſſein and his brother Abbàs are ſuppoſed to have rode, are ſhewn to the people, painted as covered with wounds, and ſtuck full of arrows.

During theſe various proceſſions much injury is often ſuſtained, as the Perſians are all frantic even to enthuſiaſm, and they believe uniformly that the ſouls of thoſe ſlain during the Mohurrum will infallibly go that inſtant into Paradiſe; this, added to their frenzy, which for the time it laſts is ſuch as I never ſaw exceeded by any people, makes them deſpiſe and even court death. Many there are who inflict voluntary wounds on themſelves, and ſome who almoſt entirely abſtain from water during theſe ten days, in memory of, and as a ſufferance for, what their Imaum ſuffered from the want of that article; and all people abſtain from the bath, and even from changing their cloaths during the continuance of the Mohurrum. On the 10th day, the coffins of thoſe ſlain in the battle are brought forth, ſtained with blood, on which ſcimitars and turbans, adorned with herons' feathers, are laid: — theſe are ſolemnly interred, after which the prieſts again mount the pulpits and read the wakàa. The whole is concluded with curſes and imprecations on the Caliph Yezzeed.

The Perſians affirm this to be a martyrdom, and throughout the whole of the recital Hoſſein is diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Sheheed, or the martyr. They add, that he alſo knew of, and voluntarily ſuffered it as an expiation for the ſins of all who believe in Ali, and conſequently that all who lament the death of their Imaum, ſhall find favour at the day of judgment: they further aſſert, that if Hoſſein had thought proper to make uſe of the powers of his Imaumſhip, the whole world could not have hurt him, but that he choſe to ſuffer a voluntary death, that his followers might reap the benefit of it in a future ſtate: whence ariſes the belief among the Perſians, that at the day of judgment Fatima, the wife of Ali, and mother of the two Imaums Huſſun and Hoſſein, will preſent herſelf before the throne of God, with the ſevered head of Hoſſein in one hand, and the heart of Huſſun (who was poiſoned) in the other, demanding abſolution in their name for the ſins of the followers of Ali; and they doubt not but God will grant their requeſt. — I had theſe particulars from a religious

Perſian, and as they are not generally known to Europeans, I have taken the liberty of inſerting them.

The death of the Imaum Huſſun (who was poiſoned by Ayèſha the widow of Mahomed at Madeena) is lamented by the followers of Ali on the 28th of the month Sefr, being the day which he died, but it is not kept with ſo great ſolemnity as thoſe of Mohurrum; although Huſſun is mentioned during that period. Many perſons have confounded theſe together, and erroneouſly ſuppoſe the Deba of Mohurrum to be equally for both; but I was particularly inquiſitive on this head, and was aſſured by ſeveral perſons that the diſtinction between the two was very conſiderable.

*Return from Shirauz.*] On the 11th of October 1787, I ſet off from Shirauz on my return to India: as I came down by the ſame route as I went, I ſhall only mention the different ſtages, with a few ſlight obſevations, which by reaſon of my illneſs, I was before unable to attend to.—12th and 13th, paſſed the villages of Khoon Zineoon, and Deſterjun. 14th, We arrived at Kazeroon.

*Kazeroon.*] Kazeroon, by its remains, appears formerly to have been a city of conſiderable note, and in ſize little inferior to Shirauz; it is ſituated in the centre of an extenſive plain, ſurrounded by high mountains; there is a fine lake, about four miles eaſt of the city. In the vicinity of Kazeroon, great quantities of opium are produced, but the Perſians do not make this very valuable commodity an article of trade; I ſhould imagine they did in former times, as the opium of Kazeroon is much ſpoken of in the Eaſt. The city, excepting a moſque, and the governor's palace and gardens, has nothing remarkable in it.

15th, 16, and 17th, We remained at Kazeroon.—18th, We arrived at Comarige.—As I have not before particularly deſcribed the mode of travelling in Perſia, it may, perhaps be acceptable in this place.

*Mode of travelling in Perſia.*] A cafila is compoſed of camels, horſes, and mules, the whole of which are under the direction of a cheharwa dàr or maſter. It is to him the price of a mule or camel is paid, and he ſtipulates with the traveller to feed and take care of the beaſt during the journey; he has under him ſeveral inferior ſervants, who help to unload the beaſts of burden, take them to water, and attend them during forage. The cafila, whilſt on the journey, keeps as cloſe as poſſible, and on its arrival at the Munzil Gah, or place of encampment for the day, each load is depoſited on a particular ſpot, marked out by the maſter, to which the merchant who owns the goods repairs; his baggage forms a creſcent; in the centre are placed the bedding and proviſions; a rope or line made of hair is then drawn round the whole, at the diſtance of about three yards each way, which ſerves to diſtinguiſh the ſeparate encampments. During the night, the beaſts are all brought to their ſtations, oppoſite to the goods they are to carry in the morning, and are made faſt to the hair rope aforementioned. At the hour of moving, which is generally between three and four in the morning, they load the mules and camels. In doing this, the paſſengers are awakened by the jingling of the bells tied round the necks of the beaſts, in order to prevent their ſtraggling during the march. A paſſage from Hafiz may probably be not unacceptable to the reader, in this place, as it ſerves to illuſtrate the cuſtom above deſcribed.

جرس فریاد میدارد کہ بربندید محملہا

"The bell proclaims aloud, bind *on your burdens!*" ODES OF HAFIZ.

When every thing is ready, the cheharwa dàr orders thoſe neareſt the road to advance,

advance, and the whole moves off in regular ſucceſſion, in the ſame order as the preceding day.

19th, 20th, 21ſt, and 22d, we paſſed the villages of Khiſht, Dowlakie, Berazgoon, and Chekàduk. — On the 23d, we arrived at Abu Shehr, where I met with a moſt polite and hoſpitable reception from Mr. Charles Watkins, the Company's Reſident at that place.

On the 22d of December I embarked on board the Scorpion cruizer, Captain Jervis, for Buſſora, who very politely made me the offer of a paſſage.—24th, in the evening, paſſed the Buſſora Bar, and on the 28th came to anchor oppoſite the town.

*Buſſora.*] The city of Buſſora is ſituated at the extremity of the Perſian Gulph, in latitude 31° 30′ north, on the banks of a freſh water river, called the Shat al Arab, which is a branch of the Euphrates; that river uniting with it about fifty miles to the north-weſt of Buſſora. The city is a very large one, but indifferently fortified: a mud wall encircles the town, having baſtions and turrets alſo of mud; it had formerly a wet foſſe, this is now dried up in many parts. Buſſora, notwithſtanding theſe diſadvantages, held out upwards of eight months when beſieged by the Perſians in 1777; it was evacuated at the end of the enſuing year, occaſioned by the death of Kerim Khan, Vakeel of Perſia. Although the great deſart extends to the very walls of the city, the banks of the river on each ſide are exceedingly fertile and pleaſant; they produce corn, pulſe, rice, and ſeveral European fruits: but that which moſt adds both to the pleaſant ſituation and profit of the place, is the date tree; by the cultivation and produce of this tree, a conſiderable revenue ariſes to the Turkiſh government. The vicinity of Buſſora abounds in game, particularly hares, partridges, and the wild hog, whoſe fleſh is of a delicious flavour. The modern Buſſora is fourteen days journey (by couriers) from Aleppo. There is a very grand moſque in Buſſora, and alſo a convent of Italian miſſionaries. The city is at preſent under the government of the Turks, and the reſidence of a Muſſullem, appointed by the Baſhà of Bagdad, under whom he acts.

The following are the particulars of a revolution that took place about eight months ago.

*Revolution at Buſſora.*] In the middle of April 1787, Sheick Twiny, an independent Arabian chief of the tribe of Montifeeks (whoſe country is ſituated to the eaſtward of Buſſora on the Grand Deſert), arrived at the village of Zubeer, on his return from an expedition he had undertaken againſt his enemies; in which he was ſucceſsful; the Muſſellem, or Turkiſh governor, came out from the city to meet and congratulate him on the occaſion.

The Sheick of the Montifeeks had long had it in his mind to obtain poſſeſſion of Buſſora, which he laid claim to, and conſidered as the right of his family; deeming the preſent, therefore, a more favourable opportunity, he, without further ceremony, made the Turkiſh governor, and thoſe who accompanied him, priſoners, which was effected without bloodſhed, and before the Turks could entertain the leaſt ſuſpicion of his intentions. The following day the Sheick ſent into the city a body of fifteen hundred Arabs, who took poſſeſſion of the ſerai, or governor's palace, and every thing, without oppoſition, there being but few Turks in the place, and not more than two hundred troops in all. The place was preſerved in its uſual order, and the property of individuals remained ſafe. On the third day the Shieck Twiny made his own entry, accompanied by the remainder of his army, being about five thouſand men. The Arab government immediately commenced.

The

The commanders of the Turkiſh ſhips in the river were depoſed, and Arabians appointed in their room; and ſhortly after, the Muſſellem, with the council, the Dufter dar, or treaſurer, and the principal officers under the Turkiſh government, were embarked on board ſhip, and ſailed for India.

Theſe ſteps being taken, the Sheick began to prepare himſelf for the conſequences that might enſue, and firſt he wrote letters to Conſtantinople, excuſing what he had done, by alleging and endeavouring to prove, that Buſſora had originally belonged to his own proper anceſtors, and that, as a free and independent chief of a tribe, he had undoubted right to obtain what was his due. But he further obſerved, that in order the Porte might perceive how anxious he was to ſettle matters amicably, and if poſſible procure peace, he had on this occaſion forborne the victor's right, and had hitherto held untouched both the perſons as well as the property of individuals whom the laws of war gave him a power over; that order and juſtice were as rightfully adminiſtered as before. He finally concluded his letters with profeſſions of allegiance to the Porte, on condition of his being nominated to the Baſhalick of Bagdad and Buſſora united in one, and hoped the Sultaun would lend a favourable ear to a requeſt ſo juſtly made.

Theſe letters he diſpatched to Conſtantinople, and at the ſame time providing for the worſt that might occur, he augmented his army; after which, aſſembling the Jews, Armenians, and other merchants of Buſſora, he requeſted from them the ſum of ſix thouſand tomans as a loan, for which he informed them a bond ſhould be given. The merchants, though averſe to a propoſal ſo extraordinary in its nature, from the poſſeſſor of Buſſora, yet had no other reſource than compliance left them: and it was ſome conſolation to them to reflect, that the Sheick had given them hopes of re-payment at a future period; and to do him juſtice, there was every probable reaſon to ſuppoſe, in caſe of ſucceſs, he would have done ſo. The ſum propoſed was raiſed, and the bonds delivered. Shortly after, Sheick Twiny quitted the city, and marched his army to the village of Naranta, on the banks of the Euphrates, in the direct road to Bagdad, where he encamped and reſolved to await the coming of the Baſha, and riſk his fortune on the iſſue of a pitched battle.

It will now be neceſſary to obſerve, that at the ſurpriſing of Buſſora, before mentioned, the eldeſt brother of Sheick Twiny had deſerted his camp, and fled to Soliman, the Baſha of Bagdad, claiming his protection. This perſon whoſe name is Sheick Ahumud (for chiefs of families amongſt the Arabs have always the appellative of Sheick), had been ſet aſide from the ſucceſſion at the death of their father, which ever after gave him a diſguſt towards his brother, and he eagerly longed for an opportunity to emancipate himſelf, and acquire a party of his own. This was offered him on the preſent occaſion; he was received by the Baſha with open arms, and the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of ſupport and protection were given him.

Soliman, on receiving intelligence of the revolution, aſſembled his army; and the more to ſtrengthen his party, he reſolved to ſeek the alliance of an Arabian tribe bordering on Buſſora to the ſouth-weſt. This tribe (whoſe chief is called Sheick Chaubi), from their vicinity to the city, have it in their power to become either very uſeful or very troubleſome neighbours, their country extending along the banks of the river below the town, and they alſo poſſeſſing a conſiderable fleet of armed gallivats. To this tribe Sheick Twiny had previouſly made an offer of alliance; but they demanding what he thought too much, as the reward of friendſhip at this critical juncture, he unwiſely relinquiſhed the idea, which his more politic adverſary the Baſha took advantage of, and a treaty of alliance and friendſhip was ſettled between them. The Baſha, on this

this occaſion, was liberal in the donation of two diſtricts of land, which he granted to the Chaubi.

During the interval of thoſe preparations, the letters ſent by Twiny had arrived at the Porte: they remained unanſwered to *him*, but a poſitive order was diſpatched to the Baſha of Bagdad to ſend the head of Twiny to Conſtantinople, the Porte making no other obſervation on the matter, but diſdaining to treat with the chief of a petty Arabian tribe.

The Baſha, being now fully prepared, ſet forward in the beginning of October 1787. On the 23d inſtant, he came up with the Arabs, and on the 25th the Turks gained a complete victory over the Sheick and his adherents. The action was fought on the banks of the Euphrates; the conflict was bloody, and for ſome time doubtful, but at length the Arabs giving way, a total rout enſued, and Sheick Twiny was obliged to fly from the field of battle, attended by a few followers.

Buſſora, by this victory, once more fell into the hands of the Turks, and the reeſtabliſhment of the Turkiſh government became the neceſſary conſequence. Though every thing at preſent is quiet, and the troubles are terminated, yet the trade of the place has ſuffered greatly thereby, and it will take ſome time to reſtore it.

The unfortunate merchants, on this occaſion, beſides loſing what they had lent to Sheick Twiny, were obliged to deprecate the anger of the Baſha by a new fine, who alſo gave orders for double duties to be exacted on all goods for that year; and this, as the Sheick had before received the like, fell very heavy upon them. The Baſha, after eſtabliſhing a new Muſſellem, returned to Bagdad. Sheick Twiny has lately ſent ſubmiſſive letters; but the Baſha has confirmed Sheick Ahumud in the chiefſhip of the Montifeeks, and is reſolved to maintain him in it. — Buſſora, Feb. 1ſt, 1788.

On the 12th of February 1788, I embarked on board the brig Futta Illàhi, Captain Nimmo, on my return to India. I cannot, however, quit the Perſian Gulph, without making my acknowledgments to Meſſrs. Maneſty and Jones, of the Buſſora factory, who did every thing in their power to render my ſhort ſtay with them agreeable. After touching at Muſcat, Cocheen, and Maſulipatnam, on the 22d of April we arrived in Ballaſore roads; and on the 25th anchored off Calcutta after an abſence of two years and two months.

*Forſan et hæc olim meminiſſe juvabit!*

# EXTRACTS

FROM

# *FORSTER'S TRAVELS,*

CONCERNING THE NORTHERN PARTS OF PERSIA *.

ON the 5th November 1783, in an open well-cultivated plain, ſix furſungs, where, halting for a few hours, the kafilah proceeded two and a half furſungs further, to Kandahar. This city, comprized within an ordinary fortification of about three miles in circumference, and of a ſquare form, is populous and flouriſhing; and lying in the great road which connects India with Perſia and Tartary, has been long a diſtinguiſhed mart.

At Kandahar are eſtabliſhed many Hindoo families, chiefly of Moultan and the Rajepoot diſtricts, who, by their induſtry and mercantile knowledge, have eſſentially augmented its trade and wealth. The Turcoman merchants of Bochara and Samarcand alſo frequent this mart, whence they tranſport into their own country a conſiderable quantity of indigo, with which commodity Kandahar is annually ſupplied from various parts of Upper India. This city is more abundantly ſupplied with proviſions, and at a cheaper rate than any place I have ſeen on the weſt ſide of the Indus. The grapes and melons of numerous kinds are peculiarly high flavoured, and are comparable with the firſt fruits of Europe. The extenſive range of ſhops occupied by Hindoo traders, with the eaſe and contentment expreſſed in their deportment, affords a fair teſtimony of their enjoying at Kandahar liberty and protection.

A ſon of Timur Shah governs the city, with a tract of dependent territory, which produces, it is ſaid, a revenue of eighteen lacks of rupees; and it may be juſtly concluded, from the appearance of all claſſes of people, that this collection is made without any extraordinary rigour. The environs of Kandahar occupy an extenſive plain, covered with fruit gardens and cultivation, which are interſected with numerous ſtreams of ſo excellent a quality as to become proverbial; and the climate is happily tempered, between the heats of India and the cold of Ghizni.

It is generally ſuppoſed in Europe that Kandahar ſtands in a country of mountains, and we ſpeak of the lofty paſſes of Kandahar, as a point not leſs clearly aſcertained than the exiſtence of the Alps. Permit me to rectify this popular error, which, like many of a ſimilar texture, has made mountains of mole-hills, and acquaint you, that the face of the country ſurrounding the new city of Kandahar forms an extenſive plain, which as it approaches the ſite of the old fortreſs, becomes interſperſed with hills; but they are of a moderate height; nor do they form any barrier of difficult acceſs, or deep extent.

On leaving Kabul, Bagdaſir, my Georgian hoſt, had given me introductory letters to two Turkiſh reſidents of Kandahar; the one kept a ſmall ſhop in the bazar, the other,

* A Journey from Bengal to England, by GEORGE FORSTER, Vol. II.

Aga

Aga Ahmed, had a warehouſe of ſome note in the karavanſera. This perſon received me in a courteous manner, and though then in the character of a Chriſtian, I did not experience any of that haughtineſs of manner, with which Mahometans uſually regard thoſe of our faith. He even directed his countryman, the ſhopkeeper, to provide the neceſſaries for my journey, and to carefully guard againſt any fraud.

The immediate departure of a kafilah, and the faſt approach of winter, when the road to Perſia is impaſſable, determined me to proceed to Herat; though I wiſhed much for a few days' reſidence at Kandahar. Aga Ahmed made an agreement with the kafilah baſhi * for my paſſage, and alſo that I ſhould be furniſhed with an attendant: this benevolent Turk did not formally recommend me to the director's care, but enjoined him, on the forfeiture of his favour, to ſhew me a particular kindneſs, which was only to be teſtified by producing my written aſſurance. Could I have found a fit aſſociate to divide the cares of houſe-keeping, I would have remained at Kandahar during the winter, as I ſtill felt the effects of the late ſickneſs, and feared a relapſe from the fatigue of travelling; but the predicament in which I ſtood wholly precluded any domeſtic connection with the Mahometans; and that of ſome ſtray Armenians, whom I found there, did not ſeem eligible.

The road from Ghizni to Kandahar, according to my groſs obſervations, tends to the ſouth-weſt; and the country has generally a barren aſpect, with a ſcanty ſupply of wood and water. The buildings, from a ſcarcity of timber, are conſtructed, as in the Kabul diſtricts, of ſun-burnt bricks, and covered with a flat arched roof of the like materials.

On the 8th of November left Kandahar, and proceeded to Koby, three furſungs, a ſmall village ſurrounded by a fertile plain. At the diſtance of two or three miles to the northward of Kandahar, is ſeen, on the left, the remains of the old fortification, ſtanding on the ſummit of a rocky hill of a moderate height, but abrupt elevation. The road at this place tends over a ſtony aſcent of eaſy acceſs, ſkirted on each ſide with ſcattered hills and wide intervals of level land. It is the form of this part of Afghaniſtan, which has given riſe, I apprehend, to the European belief of the mountains and paſſes of Kandahar.

On the 9th, at Auſkuckana, three furſungs, a ſmall village on a thinly cultivated plain. Our ſlow progreſs was occaſioned by the Kafilah baſhi remaining at the city to adjuſt ſome buſineſs; he had, however, wholly neglected mine, for not a perſon, when my ſect was known, would even touch my garment.

My ill fortune on the ſcore of an aſſociate, which ſeemed to purſue me with an inveterate rigour, had now given me, in the place of the ſcolding nurſe and crying child, a theological and very clamorous diſputant. This bewildered man, unhappily for himſelf, and for his neighbours, had conned over ſome of thoſe books of ingenious devices and quaint ſyllogiſms, which are held in high note among the modern Mahometans, and have fixed among them a falſe diſtorted taſte. Even Hafis's poems, ſo conſpicuouſly replete with wit, and with incitements to mere mortal pleaſures, are tortured by them into praiſes of Mahomet and his religion. This fanatical logician was unknown to the other paſſengers, but he loſt no time in diſplaying to them his ſtore of endowments; and ſeeing me a favourable ſubject, he directed his full force at my head.

I had engaged the ſervices of a travelling Arab taylor, and was anticipating the various conveniences which they promiſed, when he was driven from the proſpect of an eaſy livelihood by the threats of the logician, who denounced Mahomed's vengeance againſt him if he eat the bread of an infidel. The poor man, hungry and almoſt naked, ſtarted

* Baſhi in the Turkiſh language ſignifies head, and is often applied in Perſia to the head of a ſociety or party.

at

at the danger, and, fearful of incurring ſo powerful a wrath, reſigned his new office, and went to live as it might pleaſe God. Thus had I the dreary proſpect of being peſtered for the term of twenty days, by this outrageous Mahometan, who, ſo far from being conſcious of any miſchief, believed that he was performing an act of extenſive merit.

On the evening of the 10th, the kafilah moved, and arrived next morning at Howrah Muddit Khan *, ſix furſungs; the country open, and the ſoil a mixture of light ſand and earth, producing generally that ſpecies of weed which has been noted in the remarks of the road from Kabul to Kandahar.

On the 13th, at Khackchamparah, ſix furſungs. No marks of habitation were ſeen during the journey of theſe two laſt days.

On the 14th, at Greiſhk, ſeven furſungs, a large walled village, on the ſkirts of which runs a ſmall ſtream of good water; halted two days at this place, where a toll is collected on merchandize and paſſengers, and where a ſtock of proviſions was laid in, to ſupply our conſumption through a tract of deſert country, extending from this ſtation to the weſtward. My perſecuting neighbour had already deprived me of two ſervants, when, after much entreaty, mixed with a warm eulogium on his extenſive capacity, I prevailed on him to moderate his reſentment againſt me, and ceaſe to anathematiſe thoſe who might in future be induced, from their neceſſity, to eat the bread of an infidel. He had, by his rhetoric, precluded me even from the uſe of a barber; one of whom being obſerved by him at the cloſe of an operation on my head, was reprobated for his impurity in virulent language, and compelled to cleanſe his razor by an ordeal proceſs, the expence of which was defrayed by Chriſtian money. On paying the charge, I obſerved to our logician, whom I now treated with little ceremony, that he ſhould alſo cauſe the ſhaver to purge the money by the like trial, that he might not be polluted by the touch; a precaution, I added, that would doubtleſs have been adopted, but for a fear of half the amount being loſt in the large alloy that debaſes all Mahometan coins. I was, he ſaid, an incorrigible Kaufir, whom ill-fortune had placed with him on the ſame camel, and which he feared could never thrive under ſuch a weight of ſin.

The urgent calls of hunger now gave me a third ſervant, who was in his way from Moultan, to make the pilgrimage of Muſchid †. Think how ardent muſt have been the zeal which incited this pilgrim to ſo diſtant a journey, and ſupported him againſt the inclemency of winter, and the inhoſpitality of a rude people, with ſcarcely a covering to his back, no ſhoes to his feet, or an atom of money in his purſe. Though I gave him ſome warm clothing and ſubſtantial food, he was not able to keep pace with our party.

His ſucceſſor was a Kaſhmirian, who had a countenance as demure as that of Gil Blas's Ambroſe Lamela; and, to the extent of his ability, as great a rogue. To enhance the value of his ſervices, for which I was obliged to pay largely, he expatiated on the ſin he was about to commit, eating the ſalt of an infidel; but I ſoon found there was no reſtriction to his diet. Moſt of the Aſiatic nations have affixed to ſalt a certain ſacred property, but it is held in the higheſt degree of reverence by the Mahometans, who ſpeak of ſalt as Europeans do of bread. A ſervant is ſaid to eat the ſalt of his maſter; and, when guilty of ingratitude, he is ſtigmatized with the name of a nimmock haram, or, a polluter of his ſalt; which is, I believe, the only term applied by Mahometan nations to ſuch an offender.

* Howrah ſignifies an artificial fountain, or reſervoir of water; one of which had been conſtructed at this place by Muddit Khan, for the accommodation of travellers.

† It is at this day the reputed capital of Khoraſan.

Here I am induced to notice the ominous qualities vulgarly aſcribed on ſome occaſions to ſalt in our own country; as when it is accidentally ſpilled, ſome part is thrown over the left ſhoulder, that the ſuppoſed enſuing evil may be averted; a ceremony I have ſeen even obſerved by thoſe who were far removed from the lower claſſes of life. But early impreſſions are not eaſily effaced, and they often impart to the ideas a laſting colour; eſpecially among thoſe who are ſecluded from the more hacknied paths of the world.

On the 17th at Shah Nadir, a ſtation in the deſert, ſeven furſungs. This reſervoir, built by Nadir Shah, is a ſquare of about twenty feet, over which is erected on pillars a terrace, which extending beyond the margin of the water, affords a convenient lodging to travellers.

On the 18th at Shorab*, five furſungs; ſome ſpots of cultivation were ſcattered around this ſtation, but no village in ſight.

On the 19th at Lungerah, a place of halt, in a deſert country, where we found only one weak ſpring of water, which was quickly conſumed.

On the 20th at Dilaram, ſix furſungs, a fort in ruins, which is ſkirted by a rivulet, on whoſe margin are ſeen ſome ſcattering trees; a rare ſight in this land! but the adjacent country is barren and uninhabited.

On the 21ſt at Buckwau, ſeven furſungs, a ſtation in the deſert.

On the 22d at Drauve in the deſert, ſix furſungs. This day the ſun ſhot forth his rays with great force, and the ground which we occupied being a bare ſand, reflected an intenſe heat. Whilſt I was panting under a very flimſy covering, I obſerved that my neighbour, a Turkoman Seid, who had no ſhelter, was ſtruck by the ſun, and lay ſtruggling in a violent agony.

The Mahometans thought him poſſeſſed with the devil, and inſtead of affording any proper aid, began an extraordinary converſation with the ſuppoſed fiend; eſpecially my learned aſſociate; who, in a peremptory manner, ordered the devil to depart out of the body of a true believer, and a branch of the holy ſtock; but, ſeeing that the command had no effect, though conveyed in Arabic and a vehement tone of voice, I requeſted to interfere; and lifting the incumbent from the ground, threw ſome water on his face, and forcibly poured a quantity down his throat. The Seid ſoon felt the natural benefit of this adminiſtration; but the violence of the ſhock created a temporary ſtupefaction, during which he uttered ſo incoherent a language that it confirmed the opinion that a demon was ſpeaking, and not the Tartar.

Our logician addreſſed the infernal perſonage in a very ſpirited harangue, ſeverely reprehending his entrance into the body of one of the prophet's deſcendants, and challenging him, that the cloven foot might conſpicuouſly appear, to repeat the Mahometan creed. To this teſt the ſhattered ſtate of the Seid's ſenſes were not yet equal; nor was it until he had ſmoked his pipe, that he diſtinctly, and with ſurrounding applauſe, pronounced his creed and ſhook off all diabolical connection.

On the 23d at Ghurmow, in the deſert, five furſungs. This evening my perſecuting companion left our party, and proceeded with ſome Hindoo traders to Fera, an Afghan town of ſome note, lying about forty or fifty miles to the ſouth-weſt of Drauze. But my joy at this riddance, like moſt joys of ſublunary texture, was of ſhort duration; for the vacant place fell to the lot of a much more obnoxious aſſociate.

I begin now to be aſhamed at having impoſed upon you ſo large a portion of private ſtory; yet, without it, I perceive my ſubject would be as barren as the land I travel

* Signifying ſalt, or brackiſh water; but at this ſtation the water was freſh.

over, which exhibits to the fatigued eye one vaſt ſterile plain, without rivers, wood, or ſcarcely a place of human habitation. Though perſonal recitals are uſually ſuſpected of vanity, and even in their beſt ſenſe partake more of the amazing than the inſtructive qualities, you may perhaps gather from my anecdotes, ſome ſubſidiary knowledge of the human character; an important ſubject, and not leſs various than the human face. My next aſſociate was the Arab taylor, already mentioned, who ſucceeded to the vacant pannier by the aſſiſtance of one of his countrymen in our party, a trader of ſome note. A converſation held when I was thought aſleep, ſome nights before, between the logician and the taylor; in which the latter was ſtrenuouſly exhorted to rob me, boded no good from the change; and this counſel was ſtrengthened by a doctrine very prevalent among the lower claſſes of Mahometans, that it is meritorious and laudable to attack the property of an infidel. Nor was the advice loſt on the taylor, who promiſed an active diligence in performing the required ſervice. Combining, therefore, the intereſt of the world with that of his religion, he commenced a briſk attack on my chattels; but which, at that time, my vigilance preſerved. His ſubſequent attempts, however, were more ſucceſsful, as were ſeen in the diminution of my apparel. This freebooting ſyſtem of the taylor's kept me in conſtant alarm, and diſplayed every day, in ſtrong colours, the ill conſequences of my Chriſtian garb.

On the 24th at Ghiraunee, ſix furſungs. A populous walled village, ſituate near a ſmall running water. Halted there the next day to make the payment of a toll, and purchaſe proviſions for a three days' journey over a deſert, which reaches from this place to the confines of Khoraſan. My Kaſhmirian ſervant was wholly diveſted of religious fervour, or a religious cloak. For he neither prayed nor waſhed; but, was much addicted to theft; and while the taylor purloined my cloaths, he was occupied in ſtealing my victuals. Yet this propenſity was, in ſome degree, compenſated by his ſervices, which found active employment in bringing water and fuel, baking cakes, and boiling my coffee.

On the 27th at Khoos, in the deſert, five furſungs. The taylor's payments for conveyance not being regularly made, the ſeat was again put up to ſale, when it was purchaſed by an Hindoſtany Mahometan, who had left his wife and family at Juanpour, in the diſtrict of Benares, and was thus far advanced on a pilgrimage to Muſchid. From the mouth of this devotee, who had formerly been a marauding ſoldier, there iſſued an almoſt inceſſant ejaculation of prayer. In truth it may be ſaid, that he overflowed in holy zeal; for he prayed and cried in a ſucceſſive rotation. What an extraordinary character would this be thought in a country where its inhabitants, though ſhunning no peril or fatigue in the purſuit of wealth and pleaſure, will ſcarcely croſs a ſtreet to look into a church. The various precepts of education and religion, eſtabliſhed in the world, but eſpecially, the different orders of government, produce ſo ſtrong a diſſimilarity in the manners of men, that in inveſtigating thoſe of the moſt oppoſite tendency, they would ſeem to ariſe from beings of a diſtinct ſpecies.

On the 28th at Gimmuch, ſeven furſungs, a ſtation in the deſert.

On the 29th at Ouckal, a large walled village, ſtanding within the limit of the province of Khoraſan, and inhabited wholly by Perſians. It is proper here to obſerve, that the natives of Perſia proper, particularly the ſoldiery, are often termed at home, as in foreign countries, Kuzzel Bach; a Turkiſh compound, ſignifying, I am informed, red head, and originally from the Perſian cap being covered at the top with red cloth.

On the 30th a halt.

On the 31ſt at Sheerbuchſh, a deſert ſtation, ſix furſungs.

On the 1ſt of November, at Zearut Ghah, ſeven furſungs. A ſmall village, on the ſkirts of which are ſeen the remains of ſome tombs or religious edifices.

On the 2d, at the city of Herat, three furſungs. The road from Kandahar to Gimmuch leads to the weſt, or weſt by north; from thence to Herat, it has, I apprehend, nearly a northern courſe, yet I cannot account for the ſudden deviation of the track. The country is generally open, and interſperſed with barren rocky hills of a moderate height. The ſoil is light and ſandy, producing naturally little elſe than the aromatic weed before noted.

The city of Herat ſtands on a ſpacious plain, which is interſected with many ſprings of running water, ſome of which are ſupplied with bridges; and the numerous villages, ſurrounded with plantations, muſt afford a pleaſant view to the traveller, whoſe eye has been wearied with the deſerts of Afghaniſtan.

The director of the kafilah carried us to the karavanſera, where paſſengers only are lodged; the other places of this deſcription being all occupied by reſident traders. In the ſquare of the karavanſera I perceived an Armenian, whom I informed, with little ceremony, leſt he ſhould hear a leſs favourable ſtory, that I was an European, returning from India into my own country: but, for greater perſonal ſecurity, I had aſſumed the name of an Armenian. And to quiet any ſuſpicion of the truth of my relation, I produced a letter, which the Georgian, Bagdaſir, had written in my favour to an Armenian, who lived in a village about forty miles from Herat. My addreſs was cloſed by obſerving, that though not in want of money, I ſtood in great need of his friendly offices, as he muſt be well aware of the various difficulties affecting thoſe of our ſect, eſpecially when alone, among ſo bigotted a people as thoſe of Khoraſan. The Armenian heard the little oration, which all my powers of ſpeech had pointed at him, with a reſolute coolneſs, and perceiving, I ſuppoſe, that my acquaintance would yield no profit, he turned from me and went away, without even expreſſing the common terms of civility. The frequent occaſions which have occurred to me of noticing the Armenian character, ſoon cooled my reſentment, and enabled me to reconcile the wearineſs and apathy of this man, with the common principles which govern his ſect.

The preſent race of Armenians, like the Jews, are, with little exception, occupied in commerce, chiefly in its ſmalleſt branches, and having long loſt with their country the ſpirit of patriotiſm, diveſted alſo of any valuable attainments of knowledge, they exhibit but a faint diſcrimination of character; being generally induſtrious, ſervile, and diſhoneſt; they are ſcattered over various parts of Turkey, Perſia, and India, where, except in the Engliſh colonies, they live on a precarious ſufferance, being often, on trivial pretences, inſulted, oppreſſed, and plundered. To palliate the evils inherent to their ſituation, and create a ſubſtitute for powers, honours, and national importance, they purſue the different roads of traffic with unremitting ardour, and invariably meaſure their pleaſures by the mere extent of their wealth. Little ſuſceptible of friendſhip, they are rarely induced to afford, even among themſelves, mutual aſſiſtance, or diſpoſed to promote the enjoyment of ſociety: the Armenians at this day are divided into two general claſſes; the one, the moſt numerous, eſtabliſhed in the Turkiſh dominions; the other in Perſia.

The city of Jolfa, contiguous to Iſpahan, was expreſsly founded for the accommodation of the Armenians, by Shah Abbas, who, aware of the benefits that would accrue to his kingdom from a commercial and temperate people, gave them an ample protection, and many indulgencies. He permitted them, it is ſaid, to accompany their adventures to foreign countries, and advanced a capital to thoſe not already opulent, but he always detk their families at Jolfa in pledge of good conduct. The Indian Armenians of the

Jolfa colony, and from an actual reſidence in that city, or ſprung from families originally ſettled there, are all converſant in the Perſian language. The vicinity of the Perſian gulf, which has long maintained an important trade with India, naturally allured the Armenians to a region, which at once held out to them the hope of ſpeedy opulence, and the advantages of a temperate government. Nor did they ever think of returning into Perſia; but having amaſſed a ſufficient wealth, purchaſed the releaſe of their families on the payment of large ſums.

From the deſcription given of the Armenian character, which I am not conſcious of having in the leaſt overcharged, you will not be ſurprized at the mode in which I was received by my brother Chriſtian at Herat. But I now determined to ſlide into the Mahometan community, on the firſt fair occaſion: ſeeing, that without adding one benefit, I was like to become a martyr to our faith. In all parts of the city which I frequented, I was known only as a Mahometan, except in the karavanſera, where I experienced unceaſing inſult and deriſion; for the Perſians affect a greater ſcruple in communicating with thoſe of a different religion, than any other ſect of Mahometans. I was not even permitted to draw water out of a common well, but ordered to place my veſſel on the ground, which was filled by a perſon hired for the purpoſe, from a height and not touched. When I have been waiting for this ſupply, the town boys, who in their round of diverſion would occaſionally take our karavanſera in their way, learning that I was an impure perſon, uſed to form a circle round me, and deſired to have the unclean part ſhewn to them, and ſeemed much diſappointed on being told that I was unclean all over. My journey hitherto, if not productive of other advantage, has corrected my former belief of Mahometan politeneſs and ſuavity of manners, and alſo I truſt, qualified that inſolence of carriage, which I have too frequently evinced to the inhabitants of our eaſtern territories.

Could one of our Indian grandees in the fulneſs of his power, ſeated in a palankeen, perhaps on an elephant, ſurrounded with thoſe bands of ſtickmen and pikemen, who diſperſe every man and beaſt that dares to croſs his way: could this perſonage be tranſported on the ſudden to Herat, how ſpeedily would he be diveſted of his plumes, and reduced to his ſimple value. Whenever I quitted the purlieus of my lodging, I became a grave hyprocritical Muſſulman, with the enjoyment of all his privileges; and the city containing a various deſcription of people, there was little apprehenſion of a diſcovery. I daily frequented the eating-houſes, where all the talk of the day is circulated, and chiefly fabricated, in conjunction with the barber's ſhop, which in Herat has a neat appearance. In the centre of it ſtands a ſmall ſtone pillar, on the top of which is placed a cup of water, in readineſs for operation, and the ſides of the ſhop are decorated with looking-glaſſes, razors, and beard combs. Home having no pleaſures for me, I was glad to ſee them abroad; nor did I fail in procuring equal amuſement and information. Neither Afghaniſtan or the northern provinces of Perſia, permit the reſidence of courtezans, or any women that dance or ſing for the public entertainment. The northern Perſians affect to expreſs an abhorrence of the Indian Mahometans, whom they reprobate for a general depravity of manners, and a neglect of religious duties: yet this temperate and demure people are much defamed, if, under their myſterious carriage of body, they do not practiſe in their different vocations every ſpecies of deceit and knavery. In India, it is a well known fact, that the Moguls, a denomination given there to all foreign Mahometans, throw off their northern cloak, and becoming notorious debauchees, laugh to ſcorn the precepts of their doctors.

Herat is a ſmaller city than Kandahar, but maintains a reſpectable trade; and the market-place, occupying a long ſtreet, covered with an arched roof, is filled with ſhop

of various wares. Bread, rice, and fleſh-meats, with numerous fruits and vegetables, are equally cheap and abundant; and the grand market, held once a week, is ſo crowded with the produce of the neighbouring villages, that a paſſage through it is difficult and fatiguing. Coarſe woollens of a ſtrong texture are manufactured in the adjacent diſtricts, a great part of which, made into garments, are exported into various parts of northern Perſia; ſurtouts of ſheepſkin, with the wool in the inſide, are ſeen hanging almoſt at every ſhop, and are uſed by all claſſes of people in the winter ſeaſon. A ſmall quantity of European commodities is brought to this city from the gulf of Perſia, conſiſting of French broad cloths, cutlery, ſmall looking-glaſſes, and prints; but their low prices ſhew that their demand is very limited. The police of Herat is judiciouſly regulated, and the adminiſtration of juſtice vigorous. Two men, apparently above the ordinary claſs, having been convicted of theft, were ſuſpended by the heels from a dome, which ſtands in the centre of the market, where they remained near an hour, to the terror of a gazing populace; having witneſſed a part of this exhibition, I returned to my lodging with the intereſted belief that my property, which was all in ſpecie, concealed about my perſon, had derived from it additional ſecurity.

On exchanging ſome gold at this place, I found the rate more favourable than at Kandahar or Kabul; yet ſtill one in ſixteen leſs than the Indian value. Though I was unremittingly cautious in concealing my money, knowing that diſcovery would bring an hoſt of enemies on my head, one of my travelling acquaintances ſuddenly opened the door of my apartment at Herat, a very unuſual practice among Aſiatics, and found me examining the ſtate of my finances. At the ſight of the gold ſpread on the floor, he was ſtruck with ſurprize, and expreſſed an eager curioſity to know the occupation that had procured me ſo much wealth. But either my ſpeedy departure from Herat, or a more than ordinary honeſty in the Perſian, prevented the ill conſequence which I had apprehended from the impromptu viſit.

Khoraſan *, the moſt eaſtern, the largeſt, as well as the moſt important province of Perſia, participated the various and ſevere revolutions which affected the ſtate of the kingdom, from the diſſolution of the Grecian dynaſty, until the end of the ninth century, when it was involved in the Tartar dominion of the Sammani race; and in the beginning of the ſixteenth century, after having experienced a ſucceſſion of Tartar and Arabian rulers, it was annexed to Perſia, by Iſmael, ſirnamed Sofi, from whom the appellation of Sofi has been given in Europe to the Perſian kings.

Herat had continued the principal city of Khoraſan until the ſucceſſion of Iſmael, who beſtowed the pre-eminence on Muſchid, from its containing the tomb of Moozau Reza, his ſuppoſed anceſtor, and one of the twelve grand Imaums or prieſts of the Perſians. Since Muſchid became the capital of Khoraſan, it has been enriched by large donations of the Mahometans of the ſect of Ali, generally known by the name of Schiahs. Even Nadir Shah, the leaſt diſpoſed of the Perſian kings to eccleſiaſtical endowments, ornamented a moſque, which had been built over the tomb of Moozau Reza, with a maſſy cabinet of ſilver, and a ſpacious lamp of the ſame metal.

The religion of the Koran had exiſted throughout the vaſt Mahometan empire for the ſpace of nine hundred years without any eſſential change, when it experienced a ſevere blow from the intrepidity of Iſmael, and rapid ſucceſs of his arms. In the courſe of the firſt periods of Mahometaniſm, four Arabian doctors, Malek, Ambel, Hanneifa, and Shaffee, made commentaries on the original text, which were adopted by ſects, now ſeverally diſtinguiſhed by the names of commentators. But theſe explanations do

* Khor, in the ancient Perſic, it is ſaid, ſignifies the laſt. — Sir William Jones.

not

not appear to have militated with much force againſt the firſt ſyſtem, or created any violent feuds among the different ſectaries.

As the grand innovation of the Mahometan religion was effected in Perſia, and chiefly exiſts in that region, I am induced to make a brief chronological review of ſome of its more important epochs, previouſly to this event. It is ſeen that the Tartar Arſaces, having expelled the princes who ſucceeded to the conqueſt of Alexander, eſtabliſhed a dynaſty, which flouriſhed for the ſpace of four hundred and fifty years, and which, in the two hundred and twenty-ſixth year of the Chriſtian æra, was extinguiſhed in the perſon of Artabanes, by Ardeſhere *, the Artaxerxes of the Greeks, ſaid to have been deſcended from the ancient race of Perſian kings.

Should it be found, which I am induced to believe, that the Perſians and the Parthians are a diſtinct people, it is not improbale that the nations which ancient hiſtory denominates Parthians, were compoſed of the Tartars of the Arſacian dynaſty, which held a long poſſeſſion of Perſia, and maintained ſuch fierce conflicts with the Roman empire. The dexterity of the archers, which conſtituted the ſtrength of the Parthian cavalry, and an excurſive rapid manner of fighting, which was repreſented as moſt formidable when they appeared to fly from battle, correſponds cloſely with the military practice of the modern Tartars, in contradiſtinction to the other nations of northern Aſia.

The Arabians carried their conqueſts and their religion into Perſia, in ſix hundred and fifty-one of our æra, from which time it remained ſubject to the khaliphat, until the middle of the eleventh century, when it was overrun and ſubdued by Jogrul Beg, a Turkoman prince of the Seljukian † race. The ſucceſſors of Jogrul continued to govern certain quarters of Perſia in the year 1187, when the laſt prince of that race was conquered by Amalek Dinar, who, in his turn, fell under the power of Jakaſh, the Turkoman prince of Kharaſm: but, in 1218 of our æra, the Kharaſmian empire, the Arabian khalipat, with the grandeſt portion of the eaſtern world, were ſwallowed up in the power of Jenjis Khan, whoſe poſterity held poſſeſſion of Perſia for the ſpace of one hundred and ſeventy-four years, though ultimately rent into ſmall principalities by a ſeries of inteſtine wars. It became, after that period, an appendage to the dominion of Timur, and appears to have acknowledged, in ſeparate governments, a general dependance on certain branches of his family, until the year 1499, when Iſmael Sofi, taking up arms againſt the Tartar princes, roſe by a quick ſucceſſion of victory, and aſſumed the undivided throne of Perſia.

It is ſeen in Knolles's very eſtimable Hiſtory of the Turks, that Iſmael was the ſon of Hyder, ſurnamed from the place of his birth, or the reſidence of his youth, Ardebil, and that he was honourably deſcended. Retiring from the occupations of the world, Hyder fixed his abode in the city of Tauris, where he paſſed an auſtere contemplative life, and was held by the inhabitants of that quarter in great veneration. The fame of his character ſoon procured him the name of a prophet, and cauſed multitudes of people to reſort to him from all parts of Perſia and Armenia. The more to ſeduce the multitude, ever delighted with novelty, he began to inveigh againſt the doctrine of the Mahometans, which enjoins a ſacred remembrance of the three ‡ firſt ſucceſſors of their prophet, and to revive the opinions of a certain preceding derviſh, named Guini, who was known alſo by the deſignation of Sofi. He aſſerted, as if inſpired from above, that none

* The ſucceſſors of this prince were denominated Saſſanides, from Saſſan, the father of Ardeſkere.

† So named from Seljuk, his grandſire, who occupied a private ſtation in the vicinity of Samarkand, where he held large landed poſſeſſions. ‡ Abubucker, Omar, and Oſman.

ſhould

ſhould enter the kingdom of Heaven but thoſe of the ſect of Ali, who was the genuine heir and aſſociate of Mahomet; and ordained, that the memory of Abubucker, Omar, and Oſman, ſhould be held accurſed. The King of Perſia, whom Knolles calls Aſſymbeius Uſan Caſſanes * to ſtrengthen his government and acquire popularity, invited Hyder to court, and gave him his daughter in marriage, from which ſprung Iſmael. Being now brought forward on a more conſpicuous theatre, Hyder grew into the general eſtimation of the people, which alarming the fears of Jacoob, the ſon of Huſſan, who had ſucceeded to the kingdom, he ſecretly put him to death.

Iſmael, flying from the power of Jacoob, took refuge with the chief of a ſmall territory on the ſouthern borders of the Caſpian Sea, named Pyrchales †. Some of the friends of Hyder retired at the ſame time into Leſſer Armenia, then ſubject to the Turks, where they promulgated their doctrine with ſucceſs. Their diſciples were diſtinguiſhed by a red band tied over the turban, whence it is ſaid they firſt obtained the appellation of Kuſſel Baſh, which in the Turkiſh language, as has been already noticed, ſignifies red head. Iſmael, during his retirement, advanced, with zeal, the tenets of his father; and, being by nature conſpicuouſly eloquent, of a penetrating genius and auſtere life, of a comely perſon and invincible courage, was, by the vulgar, counted more than human. The nobles of the neighbouring country, allured by the endowments of Iſmael, and the ſpecious novelty of his doctrine, reſorted to his place of abode with offers of ſupport; and, though ſeeming to ſhun them, he was inveſted with authority, honours, and wealth. In token of his rare qualifications, and a belief in his power of prophecy, Iſmael received the title of Soſi, "which," ſays Knolles, "ſignifieth, among theſe people, a wiſe man, or the interpreter of the gods ‡."

The death of Jacoob, which muſt have happened at an early period of his reign, and the tumults that enſued in Perſia, then uſurped by one Elvan Beg, who was alſo engaged in a warfare with his brother, named Morad, encouraged Iſmael to urge his fortune on ſo promiſing a field. Obtaining ſome military aid from Pyrachales, his firſt protector, he penetrated into Armenia, where he recovered the patrimony of his family, and was cordially received by thoſe who had favoured his father. Purſuing his ſucceſs, he penetrated into Shirvan, he took and ſacked Shah Machee, the capital of the province, by the plunder of which he largely increaſed the numbers and hopes of his army. Elvan Beg had now expelled Morad, and was buſied in puniſhing ſome of the principal citizens of Tauris, the capital of the kingdom, for having taken up arms in favour of his brother, when Iſmael ſuddenly approaching the city, took it without oppoſition. Elvan, deprived of other ſupport, formed an alliance with his brother, but in his progreſs to form a junction with the army of Morad, he was vigorouſly attacked by Iſmael, and ſlain in battle; the conqueror marched without delay againſt Morad, who was encamped

* It is ſeriouſly regretted that the Greek and Roman writers, as alſo many of the moderns, have not delivered to us the literal names of men and places, which occur in their hiſtory of foreign nations. This want of accuracy, or rather the impulſe of an abſurd vanity, has involved the European hiſtories of Aſia in a maze of obſcurity; thoſe, eſpecially, which repreſented the ſeries of warfare maintained againſt Perſia by the ſtates of Greece, and ultimately the conqueſt of that empire by Alexander of Macedon. The name given by Knolles to the Perſian king, taken from ſome Latin records, is evidently a miſnomer, as no ſuch denomination is now in uſe among the Mahometans, and we know that no change has affected their name, ſince the firſt eſtabliſhment of the khaliphat. His regal title, being a Tartar, might have been Azim Beg, ſignifying a great lord or prince; and his domeſtic appellation, Huſſan Caſſim.

† So expreſſed by Knolles.

‡ This word, I apprehend, is purely of Greek origin; the Mahometans had, at this period, been long converſant in Greek letters.

at

at Babylon, and compelled him to fly into the Arabian deſert *: he roſe without a competitor to the throne of Perſia †.

Iſmael is perhaps the firſt prince who at once conquered a ſpacious kingdom and the religious prejudices of its people. Nor does it appear that any of thoſe violent commotions were excited, which uſually mark the progreſs of eccleſiaſtical reformation. The ſyſtem of Hyder and Iſmael was founded on the poſition, that Mahomet had given his daughter Fatima to Ali, as a mark of the greateſt affection, and bequeathed to him the ſucceſſion of the khaliphat. But, that in defiance of this ſacred teſtament, Abubucker, one of the aſſociated friends of Mahomet, ſetting aſide the claims of Ali, had aſſumed the powers of government, which at his death, were alſo forcibly held in a conſequent adminiſtration by Oſmar and Oſman. But, that the injuries of Ali, having ultimately rouſed the divine interpoſition, he became the ruler of the ‡ Muſſulmans. This doctrine being unanimouſly received, Iſmael ordained, that as the three firſt khaliphs were uſurpers and ſacrilegious violaters of the laſt mandate of their prophet, their memory ſhould, at the five ſtated times of prayer, be reprobated with every expreſſion of contumely, and the ſevereſt vengeance of God denounced againſt them. He alſo inſerted, at the concluſion of the Mahometan creed, that Ali is the friend or the beloved of God, and directed that he and his poſterity ſhould be diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of imaums, or holy men ||. In contradiſtinction to the Soonis, who in their prayers croſs the hands on the lower part of the breaſt, the Schiahs drop their arms in ſtraight lines; and as the Soonis, at certain periods of the prayer, preſs their forehead on the ground or a carpet, the ſectaries of Ali lay on the ſpot which the head reaches, a ſmall tile of white clay, impreſſed with characters ſacred to the memory of Ali.

Some claſſes of the Schiahs believe that Ali was an incarnation of the deity, who perceiving, they ſay, the miſſion which had been delegated on Mahomet to be incomplete, aſſumed the perſon of this khaliph, for the purpoſe of fixing the Moſlem faith and power on a firmer baſis. The Schiahs have imbibed ſtrong religious prejudices, are more inflamed with the zeal of devotion, and conſequently leſs tolerant to the other ſects than the Soonis. In Perſia they do not permit a Sooni to eat at their board, and in common language, without provocation or heat of temper, they call him an infidel. But in what light, dear ſir, will you view a numerous and civilized people, who have produced writings that would exalt the name of the moſt poliſhed nations, yet in ſolemn deliberate expreſſion, imprecate God's wrath five times a day, on the ſouls and aſhes of three men who never did them an injury, and who, in their day, advanced the empire of Mahomet to a high pitch of glory and power. Not appeaſed with uttering the keeneſt reproaches againſt the memory of theſe khaliphs, they pour a torrent of abuſe on every branch of their families, male and female, lower even than the ſeventh gene-

* Where he was cut off by domeſtic treachery.

† Iſmael's acceſſion happened about the year 1508.

‡ In commemoration of the four firſt ſucceſſors of Mahomet, who were alſo his confidential aſſociates, and by their enthuſiaſtic courage, had been his grand inſtruments in aggrandizing the khaliphat, the general body of Mahometans, except the Perſians, are often termed Char Yaree, or thoſe of the four friends. They are likewiſe called Soonis, an Arabic word, ſignifying the followers of the right path.

|| The real number conſiſts of eleven perſons, to which a twelfth, ſuppoſed yet to come, has been added; their names are Ali, Huſſin and Huſſeyn, his ſons, Zyne-ul-Abedein, Mahomet Baukur, Jaffier Sadue, Mouſa Kazim, Ali Mouſa Beſa, Mahomet Tuckee, Ali Nughee, Huſſin Anſcany and Mahomet Mhedy. The titles beſtowed uſually on Ali are, Ameer-ul-Momenein, Mortiz Ali and Hyder. This laſt denomination, ſignifying a lion, is particularly given to Ali, when his military exploits are rehearſed. But when the profoundeſt reſpect is expreſſed for his memory, he is entitled Ameer-ul-Momenein, or lord of the faithful.

ration. I have ſeen their imagination tortured with inventing terms of reproach on theſe men and their poſterity, and commit verbally every act of lewdneſs with their wives, daughters, and the progeny down to the preſent day. The Soonis, though aware of this unvaried ceremony of execrating the memory of men, whom they have been long taught to hold in reverence, and that they themſelves are ſtigmatized as infidels, do not even, when fully empowered, intemperately reſent this perſecuting ſpirit of the Perſians.

In the diviſion of Khoraſan, ſubject to the Afghan empire, the Perſians enjoy a fair portion of civil and religious liberty, and are rarely treated with inſults.

In noticing the more liberal opinions of the Soonis, in the practice of their religion, I am brought to the recollection of an occurrence, which places this fact in a conſpicuous point of view.

An Armenian merchant from Iſpahan, accompanying an adventure of ſome value, came to the karavanſera, in Kabul, where I lodged; and though five of his countrymen were on the ſpot, the other reſidents being Jews, Mahometans, and Hindoos, not one of them advanced to give him welcome, or an offer of aſſiſtance; and to augment his embarraſſment, all the apartments of the ſeraunce were occupied. In this predicament ſtood the Armenian, and he muſt have lain in the ſtreet, had not a Turk invited this forlorn Chriſtian into his own apartment; and he fed him alſo at his own board. One of the Armenian tribe, after ſome days, taking ſhame perhaps from the Mahometan example, or expecting ſome advantage from the cargo of his countryman, tendered him a part of his habitation, which the ſtranger at firſt refuſed; nor did he accept the invitation, until ſeriouſly admoniſhed of the crime of forming ſo cloſe a connection with an infidel.

It is now time to revert to my own ſtory, and inform you, that it had been my firſt intention to have proceeded from Herat to Reſhd, the principal town of the Ghilan province, which lies a few miles inland from Inzellee, a Ruſſian factory, on the border of the Caſpian Sea. It is a computed journey of ſeventy days, of about twenty miles each, from this city to Reſhd *, but the road which leads through the leſſer Irak †, has a deviating courſe from the direct line.

Being informed by the Armenians of Herat, that Ruſſian veſſels navigate along the coaſt of Mazanderan, to which a ſtraight track lay from hence, though not much frequented, from being ſubject to the depredation of the Turcoman Tartars, I was reſolved to purſue this route, at once direct and wholly unknown to European travellers.

A kafilah being about to proceed to Turſhiſh, a town lying in the direction of Mazanderan, I made an agreement with the director for a conveyance; but with a confidential ſtipulation, that I was to be received in a Mahometan character; and the better to guard againſt a diſcovery of my perſon, I took the name of an Arab, a people little known in this part of Perſia, and the knowledge of whoſe language is confined only to ſome of the moſt learned prieſts.

Some days before my departure from Herat, an Afghan Seid came into my apartment, and perceiving in the courſe of converſation that I was a Chriſtian, he exclaimed, with ſenſible emotions of joy, that he had now obtained a favourable opportunity of

* From Herat to the town of Jubbus, a route of fifteen days; thence to Yerd twenty-five; and to Caſhan ten; and a fifteen days' journey to Reſhd.

† There are two provinces of Irak, the leſſer and the greater; the latter, termed Irak Azeem, of which Bagdat is the capital, chiefly depends on Turkiſh and Arabian emirs.

revenging

revenging the greivous injuries ſuſtained by many of his holy anceſtors at the hands of infidels, and that unleſs I paid a fine of five hundred rupees *, I muſt repeat the creed of Mahomet, and be circumciſed. Pretending an ignorance of the purpoſe of this demand, I carried the ſeid, with a miſchievous intention I confeſs, to the next quarter, where the Armenian corps, four in number, were then aſſembled, and requeſted the principal of them, who ſpoke the Perſian language with fluency, to explain the ſubſtance of the ſeid's demand; and this was preciſely the point to which I wanted to reduce the queſtion. When the hungry Afghan perceived, that inſtead of one Chriſtian he had found five, his exultation had no bounds. He ſwore by his beard, that we ſhould all incur the fine or circumciſion. Oh! what a glorious ſight, cried he, will be diſplayed to our prophet, when theſe hardened infidels, renouncing their hereſy and impurities, ſhall become a portion of the faithful: what a triumph to our holy religion! The expedient which I had adopted, though not a fair, was for me a fortunate one; as the controverſy, which became ſerious, was now more equal. The ſeid called loudly on the Mahometans in the name of the prophet, to aſſiſt in compelling the enemies of his religion either to embrace it, or by adminiſtrating to the wants of his deſcendants, contribute to its ſupport; the Perſian reſidents of the karavanſera endeavoured to aſſuage the Afghan's intemperance; but they quickly withdrew all interpoſition, on being told that the toleration of their doctrine was a greater indulgence than the maintenance of their execrable tenets deſerved. The ſeid experiencing, however, more obſtinate reſiſtance from the Chriſtians than he had expected, it was evidently ſeen, that however ardent might have been his zeal for the advancement of religion, he was not the leſs mindful of his temporal welfare; and permitting himſelf, after diſplaying great powers in this holy war, to be ſoothed by the ſuppliant infidels, he withdrew his threats for a trifling ſum of money, far diſproportioned to the firſt demand. And here I muſt obſerve, that when I ſaw the reſolute and judicious manner in which the principal Armenian conducted his ſhare of the conflict, I felt a compunction for having involved him in ſo ſerious an embarraſſment.

At Herat I found, in two karavanſeras, about one hundred Hindoo merchants, chiefly natives of Moultan, who by the maintenance of a briſk commerce, and extending a long chain of credit, have become valuable ſubjects to the government; but diſcouraged by the inſolent and often oppreſſive treatment of the Perſians, they are rarely induced to bring their women into this country. When the Hindoos croſs the Attock, they uſually put on the dreſs of a northern Aſiatic: being ſeldom ſeen without a long cloth coat and a high cap. Some Jewiſh traders reſide alſo at Herat, where they are accuſed of practiſing all that ſyſtem of chicane, to which their tribe is ſo notoriouſly addicted in the weſtern world. Being habituated to the manners of Upper Aſia, and converſant in moſt of its languages, the Jews and Armenians mix with little perſonal inconveniency in Mahometan ſocieties.

The leading cuſtoms of the various nations of Aſia are ſimilar, or but weakly diverſified. When they ſit, the legs are croſſed, or bent under them; they perform topical ablutions before and after meals, at which no knife or ſpoon is uſed, unleſs the diet be wholly liquid. They invariably adopt the like modes of performing natural evacuations. And all the hair of the body is ſhaved, except that of the beard; yet this laſt uſage is more peculiar to Upper Aſia, where, likewiſe, all degrees of people cover the head,

* Such pecuniary aſſeſſment is termed Jayzeah, and is occaſionally levied in Mahometan countries, on thoſe who do not profeſs the faith of Mahomet.

affixing the idea of indecency to its being bare; and they never enter an apartment covered with a carpet, without pulling off their ſhoes.

On taking leave of the Armenians, I could not help obſerving, perhaps unſeaſonably, that, inſtead of contributing to my aſſiſtance, in a land where our ſect already experienced many grievances, they had conſiderably increaſed them, by withholding even the inferior offices of humanity; but that I cordially forgave a treatment which was to be aſcribed to the exceſs of caution, conſtitutionally inherent to their tribe. The principal Armenian earneſtly urged me to open myſelf to him, and diſcloſe the myſtery which appeared in my character. It was not in reaſon, he ſaid, to believe that motives of curioſity, as I alledged, could have induced me to incur ſo much fatigue, danger, and expence, which were only to be compenſated by the proſpect of gain, or a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem. But the Armenians, ſaid he, are now the only viſitors of the ſacred tomb, and indeed the only pure Chriſtians now exiſting. He was of opinion, in ſhort, that my ſtory was a counterfeit, and concluded by aſſerting, that I was a jewel-merchant, or a ſpy. I endeavoured to explain, that, among the natives of Europe, it was a common uſage to viſit foreign countries, where an obſervance of the manners and arts of various people improved the underſtanding, and produced a more extenſive knowledge of mankind; and that a frequent intercourſe with nations of different cuſtoms and religious opinions, taught them to ſhake off domeſtic prejudice, and to behold all men with the eye of common affection. To this language, which he had probably never before heard, he liſtened with an air of vacant wonder; but, as the doctrine did not ſquare with his ſentiments of the world, he ultimately treated it with contempt; wiſhing me, however, a better journey, he ſaid, than my plan promiſed.

On the evening of the 22d of November, I left Herat, and halted that night at Alum Guffour Chuſhmah *, three quarters of a furſung. Here let me again crave your indulgence for the copious ſelf-narration already impoſed on you, and for that which I fear is yet to come. But what can I do? Northern Perſia is, at this day, equally void of events as of letters, and has but few monuments of grandeur. You muſt, therefore, extend a large portion of patience over theſe communications, and by permitting me to ſpeak for myſelf, the favourite amuſement of all travellers, you will make me a ſufficient recompence for all the little chagrins which I incurred, and ſome ſolitary hours which I paſſed in the courſe of my journey.

The kafilah director, Aga Ali, and his family, which conſiſted of his mother, wife, and a ſervant, having conſented that I ſhould be received among them in the character of an Arab, going on a pilgrimage to Muſchid, I joined the party at an appointed place, whither every perſon reſorted except the females of our family, on whoſe heads, and and indeed all parts of them, many indecent reproach was thrown. There was no mortal ill which theſe women did not deſerve to feel; but, when women were concerned in any undertaking, what good could reſult, exclaimed all the enraged Mahometans. Night approaching, the kafilah moved, and left Ali to eſcort the ladies, in which ſervice I was alſo retained. On their arrival he began to utter ſome angry language; but it became manifeſt that we were members of a female government, which was conducted by the mother of Ali. She ſeemed in her manners not unlike the Afghan lady whom I heretofore endeavoured to celebrate, but had leſs fierceneſs and deciſion; the deficiency, I preſume, aroſe from the conſtitutional difference between the tempers of an Afghan and a Perſian; for my new dame evinced the ſame thirſt after ſupreme ſway, but

* Chuſhmah, in the Perſic, ſignifies a natural fountain.

exerciſed

exercised it with more mildness. Ali remaining at the town-gate to make some toll payments, dispatched the ladies and me, under the charge of his associates, who, perceiving our progress to be very slow, and the night far advanced, left us with little ceremony. When Ali arrived, he expressed much resentment at the scandalous desertion of his friends, and many thanks for my attention; though I could hear him murmur at the indecency of Mahometan women being entrusted to the charge of an infidel. But Ali's honour might have remained safe in the most intemperate quarter of the world; and, for my part, I was so grievously loaded by a heavy musket which he had given me to carry, that, had his spouse been a Venus, I would not have looked at her. No apprehension now existed of a scolding nurse, a crying child, or a fanatic disputant; or, indeed, of any thing which could actually offend; for my present associate was a bag of rice, from whose good neighbourhood I anticipated much satisfaction.

On the evening of the 24th, moved from the Cushmah, and arrived the next morning at Dhey Soorch, four fursungs. Some little cultivation was seen, but the general face of the country bore the same wild inhospitable aspect, as in the eastern quarter of Khorasan. The benefits attached to my new character, were now conspicuously testified. I was, from my supposed sect, entitled Hadji, and much courted by all the passengers, especially when the given purpose of my journey was understood. No person in the description of a Christian should attempt to make a passage through this part of Persia; should it, through a train of favourable events, be accomplished, he will be harrassed and defrauded, even on a principle of religion, and ever insulted with impunity. The attempt, indeed, I think impracticable, and liable to subject the adventurer to imminent danger.

On the 26th, at the Pool, or Bridge of Skebo, three and a half fursungs, in an uncultivated country. This bridge, built of brick and mortar, stands over a small river whose name I could not learn, running to the southward or left, and is fordable at most seasons.

On the 27th, at Corian, a large village, four and a half fursungs. In this neighbourhood, I saw some windmills, for grinding corn; they are constructed on the same principles as those of Europe, but instead of canvas wings, broad leaved flags are substituted. The toll gatherer at Corian affects to observe a peculiar vigilance in the execution of his office, which he saw occasion to exercise on me.

Passengers, proceeding to the westward, usually procure a passport at Herat; but being averse to a mode which might have led to inconvenient explanations, I did not apply for this document. The officer, though glad of the omission, held out the utter impossibility of passing without the signature of government, and argued with much delicacy on the crime of disobedience. But feeling some of my money in his hand, he observed that my case admitted a favourable construction; that I was an Arab, and a pilgrim of the holy tomb of Muschid. He would therefore relax a little, he said, in so good a cause. To put money into thy purse, is as necessary in Khorasan as it was in Venice, with the difference, that there the more decorated the garb, the greater respect was shewn to the person, whereas in Asia, the security and the comforts of life often depend on a wary concealment of wealth, and all its appendages.

The complaints of Asiatic travellers against a camel-driver, are not less frequent than those of marine passengers, in our country, against the master of a ship, and oftentimes with the like want of just cause. Men under restraint and deprived of accustomed amusements, become unreasonable in their desires, and fretful from the natural disappointment of vain wishes. The cross incidents which their situation necessarily produces, and which a degree of skill might qualify, are often outrageously ascribed to their conductor.

ductor. This preliminary, though militating againſt myſelf, I thought but honeſt to the exhibition of certain charges againſt Ali, the kafilah director. The firſt ſhews, that having bargained with this Mahometan, on the payment of a ſtipulated ſum, for a conveyance to Turſhiſh, he at the firſt halting place laid me under a contribution, on a pretence of the extraordinary weight of my baggage, though he well knew, that the equipment of a mendicant could not have been more ſlender. This demand was no ſooner adjuſted, than he commenced another attack, not on my purſe, though that was weak, but on my fame, which was vulnerable all over.

Ali ſeeing me generally addreſſed by the title of Hadji, and treated with a marked civility, was much mortified, and began to ſap the importance I had obtained. He whiſpered to ſome of thoſe with whom I aſſociated, that I was no Hadji, nor even one of the true faith. They expreſſed great ſurprize at this information, but blamed him for the diſcloſure; nor did they ever communicate the ſtory to the other paſſengers, or abate in their former attention.

On the 29th at Charſoorch, ſeven furſungs; a ſtation in an uninhabited country, and ſupplied with one well, whoſe water was barely ſufficient for the ſupply of our party.

On the 30th at Turſala, three and a half furſungs; a ſtation in the deſert, near a well of brackiſh water.

On the 1ſt of December at Kauff, ſeven furſungs, a populous, and in this country a large village, which maintains a moderate traffic with Herat, Muſchid, and Turſhiſh. Markets and public ſhops being only ſeen in the cities and principal towns of Perſia and Afghaniſtan, travellers are obliged to apply for proviſions to the houſekeepers, who are often unable to provide the required quantity. Though Kauff is a village of note, bread in no part of it is publicly vended, and having occaſion for a three days' ſupply, I advanced the required price to a Perſian, who, after keeping me in waiting till midnight, abſconded. Bread and the cheeſe of ſheep's milk, when procurable, was my common fare; which, with a water beverage, gave me a vigour and ſtrength equal to the daily fatigue I incurred. And when the inclemency of the weather is conſidered, and how broken his reſt muſt be who is carried on the back of the roughеſt paced animal that moves, thruſt alſo into a crib not half his ſize, and ſtunned by the loud clamours of the drivers, you muſt grant that no ordinary texture of conſtitution is required to accompany the kafilahs in northern Perſia.

Having witneſſed the robuſt activity of the people of this country and Afghaniſtan, I am induced to think, that the human body may ſuſtain the moſt laborious ſervices, without the aid of animal food. The Afghan, whoſe ſole aliment is bread, curdled milk and water, inhabiting a climate which often produces in one day extreme heat and cold, ſhall undergo as much fatigue, and exert as much ſtrength as the porter of London, who copiouſly feeds on fleſh meat and ale; nor is he ſubject to the like acute and obſtinate diſorders. It is a well known fact, that the Arabs of the ſhore of the Red Sea, who live with little exception on dates and lemons, carry burdens of ſuch an extraordinary weight, that its ſpecific mention, to an European ear, would ſeem romance.

On the 3d of December at Ruee, four and a half furſungs, a populous village, where a fall of ſnow produced a change on the face of the land, to which I had been long a ſtranger. Halted on the 4th, on account of the inſpection of ſome goods which had been damaged by the weather. Three Perſians, with myſelf, occupied the lower part of a wind-mill, which our joint endeavours to defend from the cold were wholly ineffectual; yet my companions ſeemed little affected by it. They were horſemen, and having no attendants, were obliged to clean their cattle, and go in ſearch of forage, fuel, and proviſions; theſe offices they performed with alacrity, nor did they once ſhrink from the

boiſterous drifts of ſnow and a north wind, that, I verily believe, muſt have ſwept every mountain-top in Tartary. My body, which a reſidence of twenty years in India, had greatly relaxed, and a recent ſickneſs enfeebled, was open to every touch of thoſe rude blaſts, and I ſaw, with mortification, a North Briton ſcreening himſelf from a climate which imparted vigour to an Aſiatic. My aſſociates had been horſemen in the ſervice of Timur Shah, but diſguſted at his ill payments, they had retired, and were returning to their families at Niſhabor.

On the 5th, at Say Day, five and a half furſungs, a ſmall fortified village, whoſe adjacent lands, extending in a valley, ſeemed to be well cultivated.

On the 6th, at Aſhkara, five furſungs, a ſmall fortified village. A great quantity of ſnow fell on our arrival at this place, and the weather became ſo tempeſtuous that the kafilah could not proceed. Our party went into the fort to ſeek ſhelter, and, after earneſt entreaties, were conducted into a ſmall dark room, barely capable of defending us againſt the ſtorm, which had now ſet in with violence. The inhabitants, aware of our diſtreſs, furniſhed an abundant ſupply of fuel, which became as neceſſary to our exiſtence as food; but when the cold was a little qualified, we experienced an urgent want of proviſions, not an article of which was to be procured at Aſhkara. This dilemma diſmayed the ſtouteſt of us, and became the more alarming from the apparently fixed ſtate of the weather. Yet ſuch cordial pleaſures are inherent in ſociety, that, though pent up in a dark hovel, which afforded but a flimſy ſhelter againſt the mounds of ſnow furiouſly hurled againſt it, our good humour with each other, and an ample ſupply of firing, produced cheerfulneſs and content.

One of our aſſociates, who had received a more than ordinary education, and had a taſte for poetical literature, amuſed us with reading Jamis's ſtory of Joſeph and Zuleicha *, which for its ſcenes of wondrous pathetic adventure, and the luxuriant genius of the poet is happily adapted to ſoften the rigours of a winter's day. Nor was our companion deficient in accompanying the reading with that energetic emphaſis and deep naſal tone, which in the eaſt is thought highly ornamental to the recitation of poetry.

As our pleaſures and our ſorrows exiſt largely in the imagination, and as at this period my ideas did not wander beyond the circle of my reſidence, I felt comforts in my preſent ſituation, equal, perhaps, to the enjoyments of the moſt refined ſocieties. How often, in the fervour of my heart, have I prayed for the fortitude which is ſaid to have actuated the ſtoic ſchool, that I might ſhackle, or at leaſt qualify the paſſions that are continually precipitating us into dependence and embarraſſments, and eſtabliſh within myſelf a reſource for conducting all the operations of life. But the wiſh was futile, nor would the gratification of it accord with the œconomy of human nature.

The inhabitants of Aſhkara were now buſily employed in commemorating the death of Huſſeyn, the ſecond ſon of Ali, who was ſlain at Karibullah, in the vicinity of Bagdat, where a monument has been erected to his memory, and whither the Schiahs numerouſly reſort, in the firſt ten days of the Mahometan month Mohurrum †, to offer up their prayers. Huſſin, the elder brother, was poiſoned by ſome female machinations; but the celebration of this event, which is noticed at a different period of the year, does not produce that tumultuous lamentation, and often dangerous effects, which accompany the memory of Huſſeyn's fate.

A pilgrimage to the tomb of Huſſeyn, confers the title of Karribullahee; which claſſes next after the Hadji, and before a Muſchidee, an appellation given to thoſe who

* The Patriarch of Ægypt. Zuleicha is the name given by the Arabians to the wife of Potiphar.

† The Mahometan months being lunar, the feaſts obſerved in Ramſar and Mohurrum are moveable.

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viſit the ſhrine of Muſchid. The pilgrims of Karribullah make grievous complaints of the inſults and oppreſſion of the Turks. Yet it would ſeem that perſecution inflames and invigorates their ſenſe of this religious duty, ſo that it is merely rated by the extent of difficulty and danger it occurs; for I have known a Schiah travel from the banks of the Ganges, to proſtrate himſelf at Huſſeyn's tomb, amidſt the ſcoffs and rigour of the Turks. To prevent the Afghans from throwing a ridicule on their obſervance of the Mohurrum ceremony, which happened during our halt at Aſhkara, the Perſians ſhut the gate of the fort, and commemorated the day by beating their breaſts, and chaunting, in a mournful tone, the praiſes of Huſſeyn.

In India, though the proportion of the ſect of Ali is ſmall, and Huſſeyn only known but by his name, this occaſion never fails to excite extravagant tokens of grief and enthuſiaſm; and it often happens, that the maſquerade mourners, impelled by a violent agitation of their minds and bodies, and heated alſo by intoxication, commit deſperate outrages: but the fact is, that all the natives of India, Hindoos and Mahometans, are wonderouſly attracted by public exhibitions, and thoſe of the moſt glaring kind. Though any external commemoration of Huſſeyn's death is repugnant to the doctrine of the Soonis, thoſe of India cannot reſiſt ſo alluring an offer of gratifying their love of ſhow and noiſe. Many of the Hindoos, alſo, in compliance with this propenſity, and the uſage of their Mahometan maſters, contribute largely to augment the Mohurrum proceſſions. I have heard Mr. Schwartz, the Chriſtian miſſionary on the coaſt of Coromandel, as pious a prieſt as ever preached the goſpel, and as good a man as ever adorned ſociety, complain that many of his Indian proſelytes, diſguſted at his church's want of glitter and buſtle, take an early opportunity of going over to the Popiſh communion, where they are congenially gratified by the painted ſcenery, by relics, charms, and the blaze of fire-works. From Schiahs and Soonis, Proteſtants and Roman Catholics, I am forcibly brought to the buſineſs of the day. It is the roguery of a camel-driver, on whom, ſhould you ever travel in Perſia, never put your faith. Ali now gravely informed me, that he meant to proceed, on the next day, towards Niſhabor, but that he would provide a conveyance for me to Turſhiſh on an ass. It was in vain to talk of engagements, the injuſtice of forfeiting them, or the ſum I had advanced; and had not one of my aſſociates pleaded my cauſe with a ſpirit that intimidated him, Ali would have laughed at my plea.

On the 10th, the ſtorm having abated, the kafilah moved before day-break, and arrived in the evening at Hoondeabad, ſix and a half furſungs, a ſmall village, ſituate in a well-cultivated plain, watered by many rivulets. Ali, with an ill grace, procured for me one ſide of a camel, the other being poiſed by a bag of rice, conſigned to the market of Turſhiſh; my companions, who had continued to treat me with much kindneſs, proceeded from this ſtation to Niſhabor, which lies about ſeventy miles to the north-weſt of Hoondeabad.

The diviſion of Khoraſan, which has been annexed to the Afghan empire, ſeems to be wholly intruſted to the management of Perſians, who, though a conquered people, live in the enjoyment of every right, civil or religious, which could have been granted to them under their own princes. We met a party this day returning from the army, which Timur Shah had ſent to beſiege Muſchid. This city, on which depends a ſmall tract of territory, is governed by Shah Rock, a grandſon of Nadir Shah, and, I believe, the only branch of that Prince's family now in exiſtence.

Shah Rock is the offspring of Mirza Kuli, the eldeſt ſon of Nadir Shah, by a daughter of the Sultan Huſſeyn, who was driven from the throne of Perſia by Mahmoud the Afghan.

Afghan. After Nadir's death *, the empire fell to the poſſeſſion of Ali, his nephew, who cut off all the deſcendants of Nadir, except Shah Rock, then a youth, whom he intended to raiſe nominally to the throne, ſhould the Perſians ſhew any ſtrenuous oppoſition to his government; but being, in a ſhort time after his acceſſion, encountered by his brother, who, by liberal donations, had collected a ſtrong force, Ali was defeated and taker priſoner in the field. Ibrahim, though at the head of a numerous army, and poſſeſſing the ſouthern provinces of the empire, ſaw the impracticability of attaining the dominion of Perſia, whilſt Shah Rock, who was much beloved in Khoraſan, held the city of Muſchid, where a large portion of the treaſures of Nadir were depoſited.

That he might the better ſucceed in his deſign of ſeizing the perſon of Shah Rock, his only rival, he declared this Prince, by a lineal deſcent from Nadir and the race of Sofi, to be the rightful heir of the kingdom, and by public deputation invited him to Iſpahan, that he might there be inveſted with the diadem of his anceſtors. The adherents of Shah Rock, averſe from entruſting him to ſo powerful and ſuſpicious a charge, made an advantageous uſe of Ibrahim's profeſſions, by inſtalling, with the neceſſary ceremonials, the young Prince at Muſchid. Ibrahim, baffled in the deſign of drawing Shah Rock to Iſpahan, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed King, and proceeded to reduce the chiefs of Khoraſan: but ſquandering his treaſures by an indiſcriminate profuſion, and having diſguſted his troops by an injudicious choice of officers, he was betrayed by them, and, together with Ali, then his priſoner, delivered to the miniſters of Shah Rock, who put the brothers to death.

About this period appeared, it is ſaid, a deſcendant of the ancient Sofi family, who had eſcaped the maſſacre of the times, and improving to his purpoſes the diſtraction of the kingdom and the minority of a young Prince, he ſuborned, by a largeſs, and extenſive promiſes, a party in the court of Muſchid; and having procured, at a ſecret hour, admittance into the palace of Muſchid, he ſeized the perſon of Shah Rock, and deprived him of ſight. This act was ſoon puniſhed by the death of the perpetrator; but Shah Rock, cut off by this calamity from the hope of empire, was contented to remain at Muſchid, in the poſſeſſion of a very limited revenue.

He has two ſons, Nadir Mirza, and Wulli Neamut, who are waging againſt each other an inveterate predatory war. Wulli Neamut being driven from the city, has collected a body of cavalry, which, in Khoraſan, are ever ready to rove in queſt of plunder, and are at this time levying a general contribution on every village, karavan, and traveller, within his power or reach, not ſparing even the pilgrims. After an ineffectual effort to enter the city, he ſolicited the aſſiſtance of Timur Shah, who ſent a ſmall army to join him, and beſiege Muſchid; but their knowledge of artillery is ſo limited, that the Afghans, after the campaign of a year, have only been enabled to ſtraiten the ſupplies of the beſieged.

When the extenſive conqueſts of the Afghans in Perſia are conſidered, the ſpacious empire which they have ſo recently founded, and their general reputation for military proweſs, I felt a ſenſible diſappointment at ſeeing their armies, compoſed of a tumultuous body, without order or common diſcipline. It is ſeen, however, that they were good ſoldiers under Ahmed Shah, who, himſelf a Prince of conſpicuous military talent and a diſcerning patron of merit, was empowered to give his troops that force which they conſtitutionally poſſeſs. Yet even under this famed leader, the Afghans, impetuous and haughty, from the form of their government, were never an obedient ſoldiery; and the ſevere encounters which Ahmed Shah experienced from the Sicques, when he

* Nadir Shah was aſſaſſinated at the the age of ſixty years, near Muſchid, in the month of June 1747.

ultimately evacuated the Punjab, are attributed to the deſertion of his troops, who, already enriched by the plunder of India, retired in large bodies to their own country.

Though far ſhort of the opinion I had formed of it, the Afghan army is much ſuperior to that of Perſia at the preſent day, who long deprived of a monarch, and ſubjected either to a foreign yoke or the precarious authority of petty chieftains, have loſt with their patriotiſm the ſpirit of enterprize. It appears that the Perſians have been ever ill acquainted with the uſe of fire-arms, and that their grand ſucceſſes were obtained by the formidable onſet of their cavalry. Little other proof, indeed, is required of their want of ſkill, than a review of Nadir's long ſiege of Bagdad, which, though a fortification of mean tenability, baffled all his efforts. The match-lock-piece is the common weapon of a Perſian foot ſoldier, except in the province of Auderbeijan, and in ſome parts of Shirvan and Dhaghiſtan, where the uſe of the ſpring-lock muſket has been adopted from the Turks; but the ridicule which has been thrown on this practice by the body of the people, will probably long prevent its general introduction. The ſeverity of the winter ſeaſon has now obliged the Afghan army to retire into quarters, and afforded a temporary relief to the inhabitants of Muſchid, who began to feel a want of proviſions.

The young chief of this city, in defiance of the repreſentations of his clergy, has coined into current ſpecie ſuch of thoſe ornaments with which the oſtentatious zeal of the Schiahs had for two centuries been decorating the tomb of Mooza Reza, as had been preſerved from former depredations. Even Nadir, the avowed foe of prieſthood, made his offering at the ſhrine of Muſchid. But his deſcendant, fearing the whole fabric would fall into the unhallowed hands of his enemies, has wiſely ſacrificed a part to prevent a total deſtruction. Yet his efforts will probably be fruitleſs; for if the Afghans return to the ſiege, they will derive a conſiderable aid from the low ſtate of the Muſchid treaſury, which I am informed is nearly conſumed. While the prieſts inveigh with ſufficient acrimony againſt the ſacrilegious ſeizure of Nadir Mirza, there is no limit to their invectives againſt his brother, on whom they deprecate the ſevereſt divine vengeance, for calling in the inveterate foes of their religion, to the deſtruction of the only ſacred city left in the poſſeſſion of the ſect of Ali.

On the 11th at Fidgeroot, a ſmall fort, three and a half furſungs, ſituated in a cultivated and generally a plain country, in whoſe vicinity are ſeen many fortified villages.

On the 12th at Dochabad, four and a half furſungs, a populous open village, protected by an adjoining fort, and diſtinguiſhed by a manufacture of raw ſilk. The diſtricts of Dochabad form the weſtern boundary of the dominion of Timur Shah, which, in a direction from Kaſhmire to this place *, occupy, by a groſs computation, a ſpace of ———— Britiſh miles. Were this ſpacious extent of territory governed by as vigorous and enterpriſing a Prince, as it is peopled by a brave and hardy race of men, the entire conqueſt of Perſia would not be of difficult attainment. But Timur Shah inherits no portion of his father's genius, and his power is ſeldom ſeen or felt, except ſome object of wealth, and of ſafe accompliſhment, be held out to his avarice. The exiſtence of the Emperor is then felt, and, for the day, dreaded. Here I am checked by a fear that theſe opinions may be thought preſumptuous and dogmatical, and that from ſlender opportunities of acquiring information, I have decided with an unwarrantable peremptorineſs on the character of a Prince, in whoſe country I have been but a mere ſojourner. I have only to urge, that the language which I have held, is prevalent

* It is to be noted, that ſome petty chiefſhips, lying between Kaſhmire and the Indus, are held by independent Afghans.

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in the country, and its truth ſtrongly marked in all the operations of government, which come before the public eye.

On the 13th at Koot, ſix furſungs, a village dependent on the chief of Turſhiſh. From the vicinity of Dochabad, a waſte extends to this place, on which is neither an inhabitant, or the leaſt token of vegetation; and it ſhould ſeem that nature had interpoſed this barren ſand to preclude the aſſaults of war, and even diſcourage a diſpoſition to ſocial intercourſe. To the north, extends a lofty chain of mountains covered with ſnow *, and the other quarters ſhew a tract of ſand, thinly marked with craggy hills.

The proprietor of the camel on which I rode, had carried me to Koot, his place of reſidence, fearing to carry his wares, principally compoſed of rice, to the town of Turſhiſh, leaſt the chief ſhould take it at an arbitrary price. He told me that his cattle were not deſtined for that place, whither I might purſue my way in the beſt manner I liked, except on his camel. The fort of Turſhiſh being at no greater diſtance than two miles, I would have proceeded without heſitation, could I have carried my baggage, which, though of little value, was too heavy a load for me. After much intreaty it was tranſported, at my charge, on the back of an aſs †, to the karavanſera at Turſhiſh; there I found every apartment occupied; but the application of a ſmall piece of money to the gate-keeper, who regulates the diſtribution of quarters, introduced me to a lodging, occupied by only one perſon. The ſtranger accoſted me with evident tokens of joy, obſerving, that the ſolitary life he had paſſed at Turſhiſh, was very tireſome to him, and that he expected a cordial relief from my company. This reception was happily adapted to my purpoſe, and promiſed my Mahometan character a fair introduction. It was agreed that a joint board ſhould be kept, that my aſſociate, yet weak from a late ſickneſs, ſhould prepare the victuals, and that I ſhould furniſh the water, and a laborious duty it was, there being no good water at a nearer diſtance than a mile.

Here I muſt inform you, that this was by no means a degrading duty, and is performed by travellers of a rank much ſuperior to that I held, and alſo that few travellers in this country, of whatever condition, exhibit any appearance of wealth, fearing the oppreſſions of government, and the licentious exactions of the toll-gatherers. Even men of opulence do not carry a ſervant.

Previouſly to the commencement of a journey, ſocieties are formed at a place of rendezvous, where the different offices are allotted to each; the moſt robuſt generally provide the water; ſome are employed in the kitchen, while others go in queſt of proviſions and provender for the cattle. Should no prior opportunity have offered to fix ſuch a ſcheme, it is adjuſted on the firſt halting day, and preſerved on a cordial footing throughout the journey. It is not to be inferred that certain attentions are not alſo ſhewn to the men of rank, who attach themſelves to theſe parties. When known, and they are ſoon diſtinguiſhed, they become, by common conſent, exempt from the more laborious occupations, and all aged perſons are invariably treated with a reſpectful indulgence. My preſent companion, whoſe name I never knew or aſked, was overcaſt with a fixed melancholy reſerve: nor, could I extract from him other information, than that he had laſt come from Aſterabad. But he ſtudiouſly avoided giving me any

* A road leads over theſe mountains to Muſchid, which is ſaid to be one hundred miles north-weſt from Turſhiſh, and about thirty miles to the northward of Niſhabor.

† The Perſian aſſes are of a ſtrong make, and much uſed by dealers in ſmall and ordinary wares. I have ſeen the conveyance of large parties, conſiſting of thoſe animals, which appear to be more active, and endure more fatigue than thoſe of England.

intelligence of the affairs of that province, eſpecially of the Ruſſian trade there, which I much deſired to know, and of which he muſt be informed; and though he ſeemed to like my company, or perhaps my aſſiſtance, he ſoon became to me an unpleaſant colleague. In a few days, his departure to Herat left me ſole tenant of a dark ſolitary lodging, with the advantage, and with the privilege of being unreſervedly admitted into the ſociety of the karavanſera, as a pure Mahometan.

In the courſe of vacancies, I got poſſeſſion of a more commodious apartment, in the corner of which I found, at firſt entrance, a decent looking old man ſmoking his pipe. On enquiry it appeared, that he was then wholly at large; but that his uſual ſubſiſtence aroſe from vending certain ſpells, which were powerfully efficacious in conferring every ſpecies of worldly happineſs, and conſequently in the preclusion of all evil. Yet he was willing to ſhut up his book, he ſaid, ſhould any other proſpect of maintenance be held out. This being the perſon I was in ſearch of, I made him a cordial tender of my aſſiſtance, and invited him to a participation of my fare. The offer came to him, poor man, at a convenient ſeaſon. It was now the depth of winter, and he honeſtly confeſſed to me, that his charms had ſo bad a run at Turſhiſh, that even a ſcanty meal was earned with difficulty.

The mollah, which was the title he had derived from his profeſſional ſkill, with a natural good temper, had acquired an accommodating diſpoſition; he was all things to all men; and he found a full exerciſe of thoſe qualities during our aſſociation. The little regularity I obſerved in our domeſtic ſyſtem, eſpecially in the hours of eating, was ſubject of frequent complaint to the mollah, who applied to the buſineſs of the kitchen, in which he had attained an eminent proficiency, with an active attention; nor was Sancho more attached to its produce; and he alſo reprehended my diſregard to thoſe diſhes which he moſt favoured. His cenſure generally conveyed an ejaculation of ſurprize, at the neglect of a concern the moſt important to man, or at my bad taſte, which he alledged, muſt have been vitiated in the courſe of my journeying through barbarous countries.

Having enjoyed during my acquaintance with this mollah ſo many conveniencies, and ſo pleaſing a quiet of mind, I often review the ſcene with ſenſible emotions of pleaſure. For my ſtrength, as well as my ſpirits, had been much exhauſted by the fatigues of the road, and various moleſtations neceſſarily incident to a traveller of my deſcription. The cold being intenſe, and the country covered with ſnow, it became expedient, in the firſt inſtance, to lay in a ſtock of fuel, which is a dear commodity at Turſhiſh, that we might, at leaſt, communicate an external heat to our bodies; for our creed precluded any interior cordial, nor durſt we even mention its name. But we were moderately recreated by a whoſeſome diet, large fires, a clean hearth, with plenty of Perſian tobacco, which is of a moſt excellent kind *. When I have contemplated the progreſs of my aſſociate in his culinary occupation, in mixing with care and earneſtneſs the ingredients of a hodge-podge, ſtirring it vigorouſly with a large wooden ſpoon, blowing and arranging the fire, till his eyes were red, I have been prompted to compare him to a Pruſſian ſerjeant, immerſed in the fury and enthuſiaſm of drilling a ſquad of recruits, and cudgelling into their bodies all the ability of their brains. Nor could one of our minute virtuoſos have been more inflated with pride at the diſcovery of a new ſpecies of ſnail, than the mollah, in demonſtrating the qualities of ſome favourite diſh.

* That produced at Tubbus, a town about one hundred miles to the ſouth-weſt of Turſhiſh, is eſteemed the beſt in Perſia.

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The excellent ſervices of my companion now left me at liberty to walk about the town, collect information, and frequent the public baths. In the evening we were always at home, when the mollah, at the concluſion of our meal, either read a ſtory of Yuſuff aud Zuleicha, which he did but lamely, or opening his book of ſpells, he would expound the virtues of his noſtrums, which embraced ſo wide a compaſs, that few diſeaſes of the mind or body could reſiſt their force. They extended from recalling to the paths of virtue, the ſteps of a frail wife, and ſilencing the tongue of a ſcolding one, to curing chilblains and deſtroying worms. His practice, he told me, had been more extenſive than profitable, being chiefly employed by the lower claſſes of people; the rich rarely ſought his aid. He was meditating, he ſaid, which I had now obviated, a journey to Muſchid, where he would have been enabled to paſs the winter, a ſeaſon always of anxious care to him; as for the ſummer he never beſtowed a thought on it.

The duty of religion ſat rather looſely on the mollah, for out of the five daily prayers *, he uſually ſtruck off four, and on many days the omiſſion was total. But obſerving that I was yet more relaxed, he would gravely cenſure my negligence; not that I was degraded in his opinion, but it was neceſſary, he ſaid, to maintain a decorum of manners, that the people of the karavanſera might not make unfavourable remarks. The ſpirit and tendency of the mollah's obſervation, when impartially conſidered, diſcloſes the grand tenure by which the religion of Mahomet is at this day held. It is on the daily recital of five prayers †, waſhing as often, and a reſtriction from a certain food, that the Mahometan builds his hope of Paradiſe. And the reputation of ſuch a perſon, in Perſia, is equal to that of our men of virtue, honour, and humanity. Even to that of our man of faſhion.

On the other ſide, he that ſhall neglect theſe ceremonies, though he may execute, to an ample extent, the duties of a good citizen, is branded with the general mark of contumely; and ſhould his condition of life not be ſufficiently eminent to command reſpect, he is cut off from many of the benefits of ſociety. That I may point out to you more eſpecially the opinion of a Mahometan on the eſſential efficacy of forms, I am induced to relate an obſervation of the mollah. In ſpeaking of an Afghan, who had himſelf acceſs to the karavanſera by an agreeable and friendly diſpoſition, he ſaid, that he willingly ſubſcribed to the compaſs of his moral merits, but was ſorry to ſee them vitiated by offering up his prayers with folded hands. Does it not aſtoniſh you, that the mind of a creature ſo exquiſitely formed by the great Lord of nature, ſhould have become ſo ſtrongly fettered by the ſhackles of prejudice, ſhould have formed ideas ſo derogatory of his infinite benevolence, as to be fearful of approaching his altar but in certain poſitions and flections of the body?

Travelling once with ſome Perſians on a ſultry day, and over an ill-watered country, the party unexpectedly approached a ſmall ſtream, where, haſtily diſmounting, I drank a cup of water with avidity, one of the Perſians who ſtood near me, cried out in an earneſt tone, while I was finiſhing the draught, to reſerve a little in the bottom of the veſſel, and throw it on the ground with an execration on the memory of

* The firſt, a ſhort one, is ſaid before the break of day; the ſecond on the earlieſt appearance of light, a period uſually denominated the Wokt Nemaz, or time of prayer; the third about two hours before ſunſet; the fourth at the cloſe of the evening, this is alſo termed the Wokt Nemaz; and the fifth in the courſe of the night. The ſecond and fourth prayers are moſt regularly obſerved.

† I have ſeen grave long-bearded Mahometans, retire a few ſteps from the exhibition of a laſcivious dance, and in the ſame apartment kneel to their prayers, which haſtily muttering, they returned to the amuſement.

Yezid.

Yezid *. On ſeeing that not a drop remained, he viewed me with evident marks of deteſtation, and pronounced me a kaufir. But Perſia has long loſt her men of genius and philanthropy. The day of Ferdouſi, Sadi, and Hafiz, is ſet in barbarous darkneſs; and little elſe is now written or liſtened to, except the legends of prieſts, or the chimerical exploits of the twelve Imaums, which nearly quadrate in ſtyle and matter with our renowned nurſery hiſtories of Tom Thumb, or Jack the Giant-killer; though with a more pernicious effect; for the Perſian writings ſtrongly tend to eterniſe amongſt them a rancorous hatred to all thoſe of a different creed.

It is recorded that the cotemporaries of Hafiz were ſo much offended at his bold diſquiſitions on the religion of the Koran, and witty ſtrictures on the looſe conduct of the clergy, that at his death they heſitated to perform the uſual obſequies. Yet the latter Perſians have not only acquitted Hafiz of any charge of irreligion, though almoſt every page of the poet refutes the poſition, but they aſſert, that under the cloak of his ſportive, pleaſurable exhortations, he deſcribes the excellency of their faith, and the future happineſs of pious Mahometans.

While the mollah and I were enjoying the comforts of a commodious apartment, and ſavoury meſſes, made in rotation, of beef, mutton, and camel's fleſh, on a ſudden, every room of the karavanſera was tumultuouſly filled by a large body of pilgrims † from the ſhrine of Muſchid. What an exuberance of zeal muſt have animated theſe devotees! which neither ſo diſtant and perilous a journey could deter, or the inclement ſeaſon of the year cool. The preſent winter was accounted more rigorous than had been for ſome years remembered, particularly in the quarter of Muſchid and Niſhabor, where two of theſe pilgrims had periſhed in the ſnow, and others had loſt their limbs by the ſeverity of the froſt.

In that band, which ruſhed into our apartment, was a perſon who ſeemed to take the avowed lead; he was better equipped than his aſſociates, and wore on his head the inſignia of a hadji §; a pilgrim, who ſupplied the place of a ſervant, began to reconnoitre the room, and as ſoon as he noticed its ſituation, he diſlodged, without ceremony, and with much facility, from one of its corners, the very portable chattles of our poor mollah; and in the voice of authority, declared the place aſſigned to the uſe of the hadji, whom he repreſented to be of ſuperior rank and importance.

The hadji took his ſeat with a ſolemn air, and looking haughtily round he threw his eyes on me, and immediately aſked, or rather demanded my name and buſineſs. The queſtion was conveyed in a manner which fully evinced the power of the interrogator; indeed I quickly ſaw, from the party's deference to him, the neceſſity of obſerving a reſpectful conduct to this ſuperb Mahometan. I told him that I was an Arab, travelling to Muſchid; but judge of my confuſion, when the hadji began to ſpeak in my ſuppoſed language. Endeavouring to ſuppreſs my embarraſſment at ſo complete a conviction of falſity, I obſerved, that I had aſſumed the name of an Arab, for the purpoſe of travelling with more ſafety; but that I was a native of Kaſhmire, proceeding on a mercantile concern to Mazanderan. Such ſtories, which in the eaſt may be deſcribed by the ſmoother term, ſimulation, are in common uſe among Aſiatic travellers; and unleſs other teſtimony corroborates their relations, little credit is given, nor is much expected. It is ſufficient that their true ſtory remains concealed.

* The chief who ſlew Huſſeyn the ſon of Ali.

† They were chiefly inhabitants of Tabrid, the ancient Taurus, I believe, a town in the province of Anderbeijan.

§ In Perſia it is a ſtrip of cloth, commonly green, rolled on the edge of the cap.

This emendation of my account produced no apparent ſurprize, nor any further interrogation; and from the mode of the hadji's behaviour, it was evident that I had not ſuffered in his opinion. The laſt year of my life had been occupied in an invaried ſcene of diſguiſe, with a language wholly fabricated to preſerve it; ſo that, God forgive me, I never wanted a ready tale for current uſe. I have now only to hope, that when it may be no longer expedient to ſupport the part hitherto ſo ſucceſsfully maintained, I ſhall be enabled to throw off the cloak with all its garniture for ever. The hadji was a reſident of Balfroſh, the principal town of Mazanderan, where he maintained a conſiderable traffic; he had joined the Tabrez pilgrims at Muſchid, and was now on the way back to his own province. The occaſion of accompanying this party was not to be foregone; as few roads are of more dangerous paſſage, than that from Turſhiſh to the Caſpian ſea, and conſequently not much frequented. The hadji, to whom I applied for a paſſage to Balfroſh, affected to lay various obſtacles in my way, and ſeeing my anxiety to proceed, he made his bargain conformably, that is, he ſtipulated for a double amount of the uſual hire.

The territory of Turſhiſh, which takes in about ——— miles from eaſt to weſt, and nearly half that ſpace in latitudinal direction, is held by Abedullah, an independent Perſian chief; he ſeems to be forty years of age, has a reſpectable appearance, and aſſumes that air of gravity which ſtrongly pervades the manners of the high claſſes of Mahometans. His adminiſtration is well liked by the people, who ſeem to act and ſpeak very much at their eaſe. Paſſengers are never interrogated, nor is a paſſport required.

Adjoining to old Turſhiſh, called alſo Sultanabad, which is of ſmall compaſs, and ſurrounded with a wall, Abedullah has built a new town, in an angle of which ſtands the karavanſera, the only one I have ſeen in Perſia, which is not interiorly ſupplied with water. The chief and his officers reſide in the new quarter, where is alſo held the market, which the inhabitants ſay has not been ſo well ſupplied ſince the Afghan troops have laid waſte the diſtricts of Muſchid, and thereby impeded the traffic of this quarter of Khoraſan.

The trade of Turſhiſh ariſes chiefly from the import of indigo and other dyes from the weſtward, woollen cloths and rice, which is ſcantily produced in the vicinity, from Herat. And the chief article of export ſeems to be iron, wrought in thick plates. The ſmall quantity of European cloths required at Turſhiſh is brought from Mazanderan, by the way of Shahroot, or from Ghilan, by the way of the great road of Yezd. About one hundred Hindoo families, from Moultan and Jeſſilmere, are eſtabliſhed in this town, which is the extreme limit of their emigration on this ſide of Perſia; they occupy a quarter in which no Mahometan is permitted to reſide, and where they conducted buſineſs without moleſtation or inſult: and I was not a little ſurprized to ſee thoſe of the Bramin ſect, diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Peerzadah, a title which the Mahometans uſually beſtow on the deſcendants of their prophet. Small companies of Hindoos are alſo ſettled at Muſchid, Yezd, Kachan, Caſbin, and ſome parts of the Caſpian ſhore; and more extenſive ſocieties in the different towns of the Perſian Gulph, where they maintain a navigable commerce with the weſtern coaſt of India.

The departure of our kafilah now drawing near, the hadji purchaſed a horſe for my conveyance, with the money which I had advanced; but not thinking my weight and baggage a ſufficient burthen for the animal, by no means a robuſt one, he added two heavy parcels of dyeing ſtuffs, on which I was to be ſeated. This was the moſt rapacious Mahometan I had yet known; not ſatisfied with the firſt extortion, he urged me, without

without intermiſſion, for a loan of money, even the moſt trifling ſum; in other words, h wanted to cheat me. There are, I believe, few ſuch men amongſt us as Hadji Mahomed. He had the reputation of being an opulent merchant, and he was connected with perſons of the firſt rank in his country; his deportment was grave and dignified; his manners in common intercourſe were ſo forcibly inſinuating, that he never failed to pleaſe, even thoſe who knew and had experienced his ill qualities; he had, on the oſtenſible ſcore of devotion, made pilgrimages in Arabia, Turkey, and Perſia; he prayed with undeviating regularity five times in the day, beſides a long roll of ſupererogatory oriſons. Yet this man of property and rank, of polite manners, and profeſſed ſanctity, having in vain aimed at a larger ſum, importuned me in abject language to lend or give him half-a-crown. But my feelings having become callous, from a long aſſociation, I ſuppoſe, with thoſe who had none, I was enabled to withſtand, with intrepid coolneſs, the intreaties of the hadji, who ſeemed to take the refuſal nothing amiſs; indeed, I imagine, he accounted me a perſon of diſcretion, and converſant in the buſineſs of the world.

That I might the better guard againſt a ſuſpicion of the character I repreſented, eſpecially in the mind of the hadji, who to his other acquirements united unſatiable inquiſitiveneſs, I told him that I was a Sooni, imagining that the low eſtimation in which this ſect is held in Perſia, would prevent further notice. The hadji did not approve of this character, which was rarely ſeen, and much abhorred in this part of the country; nor would it be ſafe for a Sooni, he ſaid, to travel in the ſociety of Schiah pilgrims, who, elevated by their late purification at Muſchid, would aſſume a merit of inſulting and ill treating me.

By the council of Hadji Mahomed I became a Schiah, and was received among the pilgrims without a ſcruple. It was, believe me, with no little concern, that I parted from the mollah, who had been to me an uſeful as well as a pleaſant companion; and in the unreſerved intercourſe which had for ſome days ſubſiſted between us, I experienced a pleaſure, the more ſenſible, as my ſituation before had been ſolitary and irkſome. In his dealings, I found him punctually honeſt, for conceiving an attachment to this harmleſs conjuror, I uſed to make enquiries at the places where he made his purchaſes for me, but never diſcovered a falſe charge.

On the morning of the 28th of December, left Turſhiſh, and about noon arrived at the village of Killeelabad, two and a half furſungs. Our party, conſiſting of about ſix or ſeven perſons, the Tabrez having not yet joined, halted at a ſmall karavanſera, where being plentifully ſupplied with fuel by one of the villagers, to whom our hadji was known, we paſſed a cold ſnowy night very comfortably.

On the 29th, at Hadjiabad, a ſmall fort, three furſungs. When the chief of this place was informed that Hadji Mahomed was our leader, for though of a diſtant province, he was well known in Khoraſan, we were invited to the fort, and hoſpitably entertained.

This day my horſe gave many tokens of inability to ſupport the heavy burthen that had been laid upon him. He eat little, ſweated much, and often ſtumbled. In one of his inclinations, I was thrown from my elevated ſeat, with a violent ſhock, and received a violent contuſion on the hand. Inſtead of expreſſing any concern at the diſaſter, the hadji ſharply reprehended my want of ſkill, and predicted ill ſucceſs to my undertakings.

At Hadjiabad the pomegranates are of a delicious flavour, a property indeed of this fruit in moſt parts of Perſia. It has a thin ſoft ſkin, and contains a large quantity of juice, than which nothing, in hot weather, or after fatigue, can be more grateful.

There is a ſpecies of the pomegranate, in Perſia, and alſo in Afghaniſtan, whoſe granules are without ſeed, called the Redana * ; it is of a ſuperior kind, and generally ſcarce.

On the 30th, at Nowblehuckum, three furſungs, a large and populous village, where our party was joined by the Tabrez pilgrims. From Turſhiſh to this place, the general direction of the road lay about weſt; the country is open and well cultivated, but like the eaſtern diviſion of Khoraſan, ſcantily ſupplied with wood and running water. At this place, my endeavour to procure a ſtock of wheat bread, to ſupport me during a three or four days' journey over a deſart, which lay in the road, was wholly fruitleſs. The number of applicants for a like proviſion was ſo great, and their arguments, from the late meritorious ſervice they had performed, was ſo much more efficacious than mine, that I was obliged to reſt ſatisfied with a few barley cakes.

Being thrown, by a ſort of chance, for the two laſt days, into the company of a Ghilan ſeid, who had been making the pilgrimage of Muſchid, we agreed after a ſhort preliminary, to place in a common ſtock our proviſions and good offices. Man, you know, of all created beings, is the leaſt fitted, and the leaſt deſirous to live alone. It is true, that if not ſunk by vice, or faſcinated by diſſipation, he will occaſionally fly from the fatigues of buſineſs, the rapid hurry of crowds, and ſeeking the ſhade of retirement, ſolace and exerciſe his intellectual faculties. But when he has breathed out his day of contemplation, he is often ſeen returning from the world he fled from, with a fond ſolicitude. It is not for me to expatiate on the pleaſures and uſes of ſociety, the ſubject has for ages fallen under the moſt extenſive and erudite diſcuſſion; nor can the pen of a journaliſt give it additional luſtre. I will now only obſerve, that after a tedious fatiguing journey, it was with a high reliſh I ſat down to a homely meal with the ſeid, whoſe remarks and ſingular opinions on the ſubject of religion, never failed to give amuſement and information.

On the 31ſt, at Durroona, ſeven furſungs, a ſmall village, ſituate near the weſtern boundary of the territory of Abedullah; the road led, in a weſtern direction, through a barren country. In croſſing a ſteep rivulet, during this day's journey, my horſe precipitated me, with hadji's bags of dye, into the middle of it, where we were diſcovered lying by this now enraged Mahometan. He ſmote his beard until his anger found utterance, when he poured on me a torrent of abuſe; and charging his ill-fortune to my ſcandalous omiſſion of the ſtated prayers of a Muſſulman, he declared that I ſhould indemnify the loſs of his paint to the laſt farthing.

On the 1ſt of January 1784, having travelled eight furſungs through a deſart, which was interſperſed with low hills, and a thin ſcattering wood, we halted on an eminence, where the ſnow which covered it ſupplied our water. My horſe became ſo much enfeebled, that he was unable to carry me with the other part of his load; and I ſhould have been left on the ground, had not ſome of the paſſengers, who were apprized of the extraordinary ſum which I had paid for hire, warmly expoſtulated with the hadji on the injuſtice of his conduct. Somewhat abaſhed at the remonſtrance, and fearful, perhaps, of a more general attack on the many weak ſides of his character, the hadji procured a horſe from a perſon who was proceeding two ſtages on our road, and who, for a ſmall gain, conſented to diſmount and incur an exceſſive fatigue.

The domeſtic aſſociate of Hadji Mahomed having ſeen his patron treat me with neglect and often with rudeneſs, thought that he might with impunity indulge a like ſpirit; but ſeeing no reaſon to ſhew him the reſpect which I obſerved to the hadji, I was provoked this evening to give him a ſmart chaſtiſement, and in the Engliſh manner; a ſpecies of attack as novel to him as it was efficacious, and which ſurprized the pilgrims,

* This word in the Perſic, ſignifies without ſeed.

who beſtowed on me a general applauſe. In this occurrence you will perceive the eſſential advantages of my Mahometan character: for, in my real one, no affront, however inſolent or opprobrious, could have warranted any active reſentment; the only reſource would have been a ſilent patience; it is, indeed, often neceſſary to aſſuage the offender's wrath, to avert a further outrage. The penalty that would probably be inflicted on a Chriſtian hardy enough to lift his hand, in this part of Perſia, againſt a Mahometan, would be a heavy fine, or ſevere corporeal puniſhment.

The Armenians, who viſit moſt of the quarters of weſtern Aſia, are ſeldom ſeen on this road, dreading equally the inimical diſpoſition and inveterate prejudices of the inhabitants to all thoſe of a different faith, and the incurſions of the Turkoman Tartars.

On the 2d, at Towrone, five furſungs, a ſmall fortified village, ſituate in the diſtricts of Iſmael Khan, an independent chief, who alſo claims the deſert, extending from Deronne to this place: nor is it probable that the property will ever be diſputed. Many travellers, it is ſaid, have periſhed in this track, from the intenſe heats, and a ſcarcity of water, which, in the courſe of the firſt ſtage, is procured but in one ſpot, by digging ſmall wells.

We learned that a party of fifty Turkoman horſe had yeſterday paſſed under the walls of Towrone, in the way to their own country. Theſe fierce free-booters, who wage a common war on the Perſians, enſlave as well as plunder thoſe who fall into their hands. To prevent an eſcape, the captives are ſent into the interior parts of the country, where they are employed in tending the numerous droves of cattle and horſes with which Tartary abounds. They are alſo occaſionally ſold to the Kalmucks, the moſt rude and ſavage of all the Tartar race *. A ſlavery with theſe is ſpoken of with horror, and accounted worſe than death. The Turkomans of this day are a tribe of no important note; and their military operations are directed chiefly to the attack of karavans and defenceleſs villages. They are no longer that great and powerful people which produced a Zinjis and a Timur, the conquerors of Aſia, whoſe poſterity were ſeen in this country, ſeated on the moſt ſplendid throne of the world. It is now received as a general poſition of hiſtory, that thoſe immenſe bodies of ſoldiers which ſpread over and ultimately ſubdued the dominion of Rome, under the names of Goths and Vandals, were the Tartars of Bochara, Kheiva, and the ſhores of the Caſpian. The preſent chief of the Turkoman tribe reſides at Bochara, where he keeps a moderate court, and exerciſes a very limited power. The Tartars of the more eaſtern regions, the modern conquerors of China, who may be ranged under the common deſignation of Kalmucks and Monguls, are divided into various roving herds, and would ſeem to be no longer a cauſe of dread to the ſouthern nations of Aſia.

* One of the names of a native of Tartary, in the language of his country, is Tatter, and Tattaur. Having often indulged a curioſity in ſearching for the etymology of Aſiatic names, which, though not tending to the developement of any important facts, may reflect ſubordinate lights, I have been induced to inſert them in this place.

The term Ferung, or Ferringhee, a name commonly applied at this day among moſt of the nations of Aſia, except the Chineſe, ſeems to be derived from Frank, an appellation by which the Cruſade Chriſtians were indiſcriminately deſcribed by the inhabitants of Aſia Minor.

Saracen, one of the names formerly given to the people of Arabia, may, on a ground fair enough, be deduced from Sahara, which, in the Arabic, ſignifies a deſart, and may, with equal propriety, be given to the inhabitant of a barren region, as the term Highlander, among us, to the reſident of a mountainous country; and I am the more induced to adopt the probable truth of this derivation, as it was pointed out to me by the moſt accurate ſcholar (the preſent Archbiſhop of York) of our country.

The Mahometan ſubjects of the Ottoman empire are known in Europe by the common name of Turks, which immediately accords with one of the grand deſignations uſed by the Tartars, who wreſted that region from the Arabian khaliphat; and a cauſe of a ſimilar nature has probably induced many of the Hindoo traders to apply the ſame denomination to the Mahometans of India.

Preparing this morning to proceed, I could neither find the horſe I had ridden yeſterday, nor its maſter, who it appeared had proceeded alone, an hour before the departure of the party. The road being covered with a deep ſnow, it was with great fatigue and exertion I could overtake the deſerter, who frankly ſaid, that he was apprehenſive of not being paid by the hadji, but, that if I would anſwer for the payment of the hire, I might immediately mount his ſteed. The adjuſtment being ſpeedily made, I rode on to Towrone; from whence I ſent back this ſame perſon, on whom money had irreſiſtible force, to bring the hadji's tired horſe, which, I learned from ſome of the paſſengers, was ſcarcely able to crawl. Fearful of being altogether abandoned by Hadji Mahomed, I found it neceſſary to ſpeak to him in unreſerved language, which was ſtrongly ſupported by a Perſian merchant, whoſe notice I had acquired, and, after much oppoſition, became ſucceſsful.

On the 3d, the kafilah halted in a deſert, eight furſungs, at a ſmall ſtream, the only water ſeen in the courſe of this day's journey; the Ghilan ſeid and I had filled our bottle for mutual uſe, and the bread, cheeſe, and onions, which ſupplied our evening meal, giving me a violent thirſt, I made frequent applications to our water ſtock. The ſeid, ſeeing that I had taken more than a juſt portion, required that the reſidue ſhould be reſerved for his ceremonial ablutions.

While the ſeid retired to pray, I went in ſearch of fuel, and returning firſt to our quarter, I haſtily drank off the remaining water, and again betook myſelf to wood-cutting, that I might not be diſcovered near the empty veſſel by my aſſociate, who had naturally an iraſcible temper. When I ſuppoſed he had returned from his prayer, I brought in a large load of wood, which I threw on the ground with an air of great fatigue, and of having done a meritorious ſervice. "Aye," ſays he, "while I, like a true believer, have been performing my duty to God, and you toiling to procure us firing for this cold night, ſome hardened kauñr, who I wiſh may never drink again in this world, has plundered the pittance of water which was ſet apart for my ablutions." He made ſtrict ſearch among our neighbours for the perpetrator of this robbery, as he termed it; but receiving no ſatisfactory information, he deliberately delivered him or them to the charge of every devil in the infernal catalogue, and went grumbling to ſleep.

On the 4th, at Khanahoody, eight furſungs, a fortified and populous village, the reſidence of Iſmael Khan, who poſſeſſes a ſmall independent terrtory in this quarter. The road from Towrone led in a weſtern direction, through a deſert track, interſperſed with low and bare hills.

About three miles to the eaſtward of Khanahoody, a chain of mountains, of the medium altitude, extends in a north and ſouth direction, whoſe weſtern face is conſiderably higher than that to the eaſtward. This branch of hills, which ſeem to have a long ſcope, has effected a grand change in the courſe of the running waters. The ſtreams on the weſtern ſide have a ſouth-weſt current, and flow, I imagine, into the Caſpian Sea, or into the head of the Gulf of Perſia, while thoſe on the eaſtern ſide are probably carried to the more ſouthern ſhores of the Gulf.

From the ſummit of the Khanahoody hills, is ſeen, to the weſt and north-weſt, a wide extended plain, thickly covered with villages and arable lands; nor does a riſing ground in this direction interrupt the utmoſt ſcope of the eye. Here I muſt note, that this quarter of Perſia has now aſſumed its moſt unfavourable appearance; it being the depth of winter, when little vegetation is ſeen on the ground, and not a leaf on the trees. This day died an old man of our party, who had been long ailing; and what was rather ſingular, his death happened while he was on horſeback.

On the 5th, at Bearjumund, three furſungs, a populous village in the diſtricts of Iſmael Khan. Halted on the 6th, on account of the ſickneſs of our kafilah director. Two of the pilgrims, who were carpenters, made a litter for him, which was furniſhed with poles like a ſedan, and carried by two mules, one of which was yoked before, and the other behind the ſeat.

On the 7th, at Naſirabad, nine furſungs, a ſmall fortreſs in ruins, ſituate on an eminence. We paſſed at about midway through two uninhabited villages near each other, Kow and Kauff, noted places of rendezvous of the Turkoman banditti, and ſtanding on one of the grand roads from Perſia to Tartary. On approaching Naſirabad, I obſerved numerous bones of a large ſize ſtrewed on the ground, and which I learned were the remains of ſome of the elephants of Nadir Shah, who had ordered them to be ſent into the ſouthern provinces, where the warmth of climate is better adapted to the health of thoſe animals: but many of them died on the journey.

Perſia, ſince its empire has been rent into pieces, has ſuffered ſevere devaſtations, and has been grievouſly depopulated. The various petty chiefs, who hold themſelves but the ruler of a day, are often incited to oppreſs the inhabitants, and impoſe heavy taxes on the merchant; yet theſe exactions might receive ſome alleviation, did the governors exert any active efforts in defending their diſtricts from the depredations of the Tartars, who, even in parties of a hundred, are ſcouring the country from Muſchid to the Caſpian Sea; and in the courſe of this laſt year, a body of them, leſs than a thouſand, had penetrated to the environs of Iſpahan. Such acts of unreſtrained violence, marked with every ſpecies of barbarity, will point out ſome of the evils which have at this day overwhelmed Perſia, which muſt remain ſunk in this inglorious obſcurity, until ſome future hero ſhall deſtroy the preſent pigmy race, and raiſing the ſtructure of a new empire, ſhall collect its ſtrength, and impart to it vigorous action.

All the towns, villages, and even the ſmalleſt hamlets in the northern diviſion of Perſia, though but at the diſtance of half a mile from each other, are ſurrounded with walls, which ſeem to have been erected more as a ſhelter againſt domeſtic robbery and private feuds, than the aſſault of an enemy. In conſidering the perpetual alarms, ſolicitude, and machinations, which muſt neceſſarily agitate the inhabitants of this region, we are at a loſs whether to conſider them more as objects of reproach for the depravity of their manners, or of pity, at viewing the ſtate of national debaſement, to which they have been precipitated by the declenſion of their empire.

On the 8th, at Shahroot, alſo called Buſtan, four furſungs, a ſmall but populous town. From Nowblehuckum, the road lay about weſt to Towrone, whence it had, I apprehend, a weſt-by-north direction to Shahroot *. The horſe which I had hired from the hadji to carry me to Mazanderan, having died this day, I was detained on the road to take care of my little chattels, which muſt have been loſt, had not ſome of my kafilah acquaintances each conveyed a portion, though their horſes were much jaded.

Paſſing over a fertile well-watered plain, which ſurrounds, to a wide ſpace, the town of Shahroot, I came late in the evening to the karavanſera, where I found the Ghilan ſeid in poſſeſſion of an apartment, which he had taken for our joint uſe. The cold was here extremely intenſe, and had reached the point which the Perſians, with a peculiar force of expreſſion, term the Zerb Zimmiſtan, the ſtroke of winter. The ſnow fell thickly about us, and the piercing north wind made every creature ſhrink from its blaſt; nor were there many cordials at hand to qualify theſe rigours.

* The Tabrez pilgrims left Shahroot, about five miles to the right or weſtward, and proceeded towards their own country by the way of Simna and Caſbin.

Firing

Firing is ſcarcer here than in any part of Khoraſan; it is of a bad quality for fuel, and much of it is of a green wood. Our lodging had no aperture but the door, which the ſeid, to ſcreen himſelf from the cold, kept ſhut; nor could my moſt earneſt intreaty obtain any opening for the diſcharge of the ſmoke. The only material differences indeed exiſting between us, aroſe from this, and another deſpotic arrangement of the ſeid, which uſed to cauſe ſome warm debates.

It was my buſineſs, being the more active member, to purchaſe and bring in fuel, and before day-light, to procure water and a light to warm the ſeid, and enable him to perform the ablution preparatory to prayer, an omiſſion of which he would have dreaded as the precurſor of ſome dire calamity. The ſeid conſented to kindle the fire, an office which I could never perform without ſuffering acute pain in my eyes from the ſmoke. Thus were our labours, on principles fair enough, mutually divided; but when we came to enjoy the fruits of it, this deſcendant of his prophet, wrapped in a large cloak made of ſheep ſkins, would take ſo unaccommodating a poſt at, or rather over our ſmall fire, which was in a manner embraced by the extended ſkirts of his garment, that I received no warmth; and I ſhould not have known that a fire was in the room, but for a profuſion of ſmoke. I never remember to have ſuffered ſo much inconveniency from the cold; nor could all my wardrobe, heaped at once on my body, keep me from ſhivering. My anger would often break out to an extreme height at the ſeid's total ſeizure of the fire-place, and excited very impaſſioned language: but which he never failed to allay, by ſetting forth, that he was old and infirm, that he had foregone all his domeſtic comforts, which were many, to viſit, in the depth of winter, a diſtant ſhrine, and that in conſideration of a deed ſo meritorious, and alſo of his holy deſcent, it was my duty to aſſiſt and indulge his wants.

My diſpoſition towards him, and a knowledge of moſt of the facts ſet forth, made his arguments unanſwerable; and in return for the ſurrender of the hearth, I was invited to Ghilan, where he promiſed to give me a wife out of his family, and ſuitable proviſion for my maintenance. Such was the ordinary reſult of our bickerings, and it always tended to make the connection more cordial. In my little diſputes on the road, the ſeid gave me vigorous ſupport, and when any particular enquiry was made about my perſon, which it ſometimes produced, he would immediately aſſert that I belonged to him. I have been received as his ſon, by thoſe who only knew us *en paſſant*; nor did our appearance diſcredit the belief, for we were naturally of a fine complexion, of the ſame ſtature, with greyiſh eyes.

At Shahroot we were frequently viſited by a Mazanderan ſhoemaker *, the moſt effervescent zealot that ever counted his beads or entered a moſque. Having thrown aſide his tools and committed the ſhop to the management of his wife, he had laid out the greateſt portion of his property on a horſe, and a large koran, and made the grand tour of all the celebrated pilgrimages in Perſia. But he grievouſly lamented that the narrow ſtate of his fortunes would not permit a viſitation at the holy tomb of his prophet, which only could make his death eaſy, and his aſſurance of heaven well founded. Excluſive of the ordained prayers, he practiſed many of a ſubſidiary quality, which might be termed the half notes of ſupplication, and theſe were inceſſantly whined out with a deep naſal tone, and ſometimes when his ſpirit was violently agitated, he would diſcharge them with a bellow, as if he meant to batter down the gates of Paradiſe by ſtorm.

* The Perſian ſhoemaker is not, as in India, of the loweſt ranks of the people, but claſſes among the moſt reputable tradeſmen of his country.

This

This ſhoemaker was a little man, extremely iraſcible, and though immerſed in devotion, he did not ſhew the ſmalleſt remiſſion in the management of his temporal concerns. In an altercation with the ſeid, about the adjuſtment of a very ſmall account, not more than three half-pence, a furious conteſt aroſe which terminated wholly in favour of the ſhoemaker, his language, which run with an obſtreperous fluency, ſtunned and greatly terrified my companion, who hearing himſelf in a breath called Chriſtian, Jew, and Infidel, fled from the combat with precipitancy. This ſaid ſhoemaker, by an ill-timed intruſion, had diſcovered me taking ſome money out of my purſe; and immediately retiring, declared to all the people of the karavanſera, that the kaſhmiry, my travelling name at that time, was poſſeſſed of a large treaſure in gold and diamonds, which he himſelf had ſeen.

Such a diſcovery in a country governed even by the moſt ſalutary laws, might have endangered my property and perſon, but in this quarter of the world, where a man's throat is often cut for the fee ſimple of his cloak, it placed me in imminent peril. But the chain of favourable events, little ſtrengthened by my own merits, which had propitiouſly conducted me from the banks of the Ganges, through many an unhoſpitable track, ſtill continued to lead me on ſafely.

Having no important matter to lay before you, I muſt extend my egotiſms, and inform you that Hadji Mahomed, having now arrived in the territory of the Mazanderan chief, by whom he was favoured, threw off all reſerve; he plainly told me, that, inſtead of looking to him for a future conveyance, I ſhould think myſelf fortunate in not being charged with the price of his horſe, and the damage done to his wares. Seeing him equally empowered as diſpoſed to do me an injury, I cheerfully cancelled my engagements with him, on the proviſo of obtaining his protection during the journey to Mazanderan.

Shahroot, with its independent diſtricts, including Naſirabad, pertains properly, I believe, to the Khoraſan diviſion, though it now holds of Aſterabad *, which with Mazanderan and Hazaan-Tirreeb is governed by Aga Mahomed Khan, one of the moſt important chiefs now remaining in Perſia. The town of Shahroot is ſmall and ſurrounded in ſome parts with a ſlight earthen wall. The houſes, from a want of wood, are built of unburnt bricks, and covered with a flat arch of the ſame materials.

Many people are ſeen in this vicinity, whoſe noſes, fingers, and toes, have been deſtroyed by the froſt, which is ſaid to be ſeverer at Shahroot than any part of Perſia. The principal traffic of this diſtrict ariſes from the export of cotton, unwrought and in thread, to Mazanderan; and the returns from thence are made in Ruſſian bar-iron and ſteel, a little broad-cloth, chiefly of Dutch manufacture, copper and cutlery. Sugar, from its high price, being rarely uſed by the lower claſs of Perſians, they have adapted to its purpoſes a ſyrup called Sheerah, made of the inſpiſſated juice of grapes; but it ſeemed to be of an irritating and inflammable quality; and moſt of them mix with their food the expreſſed juice of the ſour pomegranate, which makes a high flavoured and ſalubrious acid.

On the 17th of January I joined a cotton kafilah, and proceeded to Dhey† Mollah, a ſmall walled village, four furſungs. The horſe which I had hired at Shahroot was ſtrong and well paced, and promiſed to be a very valuable acquiſition, as a great part of the Mazanderan road lies over a mountainous country, covered with foreſts, and interſected by rapid ſtreams.

* Shahroot lies about one hundred miles to the eaſtward of the town of Aſterabad.

† Dhey in the Perſic, ſignifies a village.

At

At Dheh Mollah, the ſeid and I were entertained with cordial hoſpitality; a benefit wholly aſcribed to the inherent and contingent virtues of my companion, who from deſcent, as well as his late arduous pilgrimage, had a two-fold claim on the benevolence of his countrymen. I ſhould be deficient indeed in ordinary gratitude, did I not feel the kind offices of this ſeid, who ſmoothed the many inconveniences which often croſſed my way, and procured for me accommodations not attainable by common travellers. The fruits of this village, ſome of which were yet freſh, are in great eſtimation, particularly the pomegranate, which is not inferior to that of Hadjiabad. This quarter of Perſia produces a variety of vegetables, as cabbages, carrots, peas, and turnips; the latter of an excellent kind, and compoſes, in the ſeaſon, a principal portion of the food of the inhabitants.

On the 18th, at Tauck, a ſmall fort, five and a half furſungs. This day an intenſe froſt, which had congealed all the ſtanding water, kept me ſhivering with cold during the firſt part of the journey. About eight miles to the ſouth-eaſt of Tauck, ſtands, on a ſpacious plain, the town of Dumgam, whoſe lofty minarets are ſeen at a great diſtance. This plain has become famous, in the latter annals of Perſia, for a victory obtained by Nadir Shah, before the period of his ſovereignty over the Afghan Aſhruff, who then held poſſeſſion of Iſpahan. The battle, which was ſevere but deciſive, twelve of thirty thouſand Afghans being, it is ſaid, either killed or taken, advanced Nadir high in the eſtimation of Shah Thamas, who was preſent in the action. As a diſtinguiſhed mark of his favour, and one of the moſt honourable which the Perſian princes uſed to confer on a ſubject, he permitted Nadir to be denominated the royal ſlave, by the title of Thamas Kuli *.

It would afford me a ſenſible pleaſure, were I enabled to point out to you any monuments of the former grandeur and magnificence of the Perſian empire, which has been ſeen to run a long courſe of glory, and to often combat with ſucceſs the legions of Rome; yet where are now the Roman eagles that were wont to ſtun the world with the cry of victory? Where are now the ſteeled bands of Perſia, who inſulted the corſe of a Roman general and exhibited a captive Cæſar, as a gazing ſtock to barbarous nations? They have been ſmote by the deſtructive hand of time, which points with deriſion at their puny race, and at the inſtability of human power. It is in the ſouth of Perſia, where the relics of its ancient grandeur are to be ſought, but even there, the miſ-ſhapen ruins of Babylon and Perſepolis faintly mark the priſtine grandeur and coſtly taſte of its princes.

The upper provinces, though affording the grand ſupply o brave and hardy ſoldiers, were rarely viſited by the luxurious monarchs of Perſia, who, dreading the bleak air and barren aſpect of the north, eſtabliſhed their reſidence in milder climates, whither they carried the improvements of knowledge, and the refinements of art. Among the inſtitutions beſt fitted to give permanency to the Perſian empire, were it inveſted with individual ſovereignty, policy would urge the removal of its capital to Khoraſan, famous for the ſalubrity of its air, and the military ability of its inhabitants. Its ſituation is alſo well adapted for checking the incurſions of the Tartar and Afghan nations; and it poſſeſſes a city †, held by the Perſians in enthuſiaſtic reverence.

Iſpahan and Shiraz, ſeated in the centre of a country enjoying a ſoft ſerenity of air, and replete with the various incitements to luxury, muſt ſoon enervate their inhabitants, and promote the influence of corruption. The Perſians ſay, that Kareem Khan, one

* This event, which is mentioned in Frazer's account of Nadir Shah, happened in the year 1729.

† Muſchid.

of

of the late chiefs of the ſouthern provinces was often urged by his officers to carry his arms into Khoraſan, a conqueſt which would neceſſarily have given him the ſupreme dominion of Perſia; but, though brave and enterprizing, he had too long indulged in the pleaſures of Shiraz, and uſed to palliate his reluctance to the propoſed expedition, by obſerving that, after the long and dangerous ſiege of a ſmall fort, nothing would be found in it but a few bags of chopped ſtraw for his horſe. Yet he muſt have been aware that Khoraſan would have reinforced his army with thoſe ſoldiers who empowered Nadir to expel the Turks and Afghans from Perſia, and overthrow the empire of India. The northern regions were long the nurſery of a hardy and predatory militia, who, from their bleak plains and mountains, were wont to pour their force upon the nations of the ſouth, but who, in their turn, felt the force of fiercer and more barbarous tribes, until continued emigrations waſted the ſtock, and withheld the power of foreign conqueſt.

On the 19th at Killautau, five and half furſungs, an open village ſituate on the declivity of a hill. This day's journey led over a gradual aſcent, interſperſed with low wood, and ſcattered ſpaces of arable land. This being the laſt ſtation on the road where bread is to be procured on the eaſt ſide of the Mazanderan limits, I procured a neceſſary ſupply.

On the 20th at Killauſir, five and a half furſungs, a range of ruined buildings, on an eminence, a mile's diſtance to the northward of the ſmall village of Hirroos. The proprietor of my horſe, a carrier, went out of the road from this place to viſit his family reſidence, and wiſhed much to carry me with him; the deviation from our track being but ſhort, I had conſented to the propoſal, and was about turning into the path which led to his village, when Hadji Mahomed arrived and prevented me.

As this was among the very few marks of goodneſs which I experienced from the hadji, to notice it is but ſimple juſtice to his character, of which, perhaps, you are already impreſſed with an ill opinion. Taking me aſide, he enjoined me, in a manner which evinced an honeſt concern, not, on any pretence, to proceed to the carrier's village; that the ſtory of the ſhoemaker had circulated a general belief of my great wealth, and that the carriers had been heard in concerting ſchemes to rob, and even deſtroy me; that if ſuch was their deſign, there were few actions, he obſerved, however atrocious, which theſe men would not perpetrate when plunder was the object; and that the ſituation of the village, which was detached, and inhabited only by their families, would equally facilitate the purpoſe, as preclude a diſcovery.

This repreſentation determined me againſt leaving the party; but having before conſented to accompany the carrier, to whom the cauſe of the refuſal could not be aſſigned, I impoſed the taſk upon the hadji, who immediately making it his own buſineſs, told the carrier, in a ſtern tone, that, as I was under his charge, he would not permit me to be ſeparated from him. Though the carrier continued to urge his purpoſe by a long and ſtrenuous argument, he was over-ruled by the hadji, who, by ſome degree of compulſion, conſigned my horſe to the charge of another perſon. As we rode on, the hadji congratulated my near eſcape from a combination which muſt have been fatal to my perſon, or deprived me of my property, for that many robberies were committed in theſe parts, and uſually accompanied by murder.

This night I lodged in the remains of a bath, which ſeemed to have pertained to ſome place of greater note, than the appearance of the ajdacent ruins indicated. The Ghilan ſeid had not joined me in the latter part of the journey, according to a uſage obſerved by us for adjuſting the concerns of our evening meal, but more prudently went to Hirroos, where he was well received. Being now habituated to the ſeid's company,

which had become equally amuſing and convenient, for even our little diſputes had a riſible tendency, I ſenſibly felt its loſs. Though our acquaintance was of ſuch ſhort duration, I already began to eſteem this man as a truſty friend; ſo natural and immediate is the propenſity to cleave to what gives us ſolace, and relieves our anxiety; nor is any object more completely veſted with this property than a pleaſant companion.

Cordial connections, and the interchange of good offices, no where make a quicker progreſs than in the courſe of a journey. Travellers, aware of the approach of a period which is to cauſe a general, probably a final ſeparation, occupy, to the beſt advantage, the limited extent of their aſſociations; and as few ſelfiſh views have time to ſpring up, theſe contingent compacts uſually abound in good humour and good faith. In India they have in common circulation, as a ſentence expreſſive of the pleaſures ariſing from curſory ſocieties, and parties caſually formed, "Enjoy this meeting as a gift ſnatched from fate; for the hour of departure ſtands on your head." Being now about to enter a province different, in its aſpect and production, from that of Khoraſan, I will here draw the line of diviſion, which may be done with the more propriety at Killauſir, as it will alſo mark the eaſtern limit of Hazaar Jireeb *, a ſmall diſtrict dependent on Mazanderan.

From Shahroot, the road has nearly a weſtern direction, through a country generally open. Low hills are alſo ſeen at wide intervals. The ſoil is a mixture of ſand and earth, and well cultivated as far as the vicinity of Killantau, where the vallies become more contracted, and leave but ſmall ſpaces for agriculture. The ſides of the hills are chiefly appropriated to the paſtures of ſheep, which are numerous and of an excellent kind.

On the 21ſt at Challoo, four furſungs, a ſmall open village, on the eaſtern ſide of the baſe of a ſteep hill, and cloſe on the brink of a rapid ſtream, which was daſhed with a bold and beautiful effect on the rocks that lay thickly ſcattered in its bed. We had now entered a country overſpread with mountains and foreſts, in which were many oak trees, but their dwarfiſh appearance ſhewed that they wanted a kinder ſoil and climate. At Challoo, the ſeid largely reaped the fruits of his pilgrimage and his ſacred deſcent. He and conſequently his aſſociate, for he never failed to divide with me the good things that fell to his lot, were lodged in a moſque, and hoſpitably treated by the inhabitants, who ſupplied us, in the firſt inſtance, with great ſtore of fuel, which enabled us to hold out againſt a heavy ſtorm of ſnow and a piercing north wind; and without which, indeed, our ſpacious and airy apartments muſt have been untenable.

It was with pleaſure I again ſaw an open village; it exhibited a ruſtic ſimplicity and a peaceful confidence, which I think could not have exiſted within a rampart. The inhabitants alſo, if their kindneſs to us has not biaſſed me too much in their favour, ſeemed to be more civilized and humane than the people of Khoraſan. The houſes here are built with flat roofs, ſupported with large beams, which the adjacent foreſts plentifully ſupply. A continuance of the ſtorm detained us on the 22d at Challoo, where we found no abatement of the hoſpitality of the inhabitants, who furniſhed every thing that could render our ſituation commodious.

On the 23d, in the morning, our party moved and penetrated through a mountainous country, interſected with rivulets, and cloſely covered with large trees, which being ſtripped of their leaves, I could not aſcertain the different ſpecies, nor could the carriers, whoſe only knowledge ſeems to conſiſt in driving horſes. Halted, at the diſtance of five furſungs from Challoo, under ſome trees, about one hundred yards from

* Hazaar, in the Perſic, ſignifies a thouſand, and jireeb, a meaſurement of land.

the ſide of the road, where we kept a large fire burning throughout the night; not for deterring the attack of wild beaſts, which are not numerous in theſe woods, but to qualify the intenſe coldneſs of the air.

On the 24th, proceeded five furſungs through the foreſt. In the evening, while I was riding alone, the party, which had proceeded a ſhort way before me, turned quickly into the wood, and came to their ſtation-ground. It was in vain that I endeavoured to trace any marks of men or horſes; for the ground to a great extent was ſtrewed with leaves. My horſe, on having for ſome time loſt ſight of the party, became reſtleſs, and I thought much terrified. It neighed inceſſantly, and though a willing active animal, would not move in any direction but with reluctance. My ſituation grew alarming; it was growing dark, and I found myſelf bewildered in an immenſe foreſt, with ſcarcely the hope of obtaining relief during that night.

In ſearch of a ſpot to faſten the horſe, and lay myſelf down, good fortune threw in my way two men, who were driving a loaded bullock and an aſs. Without noticing my embarraſſment, which they might have made an ill uſe of, or even making any enquiries, I learned that a part of the kafilah had proceeded on the road which they were purſuing, and going with them about two miles, I found Hadji Mahomet, with ſome other paſſengers, refreſhing themſelves on a ſmall plain, ſkirted by a ſtream of water. The proprietor of the horſe, who had followed, expreſſed much diſpleaſure at my quitting him, which he aſcribed to the council of the hadji, whom he ſpoke of with a ſneer, and laughed at the ſort of protection which I had choſen.

On this night was ſeen by moſt of the paſſengers, a ſtar, with a bright illuminated tail, which I apprehend, from its form and quick motion, muſt have been a comet. Hadji Mahomet now became profuſe in his offers of ſervice; he promiſed me every accommodation at Mazanderan, as a ſupply of clothes, for I was ill apparelled, a proper place of lodging, and to diſpatch me with ſafety to the quarter of my deſtination. This man, though one of the moſt acute and knowing of his ſect, did not ſeem to entertain any idea of my being a Chriſtian; yet he ſuſpected the truth of my narrative, or rather, he did not believe a word of it; but imagined that I was a trader in jewels, which were concealed about my perſon.

Deſirous of knowing the ſtate of the Ruſſian navigation on the Caſpian Sea, I had ſought the information with too much earneſtneſs, which created a ſuſpicion at Shahroot, that I was a Ruſſian, eſcaped from the captivity of the Tartars, and returning to my own country. But this conjecture ceaſed, when it was known that I had come from the eaſtern ſide of Perſia.

On the 24th, proceeded five furſungs through the froſt. The greateſt part of this day's journey lying over ſteep hills of a moiſt clayey ſoil, became of difficult acceſs to our cattle. The carriers of this road uſually employ mares for the conveyance of merchandize, being more tractable than ſtallions, and requiring leſs attendance. They are, indeed, as quiet as any domeſtic animal, and though feeding at large during the night, they never ſtrayed from the vicinity of the ſtation.

On returning this evening from a ſmall excurſion into the foreſt, I found that my Ghilan aſſociate had left his quarter, and gone over to the perſon who has been before mentioned, as the travelling aſſiſtant of Hadji Mahomet. He was alſo a native of Ghilan, well known to the ſeid, and being ſtout and hale, had previouſly to their departure, agreed to be the ſeid's aſſiſtant during the pilgrimage; it was a concern of moment to this old infirm man, in the various accidents to which a long and harraſſing journey was liable, to have ſo capable a companion; and the Ghilanee, to corroborate the ſincerity of his offer, had formally pledged himſelf on the koran. *There was every

reaſon to credit the ſeid's relation of this compact, for he was an inviolable obſerver of the truth, and I have myſelf often witneſſed the ill treatment which he experienced from his countryman. But being now near home, where a retaliation might be feared, he had aſſumed ſo genuinely the ſemblance of contrition, that in the ſpace of my ſhort abſence, the ſeid's full forgiveneſs was obtained, and the promiſe of future union. On ſeeing me, the ſeid ſeemed embarraſſed, but ſaid nothing, and while I was preparing a ſlender ſupper, my attention was rouſed by a loud noiſe of altercation from the Ghilan quarter, where I ſaw a furious debate waging between the members of the new alliance. The old pilgrim ſoon returned to me, entreating, with many confeſſions of his credulous folly, to occupy his former ſtation.

On the 25th completed, in a journey of five furſungs, the paſſage of the foreſt, and halted on its weſtern edge. This day we frequently croſſed the Mazanderan river, which, after winding in various directions, takes a north-weſt courſe through the flat quarter of the province, and falls into the Caſpian Sea at Muſchid Sir. This ſtream is rapid among the hills, but fordable for laden horſes. And on reaching the plains, it flows with an eaſy current. At a toll-houſe within the ſkirt of the foreſt, the merchants paid a ſmall duty, and I was aſſeſſed a few pence on the ſcore of being a ſtranger.

In my way through this extenſive foreſt, I did not ſee the veſtige of a habitation, nor any culture, except ſome very narrow ſtrips of land, thinly interſperſed at the baſe of the hills. But the vallies now opened and exhibited a pleaſing picture of plenty and rural quiet. The villages all open and neatly built; the verdant hills and dales, encircled by ſtreams of delicious water, preſented a ſcene that gave the mind ineffable delight. The air, though in winter, was mild, and had the temperature of an Engliſh climate in the month of April. This change of weather, effected within ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, ariſes from the low ſituation of the province, its near vicinity to the Caſpian Sea, and the ſhelter of the adjacent mountains. The ſheep in numerous flocks were feeding on all ſides; but they are of a leſs ſize than thoſe of Khoraſan, and have not the large ponderous tail which is peculiar to this animal in the countries lying between the Indus and the eaſtern confines of Mazanderan; neither is their fleſh ſo fat or well taſted.

On the 26th at Sari, three furſungs, a fortified town, and the reſidence of Aga Mahomed Khan, the chief of Mazanderan, Aſterabad, and ſome diſtricts ſituate in Khoraſan. The country in this day's journey was flat and woody, interſperſed with ſmall ſtreams, and bounded to the north-eaſt and ſouth-weſt by a low range of hills. The kafilah having halted about two miles to the ſouthward of Sari, the ſeid and I walked into the town, which we found had grievouſly ſuffered by the effects of a late fire. We were ſtopped at the gate-guard, which was under the charge of an Abyſſinian ſlave *, who, after making the common enquiries, permitted us to paſs. The market of Sari is plentifully ſupplied with proviſions, among which is ſeen the grey mullet, a fiſh abounding in all the rivers which fall into the ſouthern ſhore of the Caſpian Sea.

Sari is rather a ſmall town, but crowded with inhabitants, many of whom are merchants of credit, who reſort thither for the purpoſe of ſupplying the chief and his officers with articles of foreign produce. A ſociety of Armenians is eſtabliſhed in the vicinity of the

* A native of this quarter of Africa is denominated Hubſhi, among the Mahometans, and is held in high eſtimation in Aſia, for a ſuppoſed characteriſtic fidelity to the ſervice in which he is employed. Abyſſinians are frequently ſeen about the perſons of Princes, where they hold ſtations of confidence. And at the Porte, as eunuchs, they are entruſted with the whole interior management of the imperial haram. The females of this tribe, though deficient in thoſe external charms, which are ſo eagerly ſought after by the Mahometans, and which, indeed, diffuſe pleaſure among all the ſons of men, are alſo greatly prized for many domeſtic virtues, and eſpecially for their chaſtity.

town, where they exercise a various traffic, and manufacture a spirit distilled from grapes, of which Aga Mahomed drinks freely, though his habit does not seem to operate to the prejudice of the people. This chief has the reputation of being attentive to business, and of possessing an extensive capacity, which is, indeed, obvious to common notice, throughout all parts of his government. The walls of the town are kept in good condition, and the ditch though narrow is deep, and sufficiently tenable against any force now existing in this country.

A palace has been lately built at Sari, of commodious neat structure, though of limited size, and has a more compact appearance than any building which I have seen in Persia. The front is occupied by a small esplanade, on which are mounted three pieces of cannon, with carriages of good workmanship, fixed on three wheels. Aga Mahomed, a Persian, of the Kajar tribe *, is about fifty years of age, and the son of Mumtaz Khan †, who in the distractions which involved Persia, subsequent to the death of Nadir Shah, stood forth among the various competitors for the throne, and was, for a short period, declared head of the empire, by a large party of the people. But he was ultimately compelled to yield to the superior force of Kareem Khan, by whom he was put to death. The family of Mumtaz Khan falling also into the hands of the conqueror, he deprived Aga Mahomed, the eldest son of virility. I am not enabled to give you any satisfactory information of the events which promoted the enlargement of this chief, and in quick gradation invested him with the possession of an extensive territory.

In a country where the evolutions and caprice of fortune are exhibited in infinite multiplicity, and her wheel whirls with a velocity that confounds observation; where the slave of the morning is often seen at noon exalted on the ruins of his master, it becomes a perplexed disgusting task, to trace the steps which lead to honours and power; nor does it adequately reward the inquiry of reason. Such transitions may be summarily ascribed to the general depravity of a people, who unrestrained by laws, or even the habits of justice, give a loose to every impulse, which promises the gratification of ambition, avarice, or revenge.

Aga Mahomed has become, since the death of Kareem Khan, the most powerful chief of Persia. He has many brothers, one of whom, Jaffier Kooly, governs Balfrosh, the principal town of Mazanderan; but his conduct is narrowly watched, and his authority so limited, that he cannot issue a passport to a Russian trading vessel without the assent of Aga Mahomed. The forces of this chief, on occasions of service, may amount to fifteen thousand cavalry, which were embodied in the course of the last year, when he overrun Ghilan, and plundered Reshd, the residence of Hydeat Khan, the ruler of the province, who with his family and treasure sought refuge in the Russian factory of Enzillee ‡ until the Mazanderan troops had evacuated the country.

It appears that Aga Mahomed is preparing another attack, which is thought will speedily be effected, unless he is deterred by the power of the Russians, who having long derived extensive advantages from the commerce of Ghilan, seem disposed to espouse its cause. Aga Mahomed is at this time the only Persian chief bordering on the Caspian Sea, whom the empire of Russia has yet made tributary, or rendered subservient to its policy.

* A word in the provincial language of Mazanderan, signifying a rebel or a deserter, and the name of an extensive tribe, chiefly residing in Mazanderan and Asterabad. Like the Rajahpoots of India, the Kajars are usually devoted to the profession of arms, and they compose the largest portion of the soldiery of these provinces. They are mentioned by Mr. Hanway in his relation of his transactions at Asterabad.

† He was called Fultah Ali Khan.

‡ Situate near the border or the Caspian Sea, about six miles to the northward of Reshd.

About

About a year ago a ſmall Ruſſian ſquadron arriving at Aſhroff, a capacious bay on the Aſterabad ſhore, the commanding officer directed a large building to be conſtructed near the ſhore, for the purpoſe of accommodating his crew, and probably to lay the baſis of ſome future plan. When the building was nearly finiſhed, Aga Mahomed, to whom this procedure had given alarm, invited the commodore, an inexperienced young man, with his officers, to an entertainment given at Aſterabad, on the celebration of ſome Mahometan feſtival. Many of the Ruſſians, with their officers, went to the Perſian feaſt, where they were ſuddenly ſeized and put into confinement. Aga Mahomed then affected to expreſs much reſentment at the conduct of the Ruſſians, in having erected, without permiſſion, ſo large and ſolid a building in this country. It was in vain that the Ruſſian expatiated on the treachery of the act, and ſo glaring a violation of hoſpitality. He was reſolutely anſwered, that unleſs his men were directed to demoliſh the building, the party ſhould be detained in priſon, and, perhaps, meet with a worſe fate.

The commodore, dreading the effects of this threat, diſpatched the neceſſary orders to the ſquadron; and when the work was performed, he and his companions were releaſed. The officer was ſoon after diſmiſſed from the command of the Caſpian ſquadron, and baniſhed from the court. The Empreſs ſeverely cenſured his breach of military conduct, which, on account of youth, and a regard for his family, ſhe obſerved had not been noticed with the deſerved puniſhment. Aga Mahomed lately received an addreſs from the Ruſſian government, threatening him, it is ſaid, with a ſevere vengeance for the inſult offered to their flag, unleſs he made a ſpeedy atonement. But it does not ſeem that this chief is diſpoſed to ſhew any reſpect to the requiſition; and if credit is to be given to a general rumour, another deſcent on Ghilan may be ſoon expected, the probability of which is corrobrated by a prohibition of all intercourſe with the inhabitants of that province.

On the 27th we left Sari, and proceeding five furſungs, through a country interſperſed with plain and foreſt, halted on the ſkirt of a wood near the high road. At half the diſtance of this day's journey, croſſed a fordable ſtream, which runs to the left or north-weſt, and falls into the Mazanderan river. The carriers were ſtopped at the paſſage, and ordered to convey on their horſes a quantity of ſtones, and place them in certain ſwampy parts of the great road, leading from Sari to Balfroſh; which, it is ſaid, was firſt conſtructed by Shah Abbas, and appears to have been cut through a foreſt.

At three miles to the ſouthward of our laſt night's halting place, we paſſed through the ſmall village of Alhabad, which has a daily market well ſupplied with bread, cheeſe, and ſuch proviſions as are adapted to the refreſhment of travellers, for the uſe of whom it ſeems to have been wholly eſtabliſhed.

On the 29th of January our party arrived at Balfroſh, four and a half furſungs. The road this day was the worſt I ever had travelled on, and required, in the winter ſeaſon, continued labour to make it paſſable. Though deep ditches are extended on each ſide, and drains cut acroſs, to carry off the extraordinary moiſture of the ſoil, we proceeded with much difficulty and hazard. The carriers, at certain ſtations were required to deliver their reſpective portions of ſtones, and the defaulters, among whom I was claſſed, were detained by the officers of government; here I might have incurred a long delay, had not the Ghilan ſeid interpoſed his good offices for me as a pilgrim and his friend. It was then ſoon ſeen in what a favourable light we were beheld. Our hands were even kiſſed in reverence. The proprietor of my horſe having no religious virtues to plead, and his quantity of ſtones being found very inſufficient, he was not permitted to paſs; and while he, with many others, were endeavouring to qualify the demand,

the ſeid and I agreed to proceed to Balfroſh, that we might be ſheltered againſt the weather, which this day had ſet in with drifts of ſmall rain and a ſevere cold.

In high anticipation of the pleaſures in ſtore for us at the capital, we were overtaken by the carrier, who foaming with rage, at this my ſecond deſertion, as he termed it, accuſed me of an attempt to ſteal his mare. Nor was his paſſion allayed, until I promiſed him a large diſh of pillaw, to be ready at his arrival in Balfroſh.

At the diſtance of two miles on the ſouth ſide of the town, is ſeen a ſmall iſland in the river, where Shah Abbas erected a palace, whoſe roof, with the bridge of communication, has lately been applied by the governor of Balfroſh to ſome domeſtic purpoſes. After paying double the ſtipulated hire, and the fine in pillaw, I diſcharged the carrier, who, like all thoſe of his profeſſion within my knowledge, was an arrant knave. But knavery conſtitutes a grand branch of his profeſſion, and does not heavily affect the purſe of the traveller, who, if he wiſhes to journey on with comfort, and have his name puffed, ſhould heartily feed his carrier; and, as the common nature of man requires indulgence, occaſionally wink at his roguery. Not to govern too much has been a maxim of long ſtanding in the policy of nations, nor is it leſs neceſſary to the welfare and quiet of domeſtic œconomy.

At Balfroſh I was informed that three Ruſſian veſſels were lying in the road of Muſchid Sir, and would ſail in a few days to Baku *. It now behoved me to act warily, and to wind up with diſcretion an adventure which had hitherto been ſucceſsful, and had at this place reached a criſis, which muſt either produce a happy or a dangerous iſſue. To this period I had aſſumed, with good fortune, the Mahometan character, without which the journey, I think, could not have been performed, eſpecially from Turſhiſh to the Caſpian Sea. I had been admitted, without reſerve, into the ſociety of Mahometans, and had lived at the ſame board with the moſt zealous and ſcrupulous, ſome being now on the ſpot, would, on a diſcovery of my perſon, inveterately reſent the deceit. It was firſt expedient to quiet the mind of the ſeid, who, lodging in the ſame apartment, muſt neceſſarily become acquainted with my departure. Telling him that I was going to make a pilgrimage at a tomb †, much reſorted to by the Perſians, in the vicinity of Muſchid Sir, and leaving a few things which would be uſeful, I bade him adieu with an air of unconcern, yet breathing a ſilent, fervent wiſh, that this old man, whom I was never to ſee again, might experience every good in the diſpenſation of Providence.

Muſing on the ſcenes which of late had been ſhifted with a rapid diverſity, and on the ſingular, yet intereſting connections which I had formed in the courſe of my journey, I travelled on to Muſchid Sir; a ſcattered village, ſituate on the eaſtern bank of the Mazanderan river, about ten miles diſtant from Balfroſh, and two from the Caſpian Sea. On ſeeing the Ruſſian quarter, I ſent back a horſe which I had hired, and preſented myſelf to a perſon who was pointed out to me as the maſter of a Ruſſian veſſel; but he did not underſtand any language that I ſpoke. To obviate this embarraſſment, an interpreter was called in, and being informed that he was a Ruſſian, I related my ſtory without reſerve; that I was an Engliſh gentleman, who, from motives of curioſity and pleaſure, had travelled from Bengal, through the northern parts of India and Perſia, and that I now intended to proceed by the way of Ruſſia to England.

The linguiſt expreſſed ſurprize at the relation, which he ſeemed to doubt; but a repetition, accompanied with that confidence which only ariſes from truth, noticing

* A port on the weſtern coaſt of the Caſpian Sea.

† The place of interment of a ſon of Mouza Kazim, one of the twelve Imaums of the Perſians.

alſo

alſo that I was enabled to reward any good office, gave my relation credit, at leaſt with the Ruſſian. The maſter agreed to convey me to Baku, whither his veſſel was conſigned; and obſerved, that the commanding officer of a frigate lying at that port, would give the neceſſary directions for my future procedure. The matter being thus happily arranged, I was invited to partake of a meſs of fiſh-broth, ſerved up in a large wooden bowl; of which the maſter, ſix or ſeven ſailors, and myſelf, made a hearty meal; to me it was a regale; both from its being really a ſavoury one, and from the manner of participation, to which I had been long a ſtranger.

The Ruſſian habitations at Muſchid Sir, are rudely conſtructed, and far from being clean. The ſides are about five feet high, and compoſed of branches of trees, twiſted between ſtakes, ſtuck at ſmall diſtances in the ground; and the roof is of thatched ſtraw. The furniture, equally ſimple and coarſe, conſiſts of ſome narrow wooden beds, a long board, raiſed in the centre to eat at, and a few ſtools, or buckets inverted, to ſit on. But the practice of living hard, in all its variations, from eating ſtale barley bread to ſleeping on ſnow, had formed me into a complete veteran, ſo that the Ruſſian cabin, with its aſſemblage of rough utenſils, was to my ſight a garniſhed hotel. And the knife, wooden ſpoon, and platter, luxuries of a ſuperior order.

In the firſt days of my reſidence at this place, I ſenſibly experienced a refreſhment of mind and body. I had been accuſtomed to riſe in the morning before day-break, with my hands and feet generally benumbed with cold, when after packing my baggage, I was obliged to take a part in the buſineſs of the camel-driver or the carrier; nor did the end of the day's journey often bring with it more than the bareſt accommodation, or afford me much matter of intellectual gratification. But theſe inconveniencies were all done away, and my meals, as my ſleep, became ſalutary and regular. Being thus relieved from labour, anxiety, and the inceſſant taſk of ſupporting a feigned character, I thought myſelf happy; and as happineſs largely ariſes from compariſon, and the excurſions of fancy, to which I now gave an ample ſcope, this was, perhaps, the moſt pleaſurable period of my life.

# ACCOUNTS

OF

# *INDEPENDENT TATARY.*

## DESCRIPTION OF THE KINGDOM OF KARAZM *.

BETWEEN Great Tatary on the north, and Tibet, India, and Perſia on the ſouth, there runs a long tract of land extending from the great Kobi, or deſart on the north-weſt part of China, weſtward as far as the Caſpian Sea. This country is ſituated in a ſandy deſart, with which it is ſurrounded; or rather is itſelf a vaſt ſandy deſart, interſperſed with mountains and fruitful plains, well inhabited and watered with rivers.

Nature ſeems to have divided this region into three large parts, ſeparated from one another by the intruſion of the deſart, and known at preſent in theſe weſtern parts, by the names of the countries of Karazm, Great Bukharia and Little Bukharia †. The original inhabitants, who are very different from the Tartars, were always great traders; and caravans frequently paſs through their lands from India and Perſia to China: but as they have been little viſited by Europeans, we had ſcarce any account of them, but what is met with in the tranſlations and extracts from the oriental writers, till Mr. Bentink, often quoted before, obliged the public with his notes on Abu'lghâzi Khan's genealogical hiſtory of the Tatars. To theſe funds are we beholden for all our materials, except what little may be picked out of the travels of our Anthony Jenkinſon to Bokhara; Benedict Goës from India to China; and the author of the deſcription of the countries about the Caſpian Sea, added to Tavernier's travels.

SECT. I. — *The Situation, Soil, Rivers, and Lakes of Karazm. — Name and Bounds: — Soil and Produce: — excellent Melons: — Rivers. — The Amû changes its Courſe. — The Kheſil: — its Courſe turned. — Expeditions of Beckowitz to the Kheſil. — The Khan's Artifice to enſnare him: — he is cut off. — Lake of Aral affords much Salt. — Situation and Extent.*

KARAZM, or Karezm, as this country is called by Abu'lghâzi Khan, and the Perſian writers, is pronounced by the Arabs Khowârazm: which name is as ancient as the time of Herodotus, who calls it Khoraſmia, and after him Ptolemy.

This kingdom at preſent is bounded on the north by the country of Turkeſtan, and the dominions of the Grand Khan of the Eluths, or Kalmuks; on the eaſt by Great Bukharia, from which it is ſeparated partly by the mountains of Irder ‡, and partly

* Green's Coll. vol. iv. p. 476.

† The laſt is now ſubject to China.

‡ See Abu'lghazi's Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 364.

by

by the deſarts of Karak and Gaznah; on the ſouth by the provinces of Aſtarubad and Khoraſan[1], in Perſia, from which it is ſeparated by the river Amu, and ſandy deſarts of a vaſt extent; and on the weſt by the Caſpian Sea.

It may be about 440 miles in length from north to ſouth, and 340 from weſt to eaſt; being ſituated between the 29th and 46th degrees of latitude, and the 71ſt and 78th degrees of longitude. The country, according to a late geographical author, conſiſts moſtly of very wide, extended, ſandy plains, like thoſe of Great Tatary, part of them barren deſarts, and others affording excellent paſture, with but few mountains or rivers. There is good land in ſeveral provinces, where vines grow, of which wine is made; and the water-melons of Karazm are famous[2]. Bentinck ſays the country is extremely fertile where watered[3].

The melons of this country, called by Abu'lghâzi, arbûs[4], are the true water-melons, of the ſize of ordinary gourds, or pompions, commonly round, and green on the outſide, but within of a much deeper colour than the common melons; though ſome are perfectly white, but they are not the beſt: their ſeed is quite black, ſhaped like that of the pompion, but rounder, tranſparent, and diſperſed all through the fruit; the whole of which is eaten, excepting the rind and the ſeed. The ſubſtance is much finer, and better reliſhed, than that of ordinary melons: it is exceeding cooling, and one may eat as much as he will without the leaſt danger. This fruit will keep a long time; on which occaſion our author obſerves, that they carry them from Aſtrakân (where they are near as good as in Karazm) to St. Peterſburg, for the court of Ruſſia; and that they are as good in the middle of winter, as in their ſeaſon; but he adds, that they gather them green, and that they ripen afterwards[5].

Karazm owes all its fertility, in a manner, to three rivers, and a great lake: the rivers are called Amû, Kheſel, and Sir. The Amû, as it is called by the Uzbeks and Perſians, is the Jihûn[6], of the Arabs, and Oxus of the ancients, has its ſource to the north-north-eaſt of the kingdom of Kaſhmîr, toward the borders of Little Bukhâria, in thoſe high mountains which ſeparate it from the dominions of the Great Mogul. It croſſes the ſouthern part of Great Bukharia from eaſt to weſt, then winding north-eaſtward along the borders of that country, enters Karazm, and croſſing it obliquely forty leagues from its mouth, it divides into two branches; that on the left turning weſtward, diſcharges itſelf into the Caſpian Sea[7], towards the borders of the province of Aſtarabâd in Perſia: but the right-hand branch, which paſſed heretofore by the city of Urjenz, and met the ſea[8] twelve leagues to the north of the former, about eighty years ago quitted its ancient channel, ſix leagues from the place where it ſeparated from the other arm; and changing its courſe more to the north, threw itſelf into the river Kheſel, on the other ſide of the little town of Tûk: ſo that its old channel, before the city of Urjenz, is at preſent quite dry, which has greatly hurt that city.

The Amû abounds with all ſorts of excellent fiſh, and its ſides are the moſt charming in the world. On its banks grow thoſe excellent melons, and other delicious fruits, ſo much eſteemed in Perſia, the Indies, and Ruſſia, whither they are carried.

The river Kheſel, Kheſil, or Keſil, as the Uzbeks name it, riſes in the mountains, to the north-eaſt of the province of Sogd, or Samarkant; and running north-weſt

[1] Kœmpfer confounds Khoraſan with Khowarazm. Amænit. Exot. p. 135. [2] Short Way to know the World, or a Compendium of Modern Geography, in octavo, 1745, p. 253. [3] Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 419. [4] P. 284, and by Jenkinſon, karbus. [5] Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 433, et ſeq. [6] So Abu'lghazi Khan calls it alſo, p. 119 of his hiſtory. [7] Perhaps at a place called Mankiſhlak. [8] It fell into the Gulf of Balkan.

between the Amû and the Sir, falls into the lake of Aral, fifty or ſixty miles after it has been joined by the Amû. There is no appearance of this river in Kyrillow's map of the Ruſſian empire. The ſides of the Kheſel are exceeding fertile wherever they are cultivated; but the greater part of them are neglected by the inhabitants; nor do they make uſe of the excellent paſtures which border this river, though they are much better than thoſe which they find along the Amû.

At preſent there is not one conſiderable town to be ſeen upon the Kheſel: nay, the few ſmall ones that occur are half deſart, becauſe the Uzbek Tatars, both of Great Bukhâria and of Karazm, chuſe rather to be near the frontiers of the Perſians, than of the Eluths and Kara Kalpaks; becauſe there is more to be gotten by their inroads on on ſide, than the other.

The waters of this river are extremely increaſed by the junction of the Amû, before-mentioned: but of late years the Tatars of Karazm have alſo turned the courſe of the Kheſel from the Caſpian Sea [1] into the lake Aral, on the following occaſion.

Peter the Firſt, Emperor of Ruſſia, being informed, that much gold ore [2] was found on the coaſt of the Caſpian Sea, at the mouth of the river Sir, called alſo Daria; and judging that a new courſe of trade between Siberia and the ſouthern parts of Aſia, might be carried on by means of that river, ordered certain perſons, ſkilled in maritime affairs, to accompany the Koſſaks of Jaïk in ſeveral of their expeditions along the coaſts of that ſea, in order to find out the mouth of the Daria. Theſe people finding that no conſiderable river diſcharged itſelf into the Caſpian Sea, between the Yem, or Yemba, and Amû, except the Kheſel [3], concluded this muſt be the river they looked for; eſpecially as the Koſſaks aſſured them it was called Daria, not knowing that Daria is no more than an appellative, ſignifying a river in general among the Uzbeks [4].

However that be, having ſounded the entrance of the Kheſel, and obſerved ſeveral marks whereby to know it again, they returned and made their report: thereupon the Emperor, in 1719, ſent one brigadier Beckowitz [5], by the way of Aſtrakân, with two thouſand five hundred men, to poſſeſs himſelf of the mouth of that river. He pitched upon that officer, becauſe he was a Chirkaſſian, and underſtood thoroughly the Tatar language. The Tatars growing jealous to ſee him come ſeveral times on that errand, turned the Kheſel by three channels, the lands being low, northward into the lake of Aral, and then ſtopped the entrance of it: ſo that Beckowitz arriving ſome time after with his veſſels to the mouth of the river, found it quite dry.

Nevertheleſs, in obedience to his orders, he landed his troops, and began to build forts thereabouts, as well as the ground, which he found exceeding ſandy, would permit. They were ſcarce in a condition of making reſiſtance, when the Tatars of Khiva (ſo the Ruſſians call the Uzbeks of Karazm [6]) came down upon him with great numbers of troops: but Beckowitz defended himſelf with ſuch reſolution, that the Khan who commanded them, deſpairing to conquer him by force, had him privately informed, that in his heart he was ſincerely affected to the Ruſſians, and that he deſired nothing more than to ſee them ſettled in his neighbourhood; but that he was obliged to oppoſe them, to humour the princes, his relations and neigh-

[1] According to D'Anville's map it fell into Peter's Bay, in the north part of the eaſtern coaſt of the Caſpian Sea. [2] This was, probably, a ſtory only invented to farther the deſign of carrying on trade by this new canal. [3] For the Sir fell into the lake Aral, hereafter deſcribed. [4] Alſo among the Perſians. [5] Webber ſays, he was a Circaſſian prince, captain of the Czar's guards: that he was immenſely rich, and had married the moſt beautiful lady in all Ruſſia; and that he had been ſent before in 1715. [6] From the Khan's camp called Khiva.

bours: that it was reſolved to make a laſt effort next day, and in caſe they had no better ſucceſs than before, he would try to bring about an accommodation.

Beckowitz gave the eaſier credit to the Khan, as he had cauſed proteſtations of the ſame kind to be made at the court of Ruſſia, by an envoy ſent for that purpoſe. Meantime the Tatars did not fail next morning to renew the attack with ſuch vigour, that great numbers, contrary to cuſtom, lighted off their horſes: but having been repulſed at length with loſs, the Khan ſent two of his murſas to know on what account he had landed an army in his dominions, and what he wanted? Hereupon Beckowitz demanded that the ſluices made in the river ſhould be ſtopped up, and the mouth of it opened again, that the current might reſume its former courſe.

The Tatars remonſtrating, that it was not in their power to dam up the channels, the water ran into them with ſuch rapidity; Beckowitz propoſed, that they ſhould give him a certain number of hoſtages, and he would go and do it with his own troops. As that was what the Tatars juſt wanted, they readily agreed to his demands. The Ruſſian commander having left ſome men to guard the forts, ſet forward with the reſt: but the hoſtages, who ſerved for guides, led him through places quite deſart, where there were only ſome holes of ſtanding water, not ſufficient for his troops: ſo that after five days' march, they found themſelves quite deſtitute of water.

In this diſtreſs, their guides propoſed to divide into ſeveral bodies, and march by different roads, that they might the more eaſily find a ſupply. Beckowitz was obliged to conſent to this propoſal, though he ſaw the danger of it. In ſhort, the Ruſſians having thus ſeparated into parties, the Tatars ſurrounded them one after another; and ſlaying their leader [1], with moſt of his men, carried the reſt into ſlavery. After this, thoſe who were left to guard the forts, reimbarked, and returned to Aſtrakân.

The lake Aral, that is, of eagles, before mentioned, ſeparates the province of Aral, to which it gives name, from the eaſtern provinces of Karazm. It is one of the largeſt in the northern Aſia, being above thirty German leagues from ſouth to north, about half as much from eaſt to weſt, and above eighty in compaſs. Its waters are exceeding ſalt, yet breed great quantities of the ſame ſort of fiſh which are found in the Caſpian Sea, with which it does not ſeem to have any communication; nor does it overflow its banks, although it receives the waters of the Sir, the Kheſel, and ſeveral other ſmaller rivers.

The Kara Kalpaks, who poſſeſs the northern coaſt of it, towards the mouth of the Sir, and the Turkmâns, of the country of Aral, in ſummer, convey the waters of this lake, by means of ſmall canals, into the neighbouring ſandy plains; whoſe ſurface, when the moiſture is exhaled by the ſun's heat, is covered with a fine cruſt of cryſtalline ſalt, with which the inhabitants of Karazm, and all Turkeſtân, are plentifully ſupplied [2].

According to Kyrillow's map of the Ruſſian empire, this lake is ſhaped much like the Caſpian Sea, and more than half as long; being three hundred and forty miles from ſouth to north, and an hundred and ſixty broad in the ſouth part; though not half that breadth at the north end. But, poſſibly, theſe dimenſions are too great, as its diſtance from the Caſpian Sea, viz. two hundred miles, muſt needs be too much. However, we may preſume, its figure is more exact than what we find it in other

[1] Webber ſays, that refuſing to kneel on the red cloth, in order to be beheaded, they ham-ſtrung and mangled him barbarouſly. [2] Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 444. et ſeq.

maps, eſpecially the north part of it; becauſe ſeveral roads thither are traced down by the author. Into this great lake the Kheſel diſcharges itſelf on the ſouth by three channels, and the Sir on the north by two: of which river, the reader will find an account hereafter in the deſcription of Turkeſtân.

## SECT. II. — THE PROVINCES AND TOWNS OF KARAZM.

KARAZM is divided into many provinces, as appears from Abu'lghâzi Khan's hiſtory, who mentions ſeveral of them; which Bentink has ſuccinctly deſcribed, as follows:

### 1. *Provinces.*

*Ogurza Province.— Piſhga. — Karakizit. — Gilkupruk. — Gordiſh. — Kumkant. —Yanghi-ſhahr.— Burma. — Bayalkiri. — Keſilrabat. — Gardankhaſt. — Yanghi-arik. — Bakirgan. — Kuigan. — Ikzi-Kumani.—Khika.—Tarkhan.—Bamaburinak.— Koghertlik.—Aral.*

OGURZA is a large province, ſituate towards the coaſt of the Caſpian Sea. It was very fertile before the northern branch of the Amû, which ran through it, took another courſe; ſince when it is become a deſart for want of water. It takes its name from the abundance of cucumbers which it then produced; and are called Ogurza, both in the Tatar and Ruſſian languages.

Piſhga is a little province, ſituate to the eaſt of the city Urjenz. It has been but thinly inhabited ever ſince the above mentioned branch of the Amû ceaſed to paſs through it.

Karakizit is a ſmall province, between thoſe of Piſhga and Ogurza, which is grown very thin of people ſince the river Amû paſſes no longer by Urjenz, to the weſt of which it lies.

Gilkupruk is a ſmall province, ſituate to the ſouth of the ſouthern branch of the river Amû, bordering on the provinces of Khoraſân, and Aſtarabâd, in Perſia.

Gordiſh, a little province between thoſe of Piſhga and Kumkant. It is one of the moſt fruitful and beſt cultivated in all Korazm, as being watered by the Amû; which here quitted its old channel to join the Kheſel, as before mentioned.

The ſmall province of Kumkant lies eaſt of Gordiſh, towards the northern bank of the Amu; which, in the borders of theſe provinces, divides in two branches.

Yanghi-ſhahr [1] is a little province, near the right bank of the ſouthern branch of the river, which is of no great conſequence at preſent.

Burma is one of the largeſt provinces eaſt of the town of Wazir, towards the borders of Great Bukhâria. It is very populous and fertile; producing the moſt delicious melons in all Karazm.

Bayalkiri is a little province to the north of the city Urjenz; but very ſandy and deſart, becauſe it wants water.

Keſilrabat lies towards the banks of the Kheſil, or Keſil, and north-weſt of the town of Tuk. This little province is very populous, and produces plenty of all ſorts of delicious fruits.

Gardankhaſt, which is a large province, ſituate between the towns of Khayuk and Hazaraſb [2], has pretty good paſturage; and is almoſt wholly peopled by the Sarts, who are the ancient inhabitants of the country.

[1] In the French, Jangiſhar.

[2] In the French, Haſſaraſſap.

Yanghi-

Yanghi-arik[1] is a ſmall province north of the Amû, and bordering on Great Bukharia, at the foot of the mountains which ſeparate it from Karazm.

Bakirgan, a large province on the north ſide of the river Kheſel, and north-eaſt of the town of Tuk.

Kuigan, another large province, north of Bakirgan and the Kheſel, extends as far as the frontiers of the Kara Kalpaks, and Kâlmuks (or Eluths). It conſiſts, moſtly, of vaſt plains, producing excellent paſture; like all the other ſandy grounds of Grand Tatary.

Ikzi-Kumani[2] is a little province towards the ſouthern bank of the Kheſel, and weſt of the territory of Khayuk.

Khika, another ſmall province on the ſouth ſide of the Kheſel, lies eaſt of the territory of Tuk, and weſt of Ikzi-Kumani.

Tarkhan is a little province ſituate north of the Kheſel, and weſt of Bakirgan. It abounds in excellent paſtures; but lies uncultivated.

Bamaburinak is a little province to the north of the Kheſel, towards the ſouthern coaſt of the lake Aral, and weſt of Tarkhan province.

Koghertlik is a large province ſituate on the frontiers of Great Bukhâria, and north of the province of Yanghi-arik.

The province of Aral, towards the ſhore of the Caſpian Sea, is very large, extending from the mountains of Abulkhan, north of the old mouth of the northern branch of the Amû, which is now dry, as far as the country of the Kara Kalpacks. This part of Korazm is, at preſent, almoſt ſolely inhabited by Turkmans, who find there, in many places, excellent paſture for their flocks: But generally, Aral, which takes its name from the lake before deſcribed, is mountainous, ſandy, and barren[3]. Beſides the provinces above deſcribed, Abu'lghâzi Khan mentions others in his hiſtory; particularly thoſe of Abulkhân and Dehiſtân[4].

## 2. *The Towns of Karazm.*

*Urjenz, the capital:—Its ruinous State:—Trade inconſiderable:—Its Names:—Not always the Capital: Once great and populous:—Deſtroyed by Timur:—Preſent State miſerable:—Its Latitude obſerved.—Manguſlave.—Sellizure—Fruits and Grain.—Tuk.—Waſir.—Kumkala.—Kabt.—Hazarazb.—Mankiſhlak—Excellent Port.—Other Towns.*

URJENZ, the capital of the country, is ſituate in a great plain to the north of the river Amû, twenty-five German leagues from the eaſtern ſhores of the Caſpian Sea. This city was very conſiderable in the ages paſt; but ſince the Tatars became poſſeſſors of it, the northern branch of the Amû, which formerly ran by its walls, has taken another courſe. It has fallen ſo much to decay, that, at preſent, it makes but a pitiful figure, being no more than a great ſcambling town, about a league in compaſs. Its walls are of ſun-burnt bricks, with a kind of ditch, very narrow, and full of rubbiſh in ſeveral places. The houſes are no better than paltry cabins of earth. It is true, there is a caſtle built with brick; but ſo ruinous, that ſcarce a fourth part of it is inhabitable. The brick moſques likewiſe are in almoſt as bad a condition: for the Tatars, in general, are very ready to deſtroy buildings, but neither to raiſe or preſerve. The only thing which they take any care of at preſent is a great broad ſtreet towards

[1] In the French, Jangiarick. [2] This ſeems to be a remains of the Komani, or Kumani, a warlike nation, who for a long time poſſeſſed the country along the north-ſide of the Caſpian Sea, as far as the river Don, till conquered by Jenghiz Khan and his ſucceſſors, in Kipjak. [3] Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 435, et ſeq. [4] P. 235.

the middle of the town, which, as the common market-place, is covered from one end to the other, to preſerve the goods ſold there from the weather. The deſertion of the river has cauſed many of the inhabitants to forſake Urjenz, and rendered very barren the neighbouring country, which was formerly fruitful.

Although it is very conveniently ſituate for commerce, being the rendezvous of all the buſineſs carried on between the Bukhars and the countries on the weſt ſide of the Caſpian Sea, yet, at preſent, the trade is very inconſiderable; becauſe foreign merchants, finding no ſecurity among the Mohammedan Tatars, few will venture thither. The ordinary duties paid at Urjenz are only three per cent. but the extraordinary amount very often beyond the whole merchandizes.

The Khans of Karazm commonly winter in this town; but in ſummer they encamp on the banks of the Amû, or in ſome other agreeable place of the country, as beſt ſuits their conveniency [1].

To the foregoing remarks of Bentinck on Urjenz, the Engliſh tranſlator adds thoſe which follow:

Urjenz ſeems to be the ſame city which was formerly called Karazm; and which De la Croix [2] obſerves, was, after the time of Jenghiz Khan, called Korkanj by the Perſians, and Orkanj by the Moguls. In the tables of Abu'lfeda, Naſſir addin, and Ulugh Begh [3], we find two Korkanjs; Great Korkanj, or Nu-Korkanj, and Korkanj the Leſs, or Jorjaniyah [4] of Khowarazm, to diſtinguiſh it, likely, from Jorjaniyah of Perſia. The firſt was capital of the country; and both were ſituate on the weſt ſide of the Jihûn, (or Amû) ten miles aſunder [5]. Jenkinſon calls it Urjence [6]: and Johnſon, his fellow-traveller, after a merchant of [7] Boghar, (or Bokhara) Urjenſh, and Urjenſe [8], which comes near the name given by Abu'lghâzi Khân.

Urjenz has not always been the capital of Karazm. Abu'lfeda tells us, that Kath was formerly the metropolis [9]: how long it continued ſo, is uncertain. When the governor of Jorjan, in Perſia, ſurprized him of Karazm, in the reign of Nuh-ibn-Manſûr, of the Sammân family, he found him in Kat [10]: but it does not follow from thence that it was the capital; nor, if it did, could we affirm, it continued ſo under the firſt dynaſty of the Karazmian kings, contemporary with Mahmûd Gazni, neither can we be poſitive, upon what occaſion the royal ſeat was removed: though, probably on account of the inundation which once ruined it [11]. This we are ſure of, that the ſecond dynaſty fixed their ſeat at Urjenz; and it has continued the capital ever ſince, except now and then, that the Khans thought fit to reſide for a-while at Wazir, Khayuk, or ſome other place.

Though at preſent ſo much reduced, it was once like all the other cities of this country rich and populous. In the year 1186 [12], when Soltân Shah beſieged it [13], the inhabitants, who had ſubmitted to his brother Takaſh, were ſo numerous, that, to ſhew how much they deſpiſed his power, they kept their gates open in his view; and thirty-ſix years after, when Jenghiz Khan [14] took it in 1221, the Moguls put one hundred thouſand, ſome ſay two hundred thouſand, to the ſword. Urjenz [15] began to flouriſh again under the family of the Sofis, and was a great city when Timûr Bek (or Tamerlan), having in 1379, taken it from Yuſof Sofi, and conquered the kingdom [16],

[1] Hiſtory of the Turks, as before. p. 438, et ſeq. [2] Hiſt. of Geng. p. 240. [3] Publiſhed by Greaves. [4] Jorjan, or Jorjaniyah, comes near Urjenz, allowing for the different pronunciation of different nations. [5] Abu'lfeda, p. 23. 26. [6] Purchas, vol. iii. p. 236. [7] The Engliſh traveller, at the end of Tavernier, p. 115, ſays, ſome call it Yurjeach, others Jurjench. [8] Hakl. Collect. vol. i. p. 335. [9] Chowr. Deſcrip. p. 27, in Hudſon's Leſſer Greek Geographers. [10] Teix. Hiſt. of Perſia, p. 160. [11] Chowar. Deſcr. p. 23. [12] Of the Hejrah, 582. [13] See D' Herbelot in Tacaſh. [14] De la Croix's Hiſt. Gentch. p. 256. [15] Korkanj Minor was then the regal ſeat, according to De la Croix's Notes. [16] Hiſt. Timur-bec, p. 306.

cauſed

cauſed it to be razed in 1388, and the ground ſowed with barley. It is likely it was repaired three years after, when, by Timûr's order, the country was re-peopled, and reſtored to its ancient ſplendour: but from that time, it may be preſumed, Urjenz never was able to recover itſelf; and the government of the Uzbeks, which it has ſince fallen under, ſo hurtful to trade, joined to the inconveniences attending the river Amû's being turned off from the town, has completed its ruin [1].

It ſeems to have been in no better a ſtate when Mr. Jenkinſon was there in 1558. His account of it is as follows: The city, or town, of Urjenz [2], ſtands on level ground: its walls, as well as houſes, are of earth, and, by eſtimation, four miles in compaſs. The buildings within it are ruined, and out of good order: it hath one long ſtreet that is covered above, which is the place of their market: it hath been won and loſt four times within ſeven years, by civil wars; hence it comes, that there are but few merchants in it, and they ſo very poor, that he could not ſell above four kerſeys. The chief commodities ſold there come from Boghar (or Bokhara) and Perſia, but in ſmall quantities, not worth mentioning. All the country, from the Caſpian Sea to this city, is called the land of Turkmân, and is ſubject to the Khan [3].

The latitude of this city, as given by Jenkinſon [4], is forty-two degrees eighteen minutes; which ſeems the more exact, as it nearly agrees with that aſſigned by Albiruni the aſtronomer, a native of Karazm, and adopted by Uleg-beigh, viz. forty-two degrees ſeventeen minutes [5].

The ſame Engliſh traveller, who travelled through Karazm in his way to Boghar, or Bokhara, mentions two or three other places in the country, as Manguſlave, Sellizure, and Kait.

Manguſlave [6] is a very good port in forty-five degrees of latitude, twelve leagues within a bay. Both governor and people proved very bad, doubling the price of carriages and proviſions.

Sellizure [7], twenty-four days' journey of the karavan from Manguſlave, and two from Urjenz, was a caſtle, where then reſided the king, called Azim Khan [8], with three of his brothers. It is ſeated on a high hill. The palace was built of earth, not ſtrong, and made a poor figure.

To the ſouth of the caſtle the land is low, but very fertile, producing many good fruits, particularly one called a dinie: it is very large, and full of moiſture, the people eating it after meat inſtead of drink. There is another called karbus [9] the ſize of a great cucumber, yellow, and ſweet as ſugar. Here is alſo a certain corn, called jegur, whoſe ſtalk is much like a ſugar-cane, and as high, but the grain like rice, growing at the top like a cluſter of grapes. The water that ſerveth all this country is drawn by canals out of the Oxus [10]; ſo that it falleth not into the Caſpian Sea, as formerly; and in a ſhort time all that land is likely to become a wilderneſs for want of water [11]; which prediction of the author has come to paſs.

Tuk is a little town, ſix leagues to the north-eaſt of Urjenz, at a ſmall diſtance from the ſouthern bank of the Kheſel.

Khayuk lies toward the borders of Great Bukharia, half a day's journey from the river Kheſel. It is the beſt town in all Karazm, next to Urjenz; yet the houſes are no better than miſerable cabins, being as inconvenient within as without.

[1] Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 440, et ſeq. [2] He writes Urgence. [3] Purchas Pilgr. vol. iii. p. 236, et ſeq. [4] In a table at the end of his voyage, in Hakluyt, vol. 1. page 335, but omitted by Purchas. [5] See the tables of Abu'lfeda, before-mentioned. [6] This ſeems to lie near the mouth of the northern branch of the Amû. There is another port more to the ſouth, not unlike it in name. [7] Perhaps, Saltſaray, a pleaſure houſe. [8] In the tranſlation of Abu'lghâzi's Hiſtory, written Hadſim, or Hajim: but we are told, he reſided at Wzir, and was that year made Khan. [9] Or arbus, before deſcribed. [10] Or, Amû. [11] Purchas as before, p. 236.

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The neighbouring country is fertile enough, but very ill cultivated. However, one ſees there ſome vines, which the Sarts, who dwell in this town, take care of. They make alſo a ſort of red wine, which is pretty good.

Wazir is ſituate towards the northern bank of the river Amû; but, like the reſt of the towns, is at preſent very inconſiderable.

Kumkala is a ſmall town in the middle of Karazm, to the north of Wazir; but not worth taking notice of.

The town of Kâht (Kâth, or Kât [1]) is ſituate on the north ſide of the Kheſel, towards Great Bukharia, and is of no conſideration, but on account of its paſſage over that river, though once the capital city. There were two of the name.

Hazaraſb, ſituate upon the north ſide of the Kheſel, is alſo become inconſiderable ſince it fell into the hands of the Uzbeks.

Mankiſhlak is a ſmall town upon the ſhore of the Caſpian Sea, on the north ſide of the mouth of the ſouthern branch of the river Amû. The town itſelf is inconſiderable, conſiſting of about ſeven hundred houſes, or rather pitiful cabins, built of earth: but its port is magnificent, and the only one to be found in all that ſea. As it is large, ſecure, and deep, it would, in any other hands but thoſe of the Tatars, ſoon become a place of conſiderable trade; but, at preſent, ſeldom any ſhips arrive there. The town is inhabited only by Turkmâns, who can bear the neighbourhood of the ſea better than the Uzbeks [2].

There are ſeveral other towns in Karazm mentioned by Abu'lghâzi Khan [3]: beſides, the Uzbeks of this country have ſome others in Khoraſan, which, by degrees, they conquered from the Perſians; as, Duruhn, Naſay, Iburd, Mahana, Bagabâd, Yaurſurdi, and Maru. But, in all probability, Nadhir-ſhâh, the preſent king of Perſia, recovered them all ſome years ago.

## SECT. III.—THE INHABITANTS OF KARAZM: THEIR MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

KARAZM is inhabited at preſent by three ſorts of people; the Sarts, the Turkmâns, and the Uzbek Tatars. With regard to the firſt of theſe, our author, Bentinck, ſays only, that they are the ancient inhabitants of the country [4], and ſupport themſelves, like the Turkmâns, by their cattle and huſbandry. But he is more particular in treating of the o her two nations.

### 1. *Of the Turkmans.*

*Turkmans, original:—Two Branches.—Oriental Turkmans, once powerful;—Their Perſons;—Way of living;—Character and Number;—Divided into Tribes.*

THE Turkmâns, or Turkomâns, as our hiſtorians call them, came originally from Turkeſtân. They ſeparated from the Kanklis, with whom they dwelt in that country towards the eleventh century, with an intent to ſeek their fortune ſomewhere elſe: and ſettled in Karazm long before the Tatars, as Abu'lghâzi Khan relates.

They divided into two parties; of which one went round the north ſide of the Caſpian Sea, and ſettled in the weſtern parts of Armenia; from thence called the country of the Turkomâns [5]. Bentinck will have it, that the Othmân Turks, if they be Turks, (for he ſays they are a mixture of ſeveral nations) muſt derive themſelves from this

[1] Abu'lfeda calls it Kâth; Jenkinſon, Kait; and only ſays it is a caſtle, where Soltân Sara-met reſided, Purch. Pilgr. vol. iii. p. 237. [2] Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 442, et ſeq. [3] The ſame, p. 235, and elſewhere. [4] Theſe fall under the donomination of Tajiks, implying traders, or a ſimple ſort of people; a nick-name given by the Uzbeks even to the Perſians. [5] Or Turkomania.

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weſtern branch: but in this he ſeems to be miſtaken, it being generally agreed, that they came into Perſia with the family of Seljûk, and ſettled at Makhan, or Mahan, near Maru Shâhi-jehân in Khoraſan; from whence, upon the irruption of the Moguls, under Jenghiz Khan, about the year 1219, they removed towards Natolia, where their kingdom firſt began under Ortogrûl, or rather Othmân, in the year 1288 [1].

The ſecond party turned ſouth, and ſettled about the banks of the river Amû, and the ſhore of the Caſpian Sea [2]; where they ſtill poſſeſs a great number of towns and villages in the country of Aſtrakân and Karazm. This branch of the Turkmans has been hitherto unknown to the European hiſtorians and geographers, although they are much more numerous at preſent than that of the weſtern Turkmans. On this occaſion, the Engliſh tranſlator obſerves, that thoſe who have given extracts from the eaſtern writers, take little notice of them; and, that others relate no more of them than what occurs in the Byzantine, and ſuch weſtern hiſtorians who lived at too great a diſtance to be acquainted with their affairs.

He adds, that there ſprung from this branch of the Turks, or Turkmâns, (for the Turkmâns and Turks, ſays the tranſlator, ſeem to differ only as the wandering Arabs, called Bedwins, do from thoſe who dwell in cities) three great dynaſties of princes, who had under their dominions all the countries from the Archipelago as far as the Indies; namely, the three branches of the family of Seljûk, who reigned at the ſame time in Iran, or Perſia at large, Kermân and Rûm, or Natolia; to the laſt of which the Othmân Soltâns owe their greatneſs.

The Turkmâns of this latter branch, according to Bentinck, are ſhaped much like the former; that is, are tall and robuſt, with ſquare, flat faces, only they are much ſwarthier, and have a greater reſemblance of the Tatars. In ſummer they wear long gowns of calico, or thick cloth: and in winter the like gowns of ſheep-ſkin.

Cattle and huſbandry afford them ſubſiſtence, according to the different parts they poſſeſs. In winter they dwell in towns and villages about the river Amû, and towards the ſhores of the Caſpian Sea; and in ſummer they encamp where they can find the beſt paſtures and good water. They are all Mohammedans. Such of them as are ſettled in the country of Aſtrâbad generally followed the Perſian ſect; but thoſe who dwell in Karazm conform with the Uzbek Tatars in ſentiments of religion: Though neither one nor the other give themſelves much trouble about it.

They are exceedingly turbulent, ſubmitting with great difficulty to the Tatar yoke. They are very brave, and, at leaſt, as good horſemen, but not ſo great robbers, as the Uzbeks; by whom being treated as conquered ſubjects, they are obliged to pay them tribute, and ſuffer ſeveral other impoſitions from thoſe rigid maſters; to which, chiefly, is to be imputed that great animoſity which they bear them: but the Turkmâns, who dwell under the dominion of the Perſians, are much better treated. Both together may amount to about an hundred thouſand families.

Theſe people are ſtill divided into tribes, like all the other branches of the Turkiſh nation; and their chiefs enjoy the ſame prerogatives [3].

Abu'lghazi Khan, who was a great enemy to the Turkmâns, and deſtroyed great numbers of them, from time to time, mentions them on ſeveral occaſions, ſometimes, according to the countries they inhabited, as, the Turkmâns of Mankiſhlak, Abu'lkhan, and Dehiſtan [4], which laſt territory belongs to Perſia; but oftener by the names of their tribes; of which the chief are; 1. Adakli Khiſſer-ili; theſe dwell on both ſides

[1] Hiſtory of the Turks, as before, p. 423, et ſeq. [2] Jenkinſon found them poſſeſſed of all the coaſt from Manguſlave, where he landed, till he left the ſhore, four days before he reached Sellizure.
[3] Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 426. et ſeq. and 397. [4] P. 235 of his Hiſtory.

of the Amû, from the province of Piſhga to that of Karakizet [1]. 2. Ali-ili, inhabiting from the province of Karakizet to the mountain of Abu'lkhân. 3. Ti-u-azi, who poſſeſs the reſt of the banks of the Amû, from Abu'lkhân to the ſea: theſe three tribes are ſurnamed Utzil [2]. Beſides them we meet with the following, viz. Taka, Sarik, Yamut, Irſari, Khoraſân-Saluri [3], (theſe five, formerly, were but one tribe) Itzki Saluri, HaſanIkdur, Dſaudur, Arabaz, Koklan, Adakli [4], Karamit [5], and ſome others leſs conſiderable [6].

Jenkinſon remarks, that all the country, from the Caſpian Sea to Urjenz, is called the land of Turkman; and, that the inhabitants, between the ſea and the caſtle of Sellizure, and of all the countries about the Caſpian, live without town or houſe in the open fields; removing from place to place in great companies with their cattle [7].

## 2. *Of the Uzbek Tartars.*

*Name and Origin.—Uzbek Tribes.—Way of living.—Encamp for Conveniency of making Roads.—Their Money.—Their Cattle, and Diet.—Arms and Paſtime.*

THE name of Uzbeks, which the Tatars of Karazm and Great Bukharia bear at preſent, is derived from Uzbek Khan of Kipjâk, as related by Abu'lghâzi Khan [8]. and this cuſtom of aſſuming the name of the prince, to denote the univerſal affection of his ſubjects, has always been in uſe with the inhabitants of Tatary. Witneſs the names of the Moguls, or Mongols, that of Tatars, and many others.

When Ilbars Soltân was invited by the inhabitants of Urjenz to come and take poſſeſſion of Karazm [9], the Uzbeks poſſeſſed all the country of Kipjâk eaſtward to the river Irtiſh, and ſouthwards as far as the river Sir; beſides Great Bukharia, which they had newly ſubdued under the conduct of Shâhbakht Soltân: this prince had alſo taken Urjenz, the capital of Karazm. However, only a ſmall number of Uzbeks had ſettled in the country, till Ilbars brought the reſt of them out of Kipjâk.

The body of Uzbek Tatars, in Karazm and Great Bukharia, is compoſed out of the four tribes of the Vigûrs, Naymans, Durmans, and Kunkurats. On this occaſion, the Engliſh tranſlator obſerves, that the two firſt were of the four, given to Sheybani Khan, ſon of Juji Khan, as related by Abu'lghâzi Khan; and, that if all the inhabitants of Kipjâk took the name of Uzbeks from Uzbek Khan, it is ſtrange none but thoſe four tribes ſhould retain it. Nor is there any accounting why the Tatars of Krim are not called Uzbeks, but by ſuppoſing either that the name extended only to thoſe four tribes, or, that the reſt of the Tatars changed it, according to their cuſtom before-mentioned.

The Sarts and Turkmâns live by their cattle and huſbandry: but the Uzbeks, for the moſt part, by rapine; reſembling, in all reſpects, thoſe of Great Bukharia, excepting that they are far leſs polite, and more reſtleſs. They dwell in winter in the towns and villages which are towards the middle of Karazm; and in ſummer, the greater part of them encamp about the river Amû, and in other places where they can find good paſtures for their cattle; waiting ſome favourable opportunity to rob and deſtroy. They are perpetually making incurſions upon the neighbouring territories of Perſia, or Great Bukharia; and neither peace nor truce can reſtrain them, in regard the ſlaves and plunder, which they carry off on thoſe occaſions, are all their riches.

[1] P. 236. [2] P. 236, and 239. [3] 238. [4] P. 238. [5] P. 256. [6] P. 238. [7] Purchas, Pilgr. vol. iii. p. 237. [8] Hiſtory of the Turks, as before, p. 197. [9] See Abulghâzi Khan's Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 226.

Though one finds excellent paſture in divers part of the country, towards the banks of the Kheſel; yet the Uzbeks rarely move thither with their cattle in ſummer, becauſe there is nothing to plunder on that ſide: The Kara Kalpâks, who are their northern neighbours being as dextrous in the buſineſs as themſelves; and that what they can ſteal from one another is not worth the trouble of going for: beſides, the Mohammedan Tatars do not invade one another, unleſs at open war together. As for the Calmûks (or Eluths) who border on Karazm, to the north-eaſt, they uſually remove towards the beginning of ſummer from the borders of the Mohammedan Tatars, that they may not be expoſed to their incurſions; and do not return till winter, when the rains and ſnow have rendered the roads impaſſable on that ſide.

Wherefore, none but the Sarts and Turkmâns reap the benefit of the paſtures. The former ſeek thoſe which lie eaſtward, towards Great Bukharia; and the Turkmâns go in queſt of them which lie towards the mouth of the Amû, and the ſhore of the Caſpian Sea: but the Uzbeks often incamp about the ſides of that river; where they are at hand to throw themſelves into the Perſian provinces on the firſt occaſion which offers, and carry off wherewithal to make good cheer in winter. Although the Uzbeks have fixed habitations, yet, in travelling from one place to another, they carry with them all their effects of value, like the Eluths and Mongols, according to the way of living of their anceſtors, before they had ſettled dwellings.

There is a piece of money called Tanga[1], current both in Karazm and Great Bukharia. It is large, and, the author believes, the only ſilver money coined by the Khans of theſe provinces. This coin, which is pretty fine, and worth near the fourth part of a crown, is round; having on one ſide the name of the Khan, and on the other that of the country, with the year of the Hejrah. The reſt of the money made in this country, conſiſts in ſmall pieces of copper of different ſorts, which anſwer to our pence, halfpence, and farthings. The money of Perſia paſſes alſo in theſe provinces, eſpecially towards the borders of Karazm[2]. Jenkinſon ſays, theſe people have not the uſe of gold, ſilver, or any other coin: but barter their cattle for neceſſaries: perhaps he ſpeaks of the Turkmâns only.

The ſame author obſerves, that the inhabitants living between the Caſpian Sea and Urjenz (including, without doubt, the Uzbeks as well as Turkmâns) have abundance of camels, horſes, and ſheep, both tame and wild. Their ſheep are very large, with great tails, weighing ſixty or eighty pounds. There are many wild horſes, which the Tatars frequently kill with their hawks. Theſe birds are lured to ſeize upon the head or neck of the beaſt; which being tired at length, with endeavouring to get rid of this cruel enemy, the hunter, who follows his game, then comes up and kills him. In all this land there groweth no graſs, but a certain bruſh, or heath, which yet is very fattening.

They have no bread: they neither till nor ſow. They are great devourers of fleſh, which they cut in ſmall pieces, and eat it greedily by handfuls, eſpecially horſe-fleſh. Their chief drink is four mare's milk, like that of the Nagays; with which they will be drunk. They have no rivers nor places of water in this country, from Manguſlave, where the author landed, to the bay, where he arrived, twenty ſtages diſtant, except ſome wells of brackiſh water, more than two days' journey aſunder. They eat their meat upon the ground, ſitting with their legs double under them; which is their poſture alſo when they pray.

The Tatars never ride without their bow, arrows, and ſword; although it be in hawking or any other pleaſure. They have no arts or ſciences among them, but live an idle life; ſitting round in great companies in the fields, and paſſing their time in idle diſcourſe[3].

[1] Abu'lghazi mentions it, p. 234. [2] Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 428, et ſeq. [3] Purchas Pilgr. p. 237.

## SECT. IV. — THE GOVERNMENT AND REVOLUTIONS OF KARAZM.

*The Khan's Authority. — Power of the Princes. — Factions in the State; — its Forces. Antiquity of Karazm; — conquered by the Arabs, and Seljuk Turks, Karazmian Empire; — Conqueſt by Jenghiz Khan; — by the Uzbeks.*

THIS country is uſually divided among divers princes of the ſame houſe, of whom, notwithſtanding, only one bears the title of Khan, with a kind of ſuperiority over the others, juſt as he has ſkill to improve it. His reſidence is in the city of Urjenz, though during the ſummer he commonly encamps on the banks of the river Amû; and as his camp is called Khiva, his ſubjects are commonly termed the Tatars of Khiva [1]. This Khan is ſovereign in his own dominions, and does not, in any wiſe, depend upon him of Great Bukhâria, or any other power [2].

Jenkinſon obſerves, that when he was in this country [3], in 1558, it was in the hands of ſix brothers, one of whom, called Azim [4], had the title of Khan; but adds, that he was little obeyed, except in his own territory, and where he dwelt [5]: for that each would be king of his own portion, and one brother ſought continually to deſtroy another, having no natural love among them, as being born of different women, and commonly the children of ſlaves. Every Khan and Soltan hath at leaſt four or five wives, beſides concubines. When theſe brethren are at war together (as they are ſeldom otherwiſe) the vanquiſhed, in caſe he be not ſlain, flies to the deſart with his followers, and there lives by robbing the karawans, and all they meet with, till he is ſtrong enough to invade ſome of his brothers again [6].

Nor is it very difficult to bring this about; for Bentinck takes notice, that as the Turkmâns, who were the firſt occupants, are always in oppoſition to the Uzbeks, the princes of the reigning houſe know how to make uſe of this jealouſy, and draw to their ſide the faction which thinks itſelf neglected by the Khan; and it is to this extreme facility of making a party, that thoſe troubles, which continually diſtract Karazm, are chiefly owing.

This ſtate can, with eaſe, ſet on foot forty or fifty thouſand good horſe. What Abu'lghâzi Khan reports of his infantry, and muſketeers [7], ſhews, that he had profited by his impriſonment in Perſia; for before his time, that way of fighting was quite unknown to the Uzbeks: nor do they ſeem to have retained that uſage, ſince at preſent they go to war only on horſeback, like the other Tatars, and it is very rare to ſee fire-arms with them [8].

We meet with no connected account of the kings of Karazm, before the time of the Uzbeks, whoſe hiſtory is given at large by Abu'lghazi Khan. But the Engliſh tranſlator has, in ſome meaſure, ſupplied the defect, by the following general ſketch. In the days of Herodotus (according to our author) it was ſubject to Perſia, being one of the provinces over which Darius placed Satrapas; but nothing material concerning it occurs, till it was poſſeſſed by the Arabs in the year 680 [9], and for a long time after, farther than that it had a governor, like the reſt of the countries conquered by them: yet it is likely upon the declenſion of the power of the Khalifas, when the governors

[1] That is by the Ruſſians, as before obſerved, p. 478. b. [2] Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 423, et ſeq. [3] He no where names it. [4] In Abu'lghâzi's Hiſtory, Hadſim, or Hajim. [5] He dwelt then at Selliznre, two or three ſtages weſt of Urjenz, of which laſt Ali Soltan was King, as he calls him. [6] Purch. Pligr. p. 237. [7] P. 357, of his Hiſtory. [8] Hiſtory of the Turks, as before, p. 431. [9] Of the Hejrah, 61.

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ſeized the provinces under their care, that Karazm acted like the reſt, and was as early as any of them in ſetting up for itſelf; though in the hiſtories hitherto come to our knowledge, we meet with no king of that country before Mamûn-ibn Mohammed, who reigned ſome time after the year 995[1]: for a little while before that, we find[2] Abu Abdalla governor of it; but it does not appear for whom. At length it fell under the dominion of Soltan Mahmud Gazni, King of Khoraſân, who, after the death of Mamûn-ibn Mamûn, in 1016[3], took that kingdom from the uſurper, and made it a province of his empire[4].

Karazm continued in this ſtate under the families of Gazni and Seljûk, ſucceſſively, till upon the death of Malek Shah, otherwiſe called Jalal'addin, third Soltan of the Seljûk Turks, in 1092[5]: Kothbaddîn[6], then governor, taking advantage of the broils which enſued upon the death of that great monarch, aſſumed the title of king[7]: but that title was better eſtabliſhed by his ſon and ſucceſſor Mohammed, ſurnamed Atſiz[8]; though not without great oppoſition from Soltan Sanjar, ſon of Malek Shah, who often reduced him to a dependency. But it was Takaſh, the ſixth Soltan of this dynaſty, who firmly eſtabliſhed the empire of the Karazmians, by the fall of that of the Turks; which he put an end to in Perſia, by the death of Togrul Arſlan, in 1193, or 1196[9]; and added the dominions of that unfortunate prince to his own. His ſon, Kothb addîn Mohammed, extended the empire yet farther by the conqueſt of all Perſia and Mawara'lnahr; and was the greateſt prince in Aſia at the time that Jenghiz Khan invaded him in 1218[10], and deprived him of his dominions.

As Jagatay Khan had but part of Karazm in his ſhare of his father's dominions[11], it looks as if the whole country had not been ſubdued, or at leaſt, that part of it revolted, and became independent. Be that as it will, it is very probable, that on the declenſion of the power of the Khans of Jagatay[12], upon the death of Ghazan Khan, in 1348[13], if not before, Karazm either ſet up a king of its own, or fell a prey to ſome other power[14]: for, in the time of Timur-begh, we find it poſſeſſed by Huſſayn Soſi, ſon of Yanghaday, of the hord of Kongorat[15], one of the four Uzbek tribes which poſſeſs Karazm and Great Bukharia. What is ſtill more remarkable, it is called a great empire[16], and continued in that family till conquered by Timur, in 1379, and 1388[17]; when he razed the capital to the ground, and ſowed it with barley, as before related: but, three years after, he reſtored both the city and kingdom to the condition it had been in before.

Karazm continued afterwards under the deſcendants of Timûr-begh, in Mawara'lnahr and Khoraſân, on which it was then dependent, till the famous Shahbakht Soltan ſubduing thoſe two provinces, with his Uzbeks, about the year 1498[18], it fell of courſe into the hands of that conqueror. Soon after, Shahbakht being defeated and ſlain by Shah Iſmael Soſi, in 1510[19], Karazm came once more under the dominion of Perſia. But, about two years after, the inhabitants revolting againſt the governors, ſent for Ilbars Soltan, who, coming with his Uzbeks (out of Turkeſtan) was proclaimed Khan,

[1] Of the Hejrah 385. [2] Texeira, p. 260. [3] Hejrah 407. [4] Abu'lfaraj Hiſt. Dynaſt. p. 220; and D'Herbelot, p. 534. [5] Hejrah 489. [6] Who had ſucceeded his father Buſtekin, formerly ſlave to Balkatekin, his predeceſſor; but advanced, by Malek Shah, in the government of Karazm. [7] De la Croix's Hiſt. Jenghiz Khan, p. 129. D'Herbelot. p. 276. [8] D'Herb. art. Atſiz. [9] Hejrah 590, or 593. [10] Hejrah 615. [11] Hiſtory of Timur-begh, p. 307. Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 165. [12] So the countries ſubject to Jagatay were called after him. [13] Hejrah 749. [14] Hiſtory of Timur-begh, p. 147. [15] Or, Kunkurat; in the original Gonkegrat. See De la Croix's Hiſtory of Timur-begh, p. 147. [16] Hiſtory of Timur-begh, p. 148. [17] Hejrah 781, and 790. [18] Hejrah 904. [19] Hejrah 916.

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in 1512[1], at Wazir[2]; and his deſcendants have continued ever ſince in poſſeſſion of the country[3].

## SECT. V. — THE HISTORY OF THE UZBEK KHANS OF KARAZM.

*Abu'lghâzi Khan's Hiſtory: — its Defects, and Advantages: —Uſe to Geography.*

INTRODUCTION. — The following account of the Uzbek Khans of Karazm is extracted from the hiſtory of Abu'lghâzi Khan, of the ſame country. It makes the ninth part of his hiſtory[4], which is nearly equal to all the reſt of his work; and as it is the moſt copious, ſo it is the moſt complete part of the whole. One would be apt to think, ſays the Engliſh tranſlator, that no part of the Tatar hiſtory ſhould be unknown to a Tatar prince, who profeſſes to write the hiſtory of them: and yet it is plain, he was but little acquainted with the Khans, the immediate ſucceſſors of Jenghiz Khan, in the empire of the Moguls, who reigned in Great Tatary, breaking off with Koplai Khan, the fourth emperor: he breaks off as abruptly with Amîr Timûr (or Tamerlan), without informing us who were his ſucceſſors in Ma-wara'lnahr, till it was conquered by Shahbakht Soltan, above fourſcore years after.

Of all the Khans who had reigned in Kaſhgar of the race of Jenghiz Khan, he mentions none but Togalak Timûr Khan, and his ſon Kezra Khoja Khan, who ſucceeded Amîr Timûr: but as for thoſe who came after Kezra Khoja Khan, he only obſerves, that they were of his poſterity: nay, he confeſſes himſelf ignorant of the ſucceſſors of Haji Gheray, Khan of Kipjâk (who died about 1475) farther than that the Khans of Krim are ſprung from one of his ſons; although the Khans of Karazm, and Great Bukharia, are collateral branches of the ſame family, being all deſcended from Juji Khan, ſon of Jenghiz Khan. One might have expected this author would have carried back the hiſtory of his country into its flouriſhing times, and given an account of the empire of the Karazmians, which continued for about one hundred and thirty-eight years, under ſeven, ſome ſay nine monarchs, and was not inferior to that of the Moguls for extent, when Jenghiz Khan invaded Soltan Mohammed.

There is alſo, in this hiſtory, an omiſſion of ſeveral other ſucceſſions, particularly thoſe of Turkiſtan, the Kalmuks (or Eluths) and the Mongols; beſides, the dates of reigns are very rarely mentioned: but theſe defects are recompenced by a recital of a great many particulars, which are to be met with no where elſe; for, beſides a circumſtantial hiſtory of the Uzbeks, his anceſtors, who have reigned over Karazm ſince Shah Bakht Soltan conquered it, we have intermixed with it, in a good meaſure, that of Ma-wara'lnahr alſo, on occaſion of the almoſt continual wars between theſe two neighbouring ſtates: by means of which we are able to rectify ſeveral miſtakes in the hiſtory of the Uzbek Khans, who have reigned in that country, taken from the Perſian hiſtorians[5], and to bring them down to the time of our author. To this may be added ſeveral particulars, occaſionally mentioned, relating to the form of government, manner of fighting, and other cuſtoms among the Tatars.

With regard to the geography of Karazm, to which before we were almoſt entirely ſtrangers, there is not a town, or ſcarce any place of note in that country, but what is

[1] Hejrah 918; but in the original it is 911, which muſt be a miſtake. [2] See Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 226. [3] The ſame, p. 420, et ſeq. [4] See Green, p. 407. note p. [5] By Teixeira, De la Croix, D'Herbelot, and ſome others.

mentioned

mentioned upon occaſion of ſome warlike action or other, or of the frequent partitions that have been made of them. We knew not, before this author diſcovered it to us, that the river Amû divides itſelf into two branches in the country of Karazm; and that one of them having quitted its ancient courſe to the Caſpian Sea, turns northward, and throws itſelf into the lake of Aral. As in the ſecond part there is a large account of the Turkiſh hords, ſo the ninth contains many notitia relating to the Turkman tribes [1]. The reader will find, by this critique on our author, that when we have laid before him the following ſummary of the Uzbek Khans of Karazm, we ſhall have given him an abſtract of the moſt valuable parts of his genealogical hiſtory of the Turks, or (as it is called by his tranſlators) of the Tatars.

### 1. *The Khans of Kipjak, and Origin of the Uzbeks.*

*Zuzi Khan.* — *Batu Khan.* — *Burga Khan.* — *Mengu Timûr Khan.* — *Tuda Mengû Khan.* — *Uzbek Khan.* — *Janibek Khan.* — *Birdibek Khan.* — *Urûs Khan.* — *Toktamiſh Khan.* — *Kaverchik Khan.* — *Haji Garay Khan.*

TO deduce the hiſtory of the Uzbek Khans of Karazm with greater diſtinctneſs, it will be neceſſary to aſcend as high as Zuzi, or Juji [2] Khan, eldeſt ſon of Jenghiz Khan, who, as it hath been already obſerved, ſettled in Kipjâk, and died before his father [3]. On the news of this accident, Jenghiz Khan ſent his own brother to create Batu, Khan of that country, in his father Zuzi's ſtead. Soon after the conqueror himſelf dying, Batu (or Batu Saghin Khan, as our author names him) having left Togay Timûr, his youngeſt brother, regent, went with the other five to Karakoram [4], to aſſiſt in the election of Ugaday, or Oktay Khan, whom they afterwards followed in his expedition againſt Kitay. Ugaday, pleaſed with the bravery of Batu, at his return gave him a numerous army to ſubdue the Urus's, Cherkas, and Bulgars [5]; which having done, and filled the weſt with the fame of his great exploits, he returned to Kok-orda, the capital of Daſht Kipjâk [6], where he died ſome time after.

His brother Burga, who ſucceeded by the choice of his ſubjects (and reigned with much glory, dreaded by his neighbours) going ſome time after to viſit Koplay Khan, whoſe conſent he had obtained [7], he was ſo touched with the diſcourſe of ſome Bukharian merchants whom he met on the road, that at his return he ordered his ſubjects to embrace Mohammediſm, having brought over his brother Togay Timûr on the way: but he died before he could accompliſh his deſign, after a reign of twenty-five years.

He was ſucceeded by his brother Mengu Timûr, a prince of much courage and conduct. This Khan gave a branch of the tribe of Akorda to Bahâdur Khan, ſon of his brother Sheybani Khan; and to Oran Khan, ſon of Togay Timûr, the cities of Kaffa and Krim. After this, marching againſt the Bulgars, in two years he made conſiderable conqueſts on that ſide. Then turning towards Iran [8], Abka [9] Khan, who reigned there, came to an amicable agreement with him, which continued during his life. After his death Ahmed, ſon of Hulaku Khan, who had embraced Mohammediſm, having ob-

[1] Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. pref. p. 12, et ſeq. [2] Written alſo Chuchi and Tuſhi. [3] See Green, p. 428. a; and 444. b. [4] In the original, Karakum. [5] Ruſſians, Chirkaſſians, and Bulgarians, which laſt dwelt on the eaſt ſide of the Wolga, about Samara. [6] Or, the plain of Kipjâk, this being a level country, like one extended large plain. It is called alſo Kipchâk, or Kapchâk. [7] Koplay reigned at Karakoram, and though the empire of Jenghiz Khan was divided into three or four parts, their Khans depended on him as the grand Khan, or Khaan, as ſome ſtyle him. [8] Or, Perſia at large. [9] Or, Abaka, as others ſpell the name.

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tained the crown of Irân, Argûn, ſon of Abka, ſlew him, and aſcended the throne. At this news Mengu Timûr Khan ſent an army of eighty thouſand men towards the frontiers of that country; but being met by Argûn with all his forces, it was defeated at Karabagh; which ſo afflicted Mengu Timur, that ſoon after he died [1].

His ſucceſſor was Tuda Mengu, ſon of Batu Saghin Khan. As this prince overloaded his ſubjects with taxes, Toktagû, ſon of Mengu Timûr Khan, thought it his duty to repreſent to him the injuſtice of ſuch conduct: but Tuda Mengu took it ſo ill, that the other was obliged to leave the country. However, returning not long after with a powerful army, Tuda Mengu loſt both the battle and his life. Hereupon Toktagû got himſelf acknowledged Khan of the Kipjâks. He reigned ſix years with great applauſe, and conquered many neighbouring cities: but dying in the midſt of his victories, he was buried at Sharifarayzik, purſuant to his laſt directions.

He was ſucceeded by his ſon Uzbek Khan; who, though but thirteen years old, reigned with great prudence. He introduced the Mohammedan worſhip throughout his dominions: and this it was gave riſe to the name of Uzbeks, which his ſubjects took from him. He tried his fortune twice againſt Abuſayed Khan of Irân to no purpoſe, and died at his return from the ſecond expedition.

His ſon Janibek [2], who was a good prince, fixed his court at Sharifarayzik. Malek Aſhrâf, ſon of Timûr Taſh, who had uſurped the throne of Adhirbijan, in Perſia, reigning tyrannically, a prieſt, who had fled with others into Kipjâk, wrought ſo upon Janibek, by a minatory ſermon, that the Khan, inſtantly aſſembling all his forces, marched againſt Aſhrâf; who being overthrown and killed, his treaſure, amounting, in gold and jewels only, to four hundred camel-loads, were divided among the Uzbeks. He died ſoon after his return, in 1356 [3], having reigned ſeven years.

Birdibek, his ſon, who had been left to govern the Perſian provinces, repairing to Kipjâk, two years after, was received as Khan, purſuant to his father's deſire. This prince giving himſelf up to tyranny and a bruiſh life, put to death all his relations, for fear any of them ſhould attempt to dethrone him: ſo that dying in 1360 [4], the effect of his debaucheries, there was none left of Mengu Timûr's poſterity to ſucceed him.

Hereupon, Urûs Khan, the fourth in deſcent from Togay Timûr before mentioned, ſeized the throne, and reigned peaceably for ſome years; till, at length, Toktamiſh [5], another deſcendant of Toga, in the ſame degree, attempted to diſpoſſeſs him; but being beaten, fled to Amûr Timûr, who reigned at Samarkant in Mawara'lnahr. Urûs Khan followed him at a great rate; of which Idighi Mangap [6] giving Timûr notice, he ſent Toktamiſh with a numerous army; who gaining the battle, in which the Khan had loſt his life, he found no difficulty of obtaining his ends in 1375 [7]. Yet, after this, taking the opportunity when Amûr Timûr was with all his forces invading Irân, he entered Mawara'lnahr, and, having reduced Samarkant, cauſed many of the inhabitants to be ſlain. On the news of Timûr's approach he retreated; but was ſo hotly purſued by the other, that he was overtaken on the banks of the Atel (or Wolga) and his army defeated in ſpite of his reſolution [8] and conduct.

Toktamiſh left eight ſons; but Kaverchick, ſon of Urâs Khan, ſeized the throne. His ſon Barak ſucceeded him. After whom, Makhmat, deſcended from Togoy Timûr, by his ſon Awaz Timûr, got poſſeſſion; but he dying, Abuſayd, ſurnamed Janibek Khan,

[1] Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 193, et ſeq. [2] In the tranſlations, Dſanibek. [3] Hejrah 758. [4] Hejrah 762. [5] Or, Tokatmiſh, as in the Hiſtory of Timûr Bek [6] He is called Aydeku (or Idiku) in the hiſtory of Timûr Bek, vol. i. p. 182. [7] Hejrah 777. [8] This Khan beat the Ruſſians ſeveral times, and took from the Czar Demetrius Ivanowitz, the towns of Moſcow, and Wolodimer, in 1382.

ſon of Barak Khan, enjoyed the ſceptre. He left nine ſons; from the fifth of whom, named Janiſh Soltan, the Uzbeks ſay, the Khans of Turkeſtân are deſcended His ſucceſſor was Ghiathaddîn [1], ſon of Timûrtaſh, ſon of Makhmat Khan; and after him reigned his ſon Haji Garay, who had eight ſons, viz. Dawlatyar, Nûr Dawlat Khan, Hayder Khan, Kutluk Samman, Kildiſh, Mengli Garay Khan, Yamgurzi, and Awaz Timûr. Theſe, at their father's death, divided his dominions; but did not enjoy them long, for the Ruſſians ſeized all the country of Kipjêk in 1553 [2]: from which time we hear no more of the deſcendants of Haji Garay, farther than that the Khans of Krim are ſprung from him [3].

## 2. *Hiſtory of the Uzbeks, till their Settlement in Karazm.*

*Batu Saghin Khan; — his Conqueſts in Europe. — Sheybani Khan. — Abu'lgayir Khan. — Arabſhâh. — Yadigar Khan.*

ZUSI Khan [4] (eldeſt ſon of Jenghîz Khan, who ſettled in Kipjak during his father's life) had formed the deſign of making war upon the Cherkas [5], Baſhîrs [6], Urûs's [7], and other bordering nations; and for that end had cauſed a prodigious quantity of proviſions to be gotten ready: but death preventing him, Jenghîz Khan reſolved, that Batu, ſon of Zuzi, called by our author Batu Saghin Khan, ſhould proſecute the affair; and the conqueror's death having alſo obſtructed it, Ugada (or Okta) after his return from his expedition into Kitay, ſent Batu [8] into thoſe parts with a numerous army; who having taken many cities from the Urûs's, at length ſat down before Moſkow, near which the Urûs's, with their allies, the Nemetzs [9], had intrenched themſelves.

Batu having tried in vain, for three months, to force them, his brother Sheybani procured of him a reinforcement of ſix thouſand men; then cauſing all his troops to alight, at day-break attacked the enemy behind, while Batu charged them in front with ſuch bravery that they fled, after loſing ſeventy thouſand of their beſt ſoldiers. This great victory rendered the conqueſt of ſeveral other cities and provinces eaſy. After his return, loaded with riches and glory, Orda, ſurnamed Itzen, eldeſt ſon of Zuzi, to reward Sheybani's good ſervices, made him a preſent of fifteen thouſand families: Batu did the like, and gave him all the places conquered from the Ruſſians and their allies; with as many people out of the tribes of the Kuris, Naymans, Karliks, and Vigûrs, as were neceſſary for the guard of thoſe towns, and ſupport of his court: but on condition that, ſettling in the country, between his dominons and the lands of Orda-Itzen, he ſhould paſs the ſummer about the mountains of Aral, and the river Jaïk; and the winter more to the ſouth, about Karakum [10], Arakum, and the rivers Sîr and Sara Sû. Accordingly he ſent one of his ſons to take poſſeſſion of the Ruſſian and Nemetzian cities, where he and his deſcendants dwelt; but, becauſe of the diſtance, the author could not tell where they were ſituated.

Sheybani, who left twelve ſons, was ſucceeded by Bahâdur his ſecond; and Bahâdur Khan by Badakul, the eldeſt of his four. After Badakul Khan, his only ſon Mengu Timûr (for his wit and courage called Kutluk Mengu Timûr,) aſcended the throne.

[1] In the tranſlations, Giaſudin. [2] Hejrah 961. [3] Hiſtory of the Turks, as before, p. 197, et ſeq. [4] Called alſo Juji, and Chuchi. [5] Chirkaſſians. [6] Baſhkirs, a tribe of Turks, or Tatars, called Paſkatir by Rubruquis, dwelling in the north part of the kingdom of Aſtrakan. [7] Ruſſians. [8] Batu, Khan of Kipjak, had accompanied Oktay in that expedition, with five of his brothers. [9] By Nemetzs, are to be underſtood the Germans. The Arabs call Germans, Nemſiah. [10] Or, Black Land; ſome deſart toward Kipjak.

He had ſix ſons, from the laſt of whom, Bekkondi, was deſcended Kujum Khan [1], who, after forty years' reign in the country of Turan [2], becoming blind of age, was driven out by the Ruſſians in 1594 [3], and retired to the Mankats [4]. Mengu Timûr dying, Fulad, his third ſon, ſucceeded. After whoſe death, his ſons Dawlat Sheikh Oglân, and Arabſhah, divided the dominions; dwelling in ſummer towards the river Jaïk, and in winter about the Sîr.

Dawlat Sheykh had a ſon named Abu'lgayir, who made himſelf formidable to all his neighbours. He had eleven ſons. Shabadakh Soltan, the eldeſt, had two: the elder, called Mahamet [5], ſurnamed Shah-bakht; the other Mahamet Soltan, whoſe ſon, Oheyd Khan, reigned in great Bukhâria. The ſecond ſon of Abu'lgayir was Khoja Mahamet; but being exceeding fooliſh, the Uzbeks called him Khoja Amtintak. His ſon Janibek was as fooliſh as his father, and Iſkander Khan, Janibek's ſon, was no leſs ſilly than his father and grandfather; but he was very devout, and loved hunting and hawking. His ſon was Abdalla Khan, whoſe ſon Abdalmumîn Khan was the laſt of that branch of Sheybani Khan; of which two Princes, who were men of parts, mention will be made hereafter.

Arab Shah, ſon of Fulad, was ſucceeded by his ſon Haji Taulay, and had his ſon Timûr Sheykh for his ſucceſſor. Timûr Sheykh Khan was a Prince of great hopes, but reigned not long, having been killed in a rencounter with two thouſand Kalmuks [6]. Dying young, and without iſſue, all his ſubjects retired to other Princes, except the Vigûrs; who at length coming alſo to take their leave of the Khan's widow, ſhe informed them that ſhe was three months gone with child. Hereupon they reſolved to ſtay till her delivery; when being brought to bed of a ſon, called Yadigar, they ſent word to the Naymâns, who returned to their obedience, having hovered about in the interim to wait the event; and ever ſince the Vigûrs have complimented them with the left-hand, which is the moſt honourable poſt [7].

Yadigar Khan had four ſons. The firſt, named Burga Soltan, was a Prince of much courage. His breaſt was formed of one ſingle bone. He lived in the time of Abu'lgayir Khan, above-mentioned, who yet was much older. Abuſayd Mirza, deſcended from Amir Timûr, who then reigned in Mawara 'lnahr, after ſlaying Abdalatîf Mirza, over-ran the whole country, and forced his ſon Mirza Mahamet Zuki to fly for refuge to Abu'lgayir [8], whoſe wife was Zuki's aunt. Some time after, news being brought that Abuſayd had marched, with all his forces, towards Khoraſân, and from thence to Mazanderân; Abu'lgayir ſent thirty thouſand men, under Burga Soltan, with Mirza Mahamet Zuki, towards Taſhkant (or al Shâſh), which ſurrendered without oppoſition. Proceeding to Shah Rûkhiya (or Fenakant) it was ſoon taken. They then paſſed the Sîr, and turned towards Samarkant, whoſe governor Amîr Maſiet, advancing to meet them, was entirely defeated. After this they took all the towns of the countries of Kuzin, Karmina [9], and Mawara 'lnahr [10].

Abuſayd Mirza, who on the firſt news turned back, being arrived at Balkh, Burga Soltan was for preventing his paſſage of the Amû: but Zuki, contrary to his advice, repaſſed the Sîr, and got into Shah Rukhya, which after four months' ſiege, ſurrendered to Abuſayd in 1455 [11]. Some time after, Muſabi, who lived in the dominions

[1] In the tranſlation, Kutzium Khan. [2] Rather Tura in Siberia. [3] Hejrah 1003. [4] Or, Kara kalpaks. [5] The ſame as Mohammed, but much uſed in that form in Perſia. [6] It is this nickname which the Uzbeks have given the Eluths, who in return call them Haſſak-pûrûk. [7] Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 205, et ſeq. [8] This happened about 1449. [9] Places in Great Bukhâria, towards Karazm. [10] It is Arabic, and ſignifies Tranſoxana, or, literally, the country beyond the river, meaning the Jihûn, now Amû, and is reſtrained commonly to Great Bukhâria. [11] Hejrah 860.

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of Yadigar Khan, having been defeated by Khojaſh Mirza, another lord, fled to Burga Soltan for ſuccour. Burga having firſt gotten his father to be proclaimed Khan, took the field with his troops; and though they ſuffered greatly, it being the depth of winter, he would not turn back till he had met with his friend's enemy, whom he defeated and killed.

Meanwhile Abu'lgayir Khan was become ſo formidable to all the neighbouring Princes, that uniting their forces, they declared war againſt him; and having defeated his troops, put him to death, with ſuch of his children as fell into their hands. On this occaſion Burga Soltan, deſirous to fiſh in troubled water, appropriated to himſelf ſome lands and ſubjects belonging to Abu'lgayir Khan, notwithſtanding the great friendſhip which had always ſubſiſted between them; and that action coſt him his life: for ſome years after Shah Bakht Soltan, returning to the dominions of his grandfather Abu'lgayir, all the ancient ſubjects of that Prince came and ſubmitted to him. He, for a long time, diſſembled his reſentment, waiting for an opportunity of revenge.

At length, in 1481 [1], Burga Soltan having fixed his winter-quarters near his own, on the river Sîr, Shah Bakht ordered a number of his people to attend him, under pretence of a hunting-match next day: but ſetting forward at midnight, he of a ſudden turned towards Burga Soltan's camp, telling his ſoldiers that he was going to attack that Prince, and forbidding them to plunder till they had ſecured his perſon. Arriving thither at day-break, he preſſed directly forward to his tents: but Burga, on hearing the noiſe, jumped out of bed, and wrapping himſelf in a robe of ſable, paſſed out of one ſide of the tent as the ſoldiers entered the other. In this condition he fled to a pond at ſome diſtance, and hid himſelf in the reeds, but had wounded his foot in the way. His purſuers having met with a Vigûr of diſtinction, called Munga, he told them, that he was the perſon they looked for; and being aſked by Shah Bakht, who eaſily perceived the deceit, his reaſons for ſo acting, replied, "He had ſo many obligations to Burga Soltan, that he thought it his duty to riſk any thing to deliver him out of danger; and judged that his perſonating him would create a delay that might ſecure his eſcape."

This anſwer exceedingly pleaſed Shah Bakht, and gave him a high idea of that man's virtue: however, he ſent again to ſearch after Burga Soltan; and, as it had ſnowed that night, the ſoldiers happened to diſcover the prints of bare feet, and following the tract, found at length drops of blood, which brought them to the place where he lay concealed. Shah Bakht cauſed him to be put to death immediately, and ſeized all his ſubjects [2].

## SECT. VI. — THE UZBEK KHANS OF KARAZM; WITH THE SEVERAL REVOLUTIONS IN THAT STATE.

### 1. *The Khans from Ilbars to Avanaſh Khan.*

*Shahbakht's Conqueſts. — Revolution in Karazm. — Ilbars elected Khan. — The Country ſubdued. — Soltan Haji Khan. — Haſſan Kuli Khan. — Diviſion of Karazm. — The Turkmâns ſubmit. — Buzzuga Khan's Alliance with Shah Tamaſh. — Avanaſh Khan. — Din Mahamet Soltan kills Mahamet Ghâzi. — Ali Soltan ſlain. — Burga Soltan's Poſterity forced out of Karazm: — reſtored by Obeyed Khan. — Din Mahamet Soltan takes Kayûk: — attacks and defeats Obeyd Khan's Army. — An Uzbek Champion: — their Princes reſtored.*

BURGA SOLTAN left two ſons, Ilbars and Bilbars, ſurnamed Bilikatz, becauſe he became lame in his feet by a fit of ſickneſs when young. Theſe two brothers were

[1] Hejrah 886.

[2] Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 212, et ſeq.

very brave, and lived on lands belonging to their father's dominions as private men Meantime Shahbakht [1] Soltan, having grown powerful by a long train of victories over all the neighbouring Princes, ſubdued Mawara'lnahr, driving out the deſcendants of Amîr Timûr [2]. Some years after Soltan Hoſſeyn Mirza, another of his poſterity, who reigned in Khoraſân, dying, Shahbakht entered his dominions [3] with a powerful army; and having conquered the greater part of it, put all his numerous family to death excepting two or three. Then he marched into Karazm, which depended on Khoraſân; and taking Urjenz, fixed a governor there.

Five or ſix years after this ſecond revolution [4], Shah Iſmaël of Perſia having entered thoſe provinces with a numerous army, Shahbakht Soltan met him near the city of Marû; but loſt the battle, with his life [5]. Hereupon the governor of Urjenz flying, the Shah ſent a governor to Khayuk and Hazaraſb, and two others to Urjenz and Wazîr. The governor of this laſt city, on his arrival, gave the principal inhabitants a ſumptuous feaſt, and made them preſents. Omâr the Kadi [6], who abſented himſelf, pretending to be indiſpoſed, ſent for ſome of them next day, and repreſented, that their religion was in danger from this governor, Shah Iſmaël having changed the faith [7] thirteen years before. The citizens, alarmed at the thoughts of innovations, went, two years after, to a perſon noted for piety, in the province of Bakirgan, propoſing to make him Khan, and cut the throats of the Perſian garriſon. But he rejected the offer, and adviſed them to elect Ilbars, ſon of Burga Soltân, whom he recommended for his good qualities; having often ſeen him in his annual journies into the country of the Uzbeks [8], where he went to beg.

The burghers taking the holy man's advice, diſpatched two of their number to Ilbars with a letter, inviting him to repair to Wazîr. Ilbars ſet out immediately with the deputies, and ſtopped near that city; while the conſpirators, who were the principal lords, cauſing the inhabitants to take up arms, cut the throats of the governor and all his men. Next day they ſet out to meet Ilbars, who being joyfully received both by the Sarts and Uzbeks, was proclaimed Khan in the year 1505 [9], which is that called Koy [10], or the ſheep. Wazîr had then depending on it, of all its towns, only Tarſak and Yanghi-ſhahr; which laſt was given to Bilbars Soltân [11].

Three months after, Ilbars Khan advancing to Urjenz, defeated the governor's army; and entering the city, put all the Perſians, with the principal inhabitants, who had aſſiſted them, to the ſword: but finding he had not men enough to ſecure his conqueſts, moſt of the Uzbeks being ſubject to his uncles, he invited the ſons of Abulak, and Amunak [12], to ſhare in his ſucceſs; giving up to them Urjenz, and its dependencies, and returning to reſide at Wazîr. The new-come Princes, by their incurſions, ſo incommoded the governors of Khayuk and Hazaraſb, that they abandoned thoſe towns. After this, they invaded Khoraſân, on the death of Shah Iſmaël, and took all the towns

[1] Called Shay-bek, and Shay-beg, by ſome authors. [2] Mirza Babor, after being forced out by him, ſettled in India, where he founded the monarchy of the Mogols. [3] In 1507. Hejrah 913. [4] In 1510. Hejrah 916; according to D'Herbelot, at the inſtigation of Badi-azzamon, Huſſeyn's ſon. [5] This Prince, whom D'Herbelot, p. 771, calls Shay-bek Khan, laid the foundation of the Uzbek power in Great Bukhâria and Karazm. He entered thoſe provinces with a powerful army in 1494, and in four years entirely ſubdued them. He reigned there twelve years, viz. from 1498 to 1510. [6] Or, judge. [7] Making Ali the true ſucceſſor of Mohammed, inſtead of Abubeker, Omar, and Othmân, whom he reckoned uſurpers: a point of vaſt importance among Mohammedans. [8] They then inhabited all Kipjak, or Kapchak, from the Sir to the Irtiſh. [9] Hejrah 911. [10] See the Mongol kalendar, p. 400. [11] Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 220, et ſeq. [12] The brothers of Burga Soltan. Abulak had one ſon, and Amunak ſix.

between Duruhn[1] and the mountains, weſt of the city Khoraſân[2]. But they were vigorouſly oppoſed, as well by the Turkmâns, who poſſeſſed the towns on the borders of the provinces of Aſtrabâd and Khoraſân, as thoſe who dwelt towards Abulkhan and Mankiſhlak. Bilbars Soltan was in moſt of theſe actions; and though lame, led on his troops bravely, being carried in a light chariot, accompanied only with five or ſix choſen men.

The two brothers died within a little while of each other, and left ſeveral ſons. Ilbars Khan was ſucceeded by Soltan Haji, ſon of Bilbars, who was eldeſt of all the family[3], and proclaimed at Wazîr. But as he had only a few ſubjects, the power fell into the hands of Soltan Ghâzi, eldeſt ſon of Ilbars Khan, a Prince of great genius.

After the death of Haji Khan, Haſſankûli, ſon of Abulak, who reigned in Urjenz, was declared Khan, as being the eldeſt Prince of the houſe of Yadigar Khan. But though they all obeyed one Khan, each had his own dominion: and as Haſſan-kûli's revenue greatly exceeded theirs, they, at length, grew uneaſy at it, and, joining their forces, laid ſiege to Urjenz. Famine having cauſed a great deſertion of his men, at four months' end, the enemy gave a general aſſault; and taking the city, after a brave reſiſtance, made a great ſlaughter. They likewiſe put to death the Khan and his eldeſt ſon, baniſhing the reſt into Great Bûkhâria.

They likewiſe agreed on a new diviſion of the cities of Karazm. To the deſcendants of Burga Soltan fell thoſe of Wazîr, Yanghi-ſhahr, Tarſak, and Duruhn, with the Turkmâns of Mankiſhlak. The poſterity of Amunak had all the other towns, viz. Urjenz, Khayuk, Hazaraſb, Kât, Buldumſas, Nikitzkata, Boyunda, Bagabad, Naſay[4], Iburdu[5], Zabarda, and Mahana, with the Turkmâns of the countries of Abulkhan and Dehiſtân.

Hereupon Safian Soltan, eldeſt ſon of Amunak, who ſucceeded Haſſan-kûli Khan, ſent to tell thoſe of Abulkhân, that unleſs they agreed to pay a yearly tribute, he would deſtroy their habitations. The Turkmâns voluntarily aſſeſſing themſelves, ſent him the ſum as a free gift: but the Khan not content with ſuch precarious contribution, ſent next year forty men to levy it both in Abulkhân and Dehiſtân. Theſe tax-gatherers having diſperſed themſelves through the countries, the Turkmâns cut all their throats at the ſame inſtant. Upon this news Safian Khan marched againſt them with an army, and arriving at the firſt habitations of them along the Amû, to the weſt of Urjenz, met, at firſt, with much reſiſtance; but, at length, the Turkmâns fled to the mountain Dſu (or Ju), three ſtages north of Abulkhân; where being diſtreſſed, they ſubmitted to pay forty thouſand ſheep yearly, viz. the tribes of Taka, Sarik, and Yamut, eight thouſand; Irſari, and Khoraſân Saluri, ſixteen thouſand each.

The other tribes agreed alſo to pay in the following proportions: Jtzki Saluri, ten thouſand; Haſan, ſixteen thouſand; Ikdar and Dſaudar, twelve thouſand; Arabaz, four thouſand; Koklan, twelve thouſand; Adakli, twelve thouſand; beſides a tenth more each, for the Khan's kitchen. As for the tribes called Utzil, or three branches, who dwelt on the Amû, it was ſtipulated, that Adaklikhiſſer-illi ſhould furniſh yearly a certain number of ſoldiers for the Khan's ſervice, while thoſe of Ali-illi, and Tiuazi, ſhould pay their contribution in merchandizes[6].

[1] Or, Daraan, and Dergan. [2] De l'Iſle places this city, or the remains of it, near Abiwerd, or Bawerd, in latitude thirty-nine degrees. [3] The eldeſt of the reigning family is always choſen Khan, except in extraordinary caſes. [4] Or, Neſa. [5] Abiwerd, or Bawerd. [6] Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 229, et ſeq.

Safian

Safian Khan dying, left five ſons; but his brother Buzzuga Soltan ſucceeded him. Obeyd Khan [1], who then reigned in Great Bukhâria, took about that time ſome towns of Khoraſân, which his Uzbeks continually ravaged. On the other ſide, thoſe of Iburdu, Naſay, and Duruhn, belonging to Karazm, no leſs annoyed the inhabitants of Khojan and Eſferain [2], towards the borders of Ghilkupruk province, Naſay being but one day's journey diſtant. Shah Tahmaſp [3], unable to remedy theſe diſorders, becauſe he was in war with the Soltan of Rûm [4], reſolved to make an alliance with the Uzbeks: accordingly he diſpatched an envoy to Urjenz, to demand a Princeſs in marriage; ſaying, his maſter thought it a great honour to wed a lady of the blood of Jenghîz Khan, after the example of Amîr Timûr; who, on that occaſion, got the name of Kuragan [5].

Buzzuga accepting the propoſal in favour of his niece Ayſha-bika, daughter of Safian Khan, becauſe he had none of his own, ſent Akiſh Soltan, one of his brothers, and nine vaſſal lords, to the Perſian court, to finiſh this alliance. The Shah received that Prince with great diſtinction. and made him a preſent of the town of Khojan. He ſent to Buzzuga Khan ten wedges of gold, and as many of ſilver, each as large as a tile; with ten fine horſes, whoſe ſaddles and harneſs were trimmed with gold. To his ſpouſe he ſent nine pieces of cloth of gold, a thouſand pieces of ſilks, and abundance of magnificent habits. After which, ſhe was conducted to the Shah's court.

Buzzuga Khan dying, after a twenty-ſeven years' reign, Avanaſh Khan, his brother, was proclaimed. His eldeſt ſon, Din Mahamet, who had an early genius for war, when he was nineteen years old, reſolved to make an incurſion with forty men towards Aſtarabâd. Paſſing the ſouth branch of the Amû, at Sidalik Taka, he met a man belonging to a lord of Mahamet Ghazi Soltan, who reſided at Duruhn, driving nine camels and thirty ſheep. Obſerving a yellow goat among them, he begged it for his people's ſubſiſtence: but the fellow refuſing him, he ordered them to beat him, and take all his drove. Din Mahamet purſued his journey, and had ſucceſs: but on his return was met on the road by a party ſent out by Mahamet Ghazi, who took all his booty of cattle, and himſelf priſoner, letting his followers go their way. Being brought before the Soltan, he, for a time, confined him; and then having puniſhed him, ſent him, under a guard of ſix men, to his father Avanaſh Khan, with orders to tell him, that he had ſent him his Tugma [6], after puniſhing him for invading the Perſian territories, without his permiſſion, and ſtripping ſome of his people.

Din Mahamet, impatient to be at liberty, from time to time made great outcries, that if any of his men had ſtopped on the road they might come to his aſſiſtance. On the other hand, every time he made a noiſe, the lord who conducted him bawled out Riſha. This Din Mahamet taking as done to inſult him, one day, when his guards were aſleep in the country of Gordiſh, ſome of his men, who knew his voice, and had followed him, coming up, they cut all their throats, and buried their corpſes out of the way. His father, who did not love him, on his return, having aſked how he got out of the ſcrape, he anſwered that Mahamet Ghazi, who had been angry with him, being ſoon reconciled, had ſent him back with a preſent of ſome horſes, and habits; which his father believed to be truth.

[1] He was the ſon of Mohammed Soltan, brother of Shah-bakht Soltan, who conquered Great Bukhâria, as before related. [2] This laſt place lies near the borders of Jorjan in Perſia. [3] Or, Tahmaſb: in the tranſlations, Tamaſip. This was Shah Thamas I. of Perſia. [4] So the Aſiatics ſtyle the Othmân Emperor, becauſe poſſeſſed of what they call the Roman empire. [5] Others write Kurkhân, and Gurkhân; which ſignifies the ſon-in-law, and relation of the Khan. [6] Tugma ſignifies a child born of a bought ſlave, as Din Mahamet had been.

After this Din Mahamet getting two ſeals engraved, one with his father's cypher, the other with that of his mother-in-law, who was ſiſter of Mahamet Ghazi; he wrote letters to the Soltan, in both their names, to let him know that ſhe was ſick, and deſired earneſtly to ſee him. Her brother inſtantly ſet forward, and arriving in an evening when the Khan was out a hawking, went directly to his ſiſter's apartment. Perceiving her to be very well, and ſhe telling him ſhe had ſent no letter, he began to ſuſpect ſome treachery, and left her that inſtant, with deſign to take horſe again: but hearing much noiſe in the great ſtreet, which faced the caſtle, he made to the Khan's ſtables, thinking to eſcape by a back-door that opened into a bye-lane; which being full of people, he hid himſelf in a heap of dung that lay in a corner of the ſtable [1].

Din Mahamet, who had ſeen the Soltan go up to his ſiſter's apartment, followed with ſome of his forty men; and not finding him there, was told by the women ſlaves that he was gone towards the ſtables; where, after much ſearch, one of them perceiving a bit of his ſcarlet robe ſticking out of the dung, went and told Din Mahamet, who came and ſlew him on the ſpot. Upon this news, one of Mahamet Ghazi's men ran to Wazîr to inform his brother Soltan Ghazi; who, in revenge, ſlew Ali Soltan (ſon of Safian Khan) his wife's brother, juſt then come to viſit her. Avanaſh Khan being informed, at his return from the ſport, of what had happened, and that Din Mahamet was fled, aſſembled his council: but they had ſcarce come to a reſolution what was proper to be done on the occaſion, when a courier arrived with the news of the murder of Ali Soltan, which threw them into farther confuſion.

Meantime the Khan's nephews, being informed of what had happened at Urjenz and Wazîr, and foreſeeing that a civil war was likely to enſue, repaired to Urjenz; from whence, on the other hand, Mahamet Ghâzi's people retired to Wazîr. Avanaſh, for his part, had no inclination for a war; but his nephews, in ſome meaſure, forced him to raiſe an army, and march towards that city. On this news, Soltan Ghâzi ſent to the deſcendants of Bilbars Soltan at Yanghi Shahr: but without ſtaying for them, with what troops he had, advanced to meet the Khan as far as the province of Kumkant, to the weſt of Wazîr, where coming to an engagement, he loſt the battle, and was there killed, with fifteen Princes deſcended from Ilbars Khan. His ſons Omar Ghâzi Soltan, and Shîr Ghâzi Soltan, with two daughters, falling into the hands of Akattay Soltan, brother of the Khan, he ſent them into Great Bukhâria.

The other Princes, who made haſte to join Soltan Ghâzi, hearing of his diſaſter, fled alſo into Great Bukhâria, not daring to return to Yanghi Shahr. After which, the deſcendants of Amunak put to death all the poſterity of Burga Soltan, who fell into their hands, excepting the women, whom they kept as captives. Thus was the race of Ilbars, once ſo numerous, almoſt extinguiſhed, at leaſt none of them were to be found in Karazm. After ſo great a revolution the country was divided among the deſcendants of Amunak; and Din Mahamet Soltan had for his ſhare the city of Duruhn.

Meantime Omar Ghâzi Soltan, ſon of Soltan Ghâzi, arriving in Great Bukhâria, put himſelf into the ſervice of Obeyd Khan [2]; and though but fifteen years old, ſignalized himſelf on ſeveral occaſions. He beſtirred himſelf ſo effectually in his own behalf, that at laſt the Khan, in conjunction with Juanmart, Khan of Samarkant, Barak, Khan of Taſhkant, and the Prince of Hiſſar, entered Karazm with their united forces. On the news of their approach, the Princes poſſeſſed of Khayuk, Hazaraſb, and other neighbour-

[1] Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 239, et ſeq. [2] He was nephew to Shah-bakht Soltan, and ſon of a grandſon of Abu'lgayir Khan; which laſt is the common anceſtor of the Uzbek Princes ſettled in Great Bukhâria.

ing

ing towns, repaired with their troops to join Avanaſh Khan; but he not daring to wait the enemy's coming, retired into the deſarts. The confederates arriving at Urjenz, detached ſome troops after the fugitive Princes; who being taken Obeyd Khan made a diviſion of them; and as Avanaſh Khan fell to Omar Ghâzi's ſhare, he inſtantly put him to death. The Khan gave Urjenz to his ſon Abdalazîz Soltan, and one of the four Uzbek tribes, who dwelt in Karazm, to each of the four invading powers, who having appointed their intendants over them, returned to their own dominions.

When Avanaſh Khan was made priſoner, his two ſons, Mahmûd and Ali, took refuge with Din Mahamet Soltan their eldeſt brother, at Duruhn; whither alſo fled Yuſſof and Yunus, two ſons of Safian Khan, with other Princes and young men of quality: but Khal Soltan and Akatty Soltan, brothers of Avanaſh, were carried into Great Bukhâria, with all the children of the latter, except Hajim Soltan, who being then eighteen years of age, put on mean cloaths, and retired to an old domeſtic of his father's, whoſe horſes he kept, as if one of his ſlaves; till the affair taking wind, his protector conveyed him to Duruhn.

Soon after this Din Mahamet, accompanied by all the refugee Princes, ſet out for Urjenz with two thouſand men, whom he reinforced in the way by a thouſand Turkmâns: but when they came to the country of Piſhga, it appearing that their forces were too ſmall to attack the city, and beſide wanting boats to paſs the Amû, they reſolved to march to Khayuk: becauſe on that ſide there was no need of boats, and they might hope to get thither undiſcovered, as but few people dwelt on that road.

At their arrival, they took the city without much difficulty, and put to death the commander with ſome of his garriſon. With this news the governor of Hazaraſb repaired to Urjenz; and Abdal Azîz Soltan fearing to fall into Din Mahamet's hands, retired into Great Bukhâria. Obeyd Khan, on his ſon's return, immediately raiſed a numerous army, and marched toward Urjenz; but arriving at the Karamit Turkmâns, ſtopped there with part of his forces, and ſent the reſt, amounting to forty thouſand, under two generals to that city.

On the firſt advice of the enemy's march, Din Mahamet left Khayûk to go meet them: but as his forces did not exceed ten thouſand, the Princes and lords who accompanied him, adviſed him to return to Duruhn; alledging that as ſoon as Obeyd Khan, who came only to ſecure Urjenz, perceived their retreat, he would retire alſo, and that then they might come back without noiſe, and take the city. But the Soltan perſiſting in his reſolution to give them battle, two hundred and twenty of his principal followers alighted, and falling proſtrate at his feet, entreated him to return. Having renewed their ſupplications in this manner three times, he at laſt falling into a paſſion, flung himſelf off his horſe alſo, and taking up a handful of duſt, ſcattered it on his head, crying out, "I devote my ſoul to God, and my body to the earth." Then turning to the lords who ſurrounded him, ſaid, "I conſider myſelf as a dead man, and if you eſteem your lives more precious than mine, I ſhall not hinder you to return; but if you will ſhare with me the glory which attends us, let us march." Hereupon remounting his horſe, he continued his march, and all his army followed, ſhedding tears [1].

Meantime Din Mahamet hearing of the enemies' approach, halted at a pond, ſince called Shikaſt-kuli, in the province of Gardankhaſt. He ranged his troops on the weſt ſide of the pond, which was then dried up; and having had notice before day by his ſcouts of the enemies' approach, divided them into two bodies, one commanded by himſelf,

[1] Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 249, et ſeq.

and

and the other by Juſſof Soltan, which he poſted on both ſides of the road, and waited with profound ſilence. The Bukhârian army ſoon appeared, having at their head moſt of their commanders, with forty torches, which the Soltan let paſs, and then fell all at once on the troops that followed; charging them ſo briſkly, that they were ſoon broken, and obliged to fly, notwithſtanding their great ſuperiority.

Togay Bahadur, one of the chiefs of the Kunkurats, and the Soltan's vaſſal, killed ſixty men in the battle with his own hand. Din Mahamet had advanced ſo far amongſt the thickeſt of the enemy, that the bow fell from his ſide unknown to him; which Hajim Soltan, who accompanied him, having recovered, "My brother, ſaid Din Mahamet, that which you have done to-day for me, ſhall be the knot of an everlaſting friendſhip between us." He was then twenty-eight years old, and Hajim Soltan [1], eighteen. This victory was complete: for beſides the ſoldiers ſlain and taken, moſt of the principal officers of the enemy fell into the conqueror's hands; which enabled him to recover the captive Princes of the family by an exchange of priſoners. To this end the perſons of diſtinction were ſuffered to go on their parole into Great Bukhâria, accompanied by Hajîm Soltan; who executed his commiſſion ſo well, that he brought back his father Akattay Soltan, Kahl Soltan and the reſt, in [2] 1542 [3].

## 2. *The Khans from Kahl Khan to Din Mahamet Khan.*

*Kahl Khan.—Akattay Khan.—Yunus ſeizes Urjenz.—The Khan taken, and cruelly murdered.—Another Revolution.—New Diviſion of the Cities.—Din Mahamet Khan.—His great Reſolution.—Outwits Obeyd Khan's General.—His Character and Death.—Story of Abu'l Soltan.—Nûr Mahamet Soltan diſpoſſeſſed of all.—Sari Mahmûd Soltan.—Ali Soltan.—Makes Inroads into Khoraſân—Defeats the Perſians.—Death and Character.—His great Modeſty.*

THE deſcendants of Amunak having recovered their poſſeſſions in Karazm, by the valour of Din Mahamet Soltan, they conferred the dignity of Khan on Kahl Soltan, who fixed his ſeat at Urjenz: Akattay Soltan had Wazîr; Hajim Soltan his ſon, Baghabâd; the deſcendants of Safian Khan [4] had Khayûk; the ſons of Buzzuga Khan, Hazaraſb; and Din Mahamet Soltan and his brother, the towns of Duruhn, Yaurſurdi, and Naſay.

Akattay Khan, who ſucceeded his brother, gave Kat to Sheykh Mahâmet and Shah Naſſer, two ſons of Kahl Khan [5]; Urjenz, with its dependents, to Ali Soltan, Avanaſh Khan's youngeſt ſon, continuing himſelf to reſide at Wazîr. But he did not long enjoy the ſovereignty.

Yunus Soltan, a prince of much ambition and courage, who had married the daughter of a Biyawl [6] of the Mankats, departed one day from Khayuk, with forty choſen men, under pretence of going to pay a viſit to his father-in-law, who dwelt near Urjenz. Having paſſed Kât, and arrived at Tuk, which he knew then to be empty, all the inhabitants, both of the town and country, being gone towards Urjenz and Wazîr, he got upon a tower, from whence he could ſee Urjenz; and expreſſing a deſire to be there, as being his native place, his men told him, they were ready to follow him wherever he pleaſed.

[1] Or, Hazim Soltan: Jenkinſon writes Azim. [2] Hejrah 949. [3] Hiſtory of the Turks, as before, p. 258, et ſeq. [4] Theſe were Yunus and Paluankuli, two ſons of Safian. [5] The *h* in Kahl ſeems to ſtand for the Arabic Alif; ſo in Kaht and Duruhn. [6] A military charge among the Kara-kalpaks and Kaſachia Orda, much like that of colonel in Europe.

Being arrived at the city about midnight, they entered the ditch on foot, and lay hid till the guards, with their torches, paſſed by: Then, by help of a long pole reared againſt the wall, they all mounted; and going directly to the houſe of Mahmûd Soltan (left governor by his brother Ali, who went to live at Naſay), ſeized and ſent him to Wazîr, to the cuſtody of Akattay Khan, whoſe daughter he had married. Mahmûd, who was a very wicked man, never ceaſed importuning the Khan to go take Urjenz, till he conſented; eſpecially, conſidering that Yunus had but forty men, and it was not likely the Uzbeks would aſſiſt him againſt their ſovereign. But being advanced near the city, he there found Yunus, with a good body of troops, expecting him; and, coming to a battle, was put to flight.

Kaſſem, ſon of Yunus, by the daughter of the Khan, took upon him to purſue him; crying out, "Grandfather, where would you go in this hot weather? You had better "reſt yourſelf under ſome tree, and early to-morrow morning continue your journey." But Akattay Khan's anſwer was, "Your father has a heart as black as a pot; where-"fore, if your intentions towards me be good, leave me to continue in my road, and do "me no harm." Kaſſem finding fair means would not do, forced him to go with him to Urjenz.

Upon this news, all the Uzbeks about Urjenz having aſſembled tumultuouſly, acknowledged Yunus for their Khan, without conſulting the other princes. Some days after, Yunus Khan ſent to tell the four ſons [1] of Akattay Khan, who lived at Wazîr, that though they had no deſire to take him, yet they were obliged to convey him home with them, finding him quite ſpent with the cholic, which ſtill violently afflicted him. Preſently after, he ſent four men to the houſe, which ſerved for his priſon, with orders to bind his hands and feet, and impale him alive, taking care that no marks of a violent death ſhould be found on his body; which he ſent to Wazir, with many compliments of condolence to his ſons; who, he ſuppoſed, would conclude their father died of the colic.

As ſoon as they heard of his death, they ſent to their two brothers [2], who reſided at Baghabâd, which depended on Khoraſân, to join with them in revenging the murder. They all ſet forward; but when Yunus found that they had paſſed the Amû, not daring to wait for them at Urjenz, he fled into Great Bukhâria with his brother, and the ſons of Kahl Khan. On the road moſt of his men abandoned him, and his ſon Kaſſem loſt his way, accompanied only with one man; who, under pretence of going for proviſions, went to Urjenz, and betrayed him to Hajim Soltan. This prince immediately ſent men to fetch him from the pond [3] where he lay hid, and cauſed him to be put to death: which revolution happened in 1549 [4].

The deſcendants of Safian, and Kahl Khan, having been thus ſtripped of all they enjoyed in Karazm, the children of Avanaſh Khan continued in poſſeſſion of Duruhn and Yaurſurdi, which depended on Khoraſân. The ſons of Akattay Khan held Urjenz and Wazîr; and the three ſons of Buzzuga Khan, Iſh, Doſt, and Burum, became maſters of Khayuk, Hazaraſb, and Kât. After which, they conferred the dignity of Khan on Din Mahamet Soltan [5].

This prince, who could not ſit idle, began to invade Khoraſân; which obliged Shah Tahmaſb to ſend an army thither, who took from him Yaurſurdi. As ſoon as the Perſian troops were retired, the Khan poſted to Kaſwin, where the Shah reſided, and prayed him to reſtore that city: But Tahmaſb being deaf to his intreaties, he got his

[1] Theſe were Fulat, Timûr, Alla-kuli, and Suleymân. [2] Hajim and Mahmûd. [3] Since then called Khan Zungali. [4] Hejrah 956. [5] Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 261, et ſeq.

ſeal counterfeited, and then wrote a letter, in the Shah's name, to the governor of Yaurſurdi, ordering him to deliver it up to Din Mahamet Khan, and come himſelf to court. A few days after, while Shah Tahmaſb was hunting, he ſlipt from the company, and, haſting with his followers to Yaurſurdi, delivered the letter; which the governor obeying, forthwith gave him up the town, and departed.

As ſoon as his back was turned, Din Mahamet Khan ordered the gates to be ſhut, and all the Perſians put to the ſword. At this news Shah Tahmaſb ſet out, with a conſiderable army, to take revenge: but when he came to the little river Kara Su, near Maſhhad [1], he was informed, that the Khan was arrived in the camp with a retinue of fifty thouſand horſe. This news appeared ſo ridiculous to him, that he would not believe it, till they brought him word that prince was at his tent door. Din Mahamet Khan entering at the ſame time, fell on his knees before the Shah; who was ſo ſurprized at his extraordinary boldneſs, that, not content with putting his right hand on the Khan's left ſhoulder, he thruſt the left into his boſom, to try if his heart did not beat; but perceiving no motion there more than what is uſual, he could not avoid admiring the intrepidity of that prince. On which account, he pardoned him all that was paſt, and having feaſted him magnificently, ſent him home, next day, loaden with rich preſents, conducting him in perſon ſome diſtance from the camp.

Some time after, Obeyd Khan, of Great Bukhâria, took Marû, and gave the command of it to Yulumbi, a chief of the Naymans: but the Khan growing jealous of him, through the ſuggeſtions of thoſe who envied his good fortune, ſent for him to court. As Yulumbi was not over haſty to obey thoſe orders, Obeyd Khan, believing that he deſigned to revolt, ſent an army of thirty thouſand men to reduce him. Yulumbi, now put to his laſt ſhifts, had recourſe for ſuccour to Din Mahamet Khan, who ſet forward immediately: but having only a few troops, he ordered each of his men to cut down three ſmall trees, and fixing one on each ſide of the horſe, tie the third to his tail: thus they marched at a good diſtance from one another. The Bukhârian generals being informed, that the Khan was coming to Yulumbi's aſſiſtance, ſent out their ſpies; who obſerving the marks of their march on the road, brought word, that he advanced with a very numerous army: hereupon the generals retreated as faſt as they could, without ſeeing the enemy; and Din Mahamet having taken poſſeſſion of the city, fixed his reſidence there for life.

Din Mahamet Khan, beſides the other heroic virtues, which he poſſeſſed in a high degree, was extremely generous, gracious, and eloquent: he had withal, a peculiar brightneſs of wit. He died at Marû, in the year 1552 [2], called Sighir, or the Cow, aged forty. He left behind him two ſons; the eldeſt called Saganda Mahamet: but, becauſe he was not in his right ſenſes, his brother, Abu'l Soltan, ſucceeded in all his father's dominions, and reigned with wiſdom for ſeveral years. At length, he made an irruption with great forces into Khoraſân; and, arriving at Maſhhad, detached his only ſon, with moſt of the army, to penetrate deeper into the country. But having advanced as far as the river Kara Su, to the weſt of that city, he was met by a great army of Perſians, and loſt the battle, with his life; ten thouſand men being ſlain. This news ſo afflicted his father, that he fell dangerouſly ill, beyond the help of a phyſician.

On this occaſion, a woman at Marû produced a boy, four years old, which, ſhe ſaid, ſhe had by the Soltan: who having ſent for her one night to play on the harp, took a fancy to lie with her. Hereupon, one of his phyſicians, eſteemed the moſt ſkilful in the country, ordered both the Soltan and the child to be undreſſed; then laying

[1] Or, Tus. [2] Hejrah 960.

the boy on the belly of the dying prince, had a coverlet thrown over them, and began to cry out with all his force, Soltan, behold a ſon of yours! As he continued to do this three times a day, the ſoltan by degrees, recovered his former health: after which, he owned the child for his ſon, and called him Nûr Mahamet.

Abul Soltan dying, Nûr Mahamet ſucceeded him in all his dominions. But, ſome years after, the princes of the houſe of Hajim Khan united againſt him, under pretence, that they would not have the ſon of a ſtrumpet for their brother. Nûr Mahamet finding himſelf unable to reſiſt them, ſued for protection to Obeyd Khan, and delivered up his four cities of Marû, Naſay, Yaurſurdi, and Duruhn, imagining that the Khan would leave him in poſſeſſion, and be content with receiving tribute: but finding himſelf deceived in his expectation, he quitted Great Bukhâria in diſcontent, and went to Urjenz, where he was well received by his late enemies, and lived with them five years.

At length Obeyd Khan dying, Nûr Mahamet ſet out to recover the four towns; in which having ſucceeded, he put to the ſword all the Uzbeks whom he found in them, ſettling the Sarts and Turkmâns in their room. But Shâh Abbâs Maſi [1] of Perſia, willing alſo to profit by the death of Obeyd Khan, came in perſon to beſiege Marû, with a powerful army, and took it in forty days, with Nûr Mahamet, who had been ſo imprudent as to ſhut himſelf up there. After this he took the other three cities without difficulty, and ſent Nûr Mahamet to Shirâz; where, with him, ended the poſterity of Din Mahamet Khan, eldeſt ſon of Avanaſh Khan.

The ſecond ſon of Avanaſh was Mahmûd, who being of a yellowiſh complexion (for all the other deſcendants of Amunak were of a fine brown) was called Sari Mahamet, or yellow Mahamet. This Prince was addicted to all ſorts of vices: he loved liquor ſo well, that being one day at a houſe drinking braga, and ſomebody coming to tell him the enemy's troops were near; while the reſt ran to their horſes, he, with a great deal of unconcern, took a knife, and marked all the pots which had braga in them, bidding the hoſt take care of them till his return.

Ali Soltan, the youngeſt of Avanaſh Khan's ſons, poſſeſſed at divers times the cities of Naſay, Yaurſurdi, Urjenz, Hazaraſb, and Kât. He uſed, every ſpring, to croſs the Amû, and go encamp towards the borders of Khoraſân; from whence he ſent parties to pillage the Perſians, and in autumn returned to Urjenz. He muſtered the Uzbeks in his ſervice every year, and gave each for his pay ſixteen ſheep, out of the contribution ſheep which he received from the Turkmâns; and when they fell ſhort, he ſupplied the defect by the booty-ſheep taken from the Perſians [2].

Shah Tahmaſb, on complaints made of theſe ravages, at length ſent Bader Khan, one of his generals, with twelve thouſand men, to ſeek out and fight Ali Soltan. This Prince, according to cuſtom, had entered the country of Aſtarabâd with three thouſand men, to oblige the Turkmân tribe of Okli-koklan to pay him contribution: which Bader Khan being informed of at Baſtam, he turned that way. Ali Soltan was a little ſurprized at this news at firſt; but conſidering it was dangerous to retreat in the face of the enemy, went and poſſeſſed himſelf of the Kurgan. This river is very difficult to paſs, being rapid as well as deep, and the banks extremely high, except in a few places where it is fordable. Our author, who often paſſed it, found the height of them, in many parts, above two cubits. He cauſed the horſes and cattle to be tied behind, and employed the chariots or waggons to cover the front of his troops.

[1] This was Abbas the firſt.

[2] Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 271, et ſeq.

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In this poſture the Perſians coming up, attacked him ſeveral times; but as they had only cavalry, they could get no advantage. Hereupon Ali-beg, a Turkmân chief, impatient to ſee no end of the fight, ſallied out with three hundred men of the tribe of Okli, in order to charge the enemy behind, while Ali Soltan attacked them in front. When he was gone, ſome of the chief Uzbek commanders ſaid, it was wrong to let him go, for fear of his joining the enemy: but Ali-beg, while they were ſpeaking ſo much to his diſadvantage, had already began the fight; ſo that having been attacked three times vigorouſly by the Perſians, he muſt have been oppreſſed by their numbers, if Ali Soltan had not in time ſallied out of his intrenchment, and charged them in front; which having put the enemy into diſorder, they betook themſelves to flight, after the greater part of them had been ſlain. The Soltan purſued them till far in the night, ſo that Bader Khan had much ado to eſcape, with a few of his men. So great a number of horſes were taken, that Ali Soltan having made his eſquire a preſent of every ninth, they amounted to ſeven hundred, not reckoning what fell in diviſion to the officers and ſoldiers.

Fifteen years after, the Soltan having, in one of his expeditions, advanced as far as the Zenghel, or deſart, to the ſouth of Khojan, fell ill of a contagious ulcer, which broke out between his ſhoulders. As he would let nobody ſee it through baſhfulneſs, the chiefs were obliged to uſe force, and cut the cloaths over the part affected, to come at it. Yet for all their care, he died of that diſtemper in the year 1571 [1], at the age of forty. Ali Soltan was a prince of ſo much merit, that his couſin Hajim Khan often ſaid of him, that he had not his equal among the deſcendants of Yadigur Khan in bravery and liberality, ſincerity, modeſty, and, above all, the art of reigning. As in all his life he had never ſuffered any perſon either to ſee or touch his naked body; ſo he would not ſuffer a domeſtic to feel whether his legs began to grow cold when he was a dying. He did ſpeedy juſtice to thoſe who demanded it. In one of his expeditions, he hanged a man for taking two arbuſes (or melons) out of a field. He left two ſons, Iſkander, who died the ſame year; and Sanjer, who being diſturbed in his ſenſes, reigned ten years at Naſay, under the conduct of a Nayman lord [2].

## 3 *The Khans from Doſt Khan to Abdallah Khan.*

*Doſt Khan. — Iſh Soltan takes Urjenz: — Revolution thereon. — Hajîm Khan. — Story of Timûr Soltan. — Abdallah Khan's Invaſion: — Turkiſh Ambaſſador and Merchants plundered. — A new Invaſion by Abdallah Khan. — The Princes enſnared by a treacherous Peace: — Are all put to Death. — Hajim Khan retires to Perſia: — Returns with his Sons, and recovers Karazm. — Khayuk retaken by Abdallah's Troops. — Bravery of a Prince. — Hajim Khan flies again: — On Abdallah's Death returns to Urjenz; — Reſigns the Crown.*

AFTER the death of Din Mahamet Khan, the Uzbek Princes choſe Doſt Soltan, ſecond ſon of Buzzuga Khan, for his ſucceſſor at Khayuk, rather than Iſh Soltan, the eldeſt brother, becauſe, though courageous and generous, he was neither ſo wiſe and moderate. He was ſuſpected alſo as to his orthodoxy in religion. Iſh, who took this very ill, applied to his brothers for aſſiſtance, to take Urjenz: but arriving with his forces in the territory of Zilpuk, which belongs to the country of Kumkant, he found Hajîm Soltan ready to fight him, with a much ſuperior army. Hereupon ſecuring his men behind with a ſmall river, and with his chariots in front, Hajim, after an attack of eight days, was obliged to come to an accommodation.

[1] Called Sighir, or the Cow. Hejrah 979.

[2] Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 280, et ſeq.

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Some years after, Iſh Soltan having formed a new deſign againſt Urjenz, Hajim met him between that city and Tûk. Iſh covered himſelf, as before, with his chariots; and having fought for ſeven days againſt ſuperior forces, paſſed out of his intrenchments ſilently in the night, and ſeized Urjenz, to the great ſurprize of Hajim. As ſoon as he found himſelf maſter of the place, he ordered all the Vigûrs and Nanmans to retire to Wazîr, without any of their effects; but let thoſe of other tribes, ſettled there, remain.

After this, each party having endeavoured to ſecure Ali Soltan, who reſided at Naſay, in his intereſt; that Prince declared in favour of Hajîm Soltan, whom he joined (accompanied with Abul Soltan, ſon of Din Mahamet Khan) and beſieged Urjenz. Iſh Soltan defended himſelf well at firſt: but the beſiegers at length giving a general aſſault, while he was riding about from poſt to poſt, where his preſence was neceſſary, a Durman, whoſe ſiſter he had raviſhed, wounded his horſe in the flank with an arrow. The beaſt hereupon capered, and threw the Soltan ſo violently, that he broke one of his legs; and the enemy, who had ſcaled the walls in the interim, coming up, ſlew him before he could be remounted.

After this the confederates took Khayuk, and put to death Doſt Khan, brother of Iſh Soltan, whoſe two ſons were ſent into Great Bukhâria; where dying without iſſue, the race of Buzzuga Khan became quite extinct. The afore-mentioned revolution happened in the year 1557 [1], called Ghilki, or the horſe.

The ſame year Hajim Soltan, at the age of thirty five [2], was declared Khan, and went to reſide at Wazîr. As of all the poſterity of Amunak, there were left only the children of Avanaſh Khan, and Akattay Khan, they gave the cities of Urjenz, Hazaraſb, and Kât, to Ali Soltan, youngeſt ſon of the former [3]. Of the four remaining ſons of Akattay, Mahmûd Soltan lived with his brother Hajîm Khan; Pulâd and Timûr had Khayuk between them, with two Turkmân tribes, for their ſhare [4].

Theſe two brothers were both weak of underſtanding. The ſecond, when he was fifteen, taking a ride, was invited in by a countryman, who killed a fat ſheep to treat him, and at his going away preſented him with a gigot of it. At his return, he went to offer it to his father: but Akattay Khan, offended at the occaſion, reproved him, ſaying, "That he was fifty years old, and had never put any one to ſuch an expence: that if the peaſants were obliged to kill ſheep to treat him when he was young, they muſt kill horſes and cows for him when older; and that, as his vaſſals would follow his example, the poor ſubjects would ſoon be reduced to beggary." Hereupon ordering him to be ſtripped, he gave him thirty laſhes with a rod, laying on ſo hard, that young Timûr Soltan's ſhirt was all bloody. His brother Hajim [5] meeting him as he came out, approved of what his father had done, but adviſed him to appear next day in that bloody condition before Akattay Khan; who repenting of his ſeverity, after exhorting him not to do the like again, made him a preſent of the Turkmân tribe of Ti-u-azi, conſiſting of ſix thouſand families. Hereupon Timûr made an oath never to go to eat with any body, nor would he ſuffer any of his people to do ſo.

On the death of Ali Soltan, Hajim Khan went to reſide at Urjenz; his brother Mahmûd Soltan continued at Wazîr; Pulâd had Khayuk; and Timûr, Hazaraſb and Kât. Some years after, while Hajîm Khan was invading Khoraſân, Abdallah, Khan of Great Bukhâria, came with an army to beſiege the capital: but after loſing many

[1] Hejrah 965. [2] He was born in 1523. Hejrah 930. [3] An account has been given of him in the former article. [4] Hiſtory of the Turks, as before, p. 267. et ſeq. [5] Hazîm, or Azîm Khan, as Jenkinſon calls him.

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men, was obliged to retire into the country of Yanghiarik, where he waited, ſecuring the places he poſſeſſed on that ſide, till more forces arrived: but hearing Hajîm Khan was returned with a great army to fight him, he thought fit to make a peace with Pulâd and Timûr, who were at Khayuk, and retired to his own dominions.

Some time after, the Soltan Khalîfah of Rûm [1], ſent an ambaſſador to Abdallah Khan to engage him to attack the empire of Sheykh Ogli [2], with all his forces, while he attacked him vigorouſly on the other ſide. Pialaſha, who had ſpent three years in the voyage, going by way of the Indies, was deſirous to return through Karazm, and croſs the ſea of Mazanderân [3] to Shîrwân, then ſubject to the Soltan of Rûm, that ſo he might get to Iſtambul in four months. But when he came to Urjenz, Mahamet and Ibrahîm, ſons of Hajîm Khan, ſtripped him of all, and then ſent him to Mankiſhlak, where ſome Shîrwân merchants happening to be on their return, they carried him over to that province in their barks.

To this firſt cauſe of complaint there was joined another. Thoſe of Great Bukhâria, who performed the journey to Mekka, in times of peace always paſſed through Karazm, and the dominions of the Shah of the Perſians; but in war time were obliged to go far about, by the Indies. It happened, that ſome merchants relying on the peace, took their route through Karazm: but arriving at Khayuk, were ſtripped to their very ſhirts by Baba Soltan, ſon of Pulâd, and ſent home again on foot. Theſe people, at their return, going to complain to Abdallah Khan, he told them, he could do nothing in it; for that Baba Soltan was as much ſovereign at Khayuk, as himſelf could be in Great Bukhâria. Hereupon Haji Kûtas, head of the karawan, made anſwer, "That he would be his accuſer before the throne of God, in caſe he let go unpuniſhed an outrage done to the deity himſelf, in the perſons of thoſe who went to offer up their prayers to him at his holy houſe."

This bold remonſtrance, joined to a deſire of revenge for the loſs of the four towns taken from Nûr Mahamet, determined Abdallah Khan to make war againſt Hajîm Khan. The news of his preparations divided the Uzbeks of Karazm. One party was for making a vigorous reſiſtance, the other was for ſubmitting as ſoon as the enemy approached Urjenz; on a perſuaſion, that they would be employed by him, and well treated, even though he ſhould carry them into Great Bukhâria. Hajîm Khan finding by this, that he ought not to depend on his ſubjects, left his ſons, Mahamet and Ibrahim, at Urjenz, and retired to Duruhn with his eldeſt ſon Siuntz Mahamet Soltan.

Meantime Abdallah Khan advancing with his army, Mahamet, ſon of Timûr Soltan, marched, with his Uzbeks, from Hazaraſb to Khayuk; deſigning to make it the rendezvous of their troops, as his father had done in the former war, ſo as to baffle the deſigns of Abdallah: but on his arrival found Pulâd Soltan reſolved to quit the town, and go to Wazîr. Hereupon they all ſet out together, with a large train of men and chariots (or waggons) at day break. But at noon, juſt as the laſt troops paſſed out of the city, thoſe of Khojamkuli, one of Abdallah Khan's generals, entered at the oppoſite gate; and next day following the confederate Princes, with thirty thouſand horſe, on a great trot, overtook them at the borough of Almatiſh Khan,

[1] That is, the Grand Seignior, or Emperor of the Turks, who ſince the ſuppreſſion of the Khalîfah of Egypt, whom Soltan Selim, in 1516, carried to Conſtantinople, is qualified by the Mohammedan Princes of his ſect, with the title of Khalîfah, and aſſumes it himſelf. [2] That is, of the ſons of the heykh; meaning Sheykh Sefi, or Iſmael, King of Perſia, by way of contempt. [3] So they call the Caſpian Sea.

for

for they had not continued their march till the ſame morning. At his approach, they covered themſelves with their chariots; but Khojam-kuli having forced that barricade, after a vigorous reſiſtance, put them to the rout. As he loſt many men in the action, he did not purſue the Princes who retired to Wazîr [1].

At their arrival they reſolved to make propoſals of peace to Abdallah Khan, and drove from the city Baba Soltan, who had been the occaſion of the war. Hereupon Pulâd Soltan, with his two other ſons, retired to Hajîm Khan at Duruhn; while Mahamet and Ibrahîm, Hajîm's ſons, repaired to Wazîr, to join the confederates. Meantime Abdallah Khan, appearing before that city, beſieged it in form: but finding, after two months' leaguer, that it would be difficult to come off with honour, he had recourſe to craft. He ſent to tell the confederates, that ſince they had thruſt out Baba Soltan, whom he had chief cauſe to complain of, they might depend on being received by him as his allies and relations. The Princes deluded with theſe fair promiſes, entered into a capitulation with their enemy; who, at their requeſt, ſent five of his principal lords, attended by forty horſe, to ſwear, in his name, not to meddle either with their perſons or effects, and that he had no evil intention againſt them.

After taking the oath, the common people (who were againſt the Princes truſting to ſuch weak ſecurity) deſired that the five lords might be arreſted, till ſuch time as Abdallah Khan ſhould raiſe the ſiege and begin his march. But Ali Soltan, who had the chief command in the city, and though little and crooked was a great wit, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this motion; alledging, that being the monarch's near relations, they had nothing to fear from him: that in caſe he ſhould carry them into Great Bukhâria, he would ſettle them more advantageouſly than they were in Karazm; but that far from ſuch a deſign he was perſuaded, Abdallah, on the firſt application, would leave them in poſſeſſion of Urjenz and Wazîr. Theſe reaſons being approved of by all the men of diſtinction, the people were obliged to be ſilent; and the Princes, accompanied with the Bukhârian lords, left the city to go to Abdallah Khan; who having put a guard over them, and divided their ſoldiers into troops of ten or twelve men, one of whom was to be reſponſible for the reſt, he ſent them all priſoners into Great Bukhâria, whither he followed with his army, after having put governors in all the towns of Karazm, which thus fell into his hands.

A month after this event Hajîm Khan, and the ten Princes of his houſe who were at Duruhn, reſolved to retire towards Shah Abbas Maſi; only Pulâd Soltan, third ſon of Akattay Khan, thinking it would be very unbecoming of him, who was near ſeventy years old, to go look for a ſanctuary among people of a different religion, choſe rather to repair to Abdallah Khan, on a preſumption that he would pity his condition, and give him a ſubſiſtence. But he was deceived: for that Prince, on his return to Bukhâria, cauſed him, and all the other deſcendants of Amunak, being twelve, who had fallen into his hands, to be put to death the ſame day in the town of Sagratz, beſides ſome who were very young. After this he laid a yearly tax of thirty tanga a head on all the other priſoners above the age of ten; which conſtrained many to ſell their children in order to raiſe the tribute.

Meanwhile Hajîm Khan ſet out for Duruhn, with the Princes, accompanied by three thouſand horſe: but they deſerted ſo faſt on the road, that he arrived with a train of no more than one hundred and fifty, at the court of Shah Abbâs, who came in perſon to receive him, and gave him the beſt treatment imaginable: but Siuntz Mahamet Soltan and his ſon went on to the Soltan Khalîfah of Rûm [2]. This happened in the year Yilan,

[1] Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 287, et ſeq.

[2] Or, Turky, for the reaſon already given.

or of the ſerpent. Two years after, in the year Koy, or the ſheep, the ſame in which a comet appeared, Abdallah Khan ſent before him his ſon Abdal-momîn Soltan, with part of his army, to beſiege Eſfarayn in Khoraſân. On this news, the Shah left Kazwin with an army, accompanied by Hajîm Khan, and the other Uzbek Princes; who having learned when they came to Baſtâm that there were but ſixty of the enemy at at Khayuk, and forty at Urjenz, judged they might profit by ſuch negligence. But as for ſecrecy, this was to be done without the Shah's knowledge. Hajîm Khan and ſome others declined it, for fear of giving offence to that monarch; ſo that none but Arab Mahamet, and Mahamet Kuli, two of Hajîm's ſons, and the three ſons of Pulâh Soltan, engaged in the enterprize.

They took horſe late one evening, and riding all night, arrived at the Turkmân tribe of Amîr; and from thence by noon at Aſtarabâd [1]. Next morning Hajîm Khan, having informed the Shah of their deſign, that Prince, who knew the activity of Abdallah Khan, and the improbability of recovering their poſſeſſions during his life, adviſed him to ride after them immediately, and bring them back. Hajîm overtook them at Aſtarabâd; but inſtead of bringing them back, they prevailed on him to continue with them, till he ſaw what ſucceſs they ſhould have, the Turkmâns having promiſed a powerful aſſiſtance. Departing from Aſtarabâd, they went towards the mountain of Kuran, where the tribes of Taka and Yamut lent them five hundred men. Then croſſing the territory of Mankiſhlak, whoſe inhabitants had all removed to the country of Orda Kutuk [2], they came to the tribe of Irſari, which granted them five or ſix hundred men, and thence proceeded towards Piſhga.

Separating in this province, Hajîm Khan with his two ſons took the road of Urjenz; and Baba Soltan with his two brothers went to Khayuk. On the news of Hajîm Khan's approach, Sari Oglân, governor of Urjenz, retired into the caſtle. But the Khan having entered by a paſſage carried under the wall in the night, he put the governor to death with his forty men. The Turkmâns after this returned home laden with plunder, leaving Hajîm Khan and his ſons almoſt alone at Urjenz. Baba Soltan had no leſs ſucceſs on the other ſide; for as ſoon as he appeared before Khayuk, the Sarts, who dwelt in the city, opened the gates to him: whereupon he, in like manner, ſlew the governor Mengliſh-bey with his ſixty men: which coming to the ears of the commanders of Hazaraſb and Kât, they fled towards Great Bukhâria [3].

Ten days after, Baba Soltan having diſmiſſed all his Turkmâns likewiſe, except fifteen, went to Hazaraſb with his brother Paluankuli: but it being the vintage ſeaſon, Hamza ſtayed at Khayuk, to drink his ſwill of new wine. Juſt as Baba entered Hazaraſb, he perceived two officers advancing on a ſmart gallop, at the head of an hundred and fifty horſe. Suſpecting them to be enemies, he endeavoured to ſhut the gate; but had ſcarce cloſed one ſide, before the firſt came up, and endeavoured with his lance to keep the other ſide open. However ſome of the inhabitants running thither in the nick of time they ſhut it alſo, and with their arrows obliged the enemy to march off. In their retreat they took a Sart, who having informed them of Hamza's ſtay at Khayuk, they turned on that ſide, and arrived there next day at noon, while the Soltan was taking the air; but not daring to uſe force with ſo few men, they lay concealed till the evening; when aſſiſtance coming to them, they made a paſſage into the town under one of the gates; at which having entered they put all to the ſword: an event that much diſconcerted the affairs of Baba Soltan.

[1] In the tranſlation every where Iſtarabat. [2] Becauſe of the quarrels they had with the Mankats (or Kara-kalpaks) on one ſide, and with the tribe of Irſazi on the other. [3] Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 296, et ſeq.

To underſtand who theſe troops were, it muſt be obſerved that Abdallah Khan, having ſent Khojam-kuli to ſupport his ſon Abdalmomîn Soltan, while he followed leiſurely to take the diverſion of catching water-fowl beyond Zarjui, in Gordiſh; on the road met the commander of Hazaraſb, who having informed him what had paſſed in that city, he ſent him with the news to Abdallah Khan, who ordered him to march in haſte towards Khayuk, promiſing to follow cloſe with his whole army. Hereupon Khojam-kuli marched towards that city; but found at his arrival, that the work had been already done by his van-guard, which determined him to march for Urjenz.

Meantime Mahamet Kuli Soltan, Hajîm Khan's third ſon, a Prince of much courage, having heard of his couſin Hamza's death, kept it very ſecret, reſolving to go and join Baba Soltan at Hazaraſb. He took with him ſome truſty Turkmâns and Jagatays [1], with two hundred Uzbeks newly eſcaped from Bukhâria. He began his march by the river of Urjenz: but coming near the little town of Zilpuk, he found himſelf of a ſudden ſurrounded by the troops of Khojam-kuli; who imagining the Soltan could not poſſibly eſcape him, ordered his officers to take him alive. But Mahamet Kuli forming one large ſquadron, with his men ruſhed headlong on one of the enemy's wings, and breaking through them, retired into the country of the Mankats [2]; where he tried to draw Kuzuk Khan into his intereſt, by propoſing to marry his ſiſter: but that Prince fearing Abdallah Khan's reſentment, in caſe he gave Mahamet Kuli protection, had him arreſted, and ſent to the Ruſſians [3], where he ſoon after died.

Hajîm Khan being informed of what had happened, left Urjenz, accompanied by his ſon Arab Mahamet, and ſome ſoldiers, deſigning to go to Mankiſhlak. But the enemy having overtaken him the third night after their departure, he was obliged to fight with them; and being worſted, endeavoured to retire. The enemy continuing ſtill to follow him, he was forced next morning to a new engagement, in which he loſt more than half of the few men he had with him: ſo that he was conſtrained, once more, to take refuge at Aſtarabâd, from whence he repaired to the Shah at Kazwin. Abdallah Khan went in perſon to beſiege Hazaraſb; and having taken it, cauſed Baba Soltan and his fifteen men to be ſlain. After which he returned into Great Bukhâria, where he died [4] the laſt day of the year 1597, called Tauk, or the hen.

On the news of his death, Shah Abbâs Maſi having gathered a great army, came next year and encamped near Baſtâm. There Hajîm Khan entreated the Shah to let him take a turn towards Bukhâria to try if Abdal Momîn, who had ſucceeded his father, would reſtore him one of his towns, that he might end his days in quiet. Shah Abbâs having given his conſent he departed, accompanied by Arab Mahamet Soltan, and his grandſon Isfandiar Soltan, with a retinue of fifteen perſons, leaving Burandu, ſon of Ibrahim Soltan, behind: but having loſt his way the ſecond ſtage, he found himſelf at length near the mountain Kuran, when he thought he was about Marû. As this miſtake embarraſſed him extremely, he reſted there that night, to conſider what he had to do: but going at ſun-riſe to ſit in the ſhade to ſay his prayers, becauſe it was midſummer, he ſaw two Naymans on horſeback coming from towards Yaurſurdi; who, at their approach, wiſhed him long life, and informed him, that Abdallah Momîn Khan, in his way from Khoraſân to his own dominions, was ſlain at Zamin [5], by his own people, and that they came in ſearch of him to bring him the news.

[1] Theſe were the old Mongols, who came with Jagatay Khan into theſe parts, from whom they took the name. [2] Or, Karakalpaks, who poſſeſs the weſt part of Turkeſtân. [3] Urus's in the original. [4] So that Olearius muſt be miſtaken, who ſays, that this Khan, with his brother, and three of his ſons, were taken by Shah Abbâs, and put to death. [5] Or Zam, on the river Amû.

Hajîm

Hajîm Khan, rejoiced at theſe tidings, made haſte to Urjenz, where he arrived in eight days, and found the city without governor or garriſon: for in the confuſion which the affairs of Great Bukhâria fell into, after the aſſaſſination of their Khan, the enemy withdrew out of Karazm. Hajîm kept Urjenz and Wazîr; he aſſigned Khayuk and Kât to his ſon Arab Mahamet, and gave Isfandiar, his grandſon, Hazaraſb. Soon after, the Uzbeks made priſoners by Abdallah Khan took the opportunity to return home; as did, in the third year, Siuntz Mahamet Soltan; at whoſe arrival from the lands of Rûm [1], his father reſigned the dignity of Khan in his favour, and retired to lived at Khayuk with Arab Mahamet Soltan. But that Prince did not long enjoy the ſweets of reigning: for he died a year after his return to Urjenz, and his ſon Abdallah Khan, who ſucceeded him, lived but another twelve-month. At length Hajîm Khan died, in the year 1602, called Bars [2], or the tiger [3].

## 4. *The Reign of Arab Mahamet Khan, and Isfandiar Khan.*

*Arab Mahamet Khan.— Invaſions by Koſaks, and Kalmûks.— Plots againſt the Khan: — two of his Sons riſe in Rebellion:—Matters accommodated: — rebel a ſecond Time. — Abu'lghâzi Soltan's Propoſal to kill them: — the Khan marches againſt his Sons: — is taken Priſoner: — ſlain by Ilbars.— Isfandiar's Attempt defeated by Perjury: — yet he recovers Karazm.*

ARAB [4] MAHAMET Khan ſucceeding his father, added Kât to his ſon Isfandiar's portion. Six mohths after, while he was paſſing the ſummer on the banks of the river Amû, the Ruſſians of Jaîk [5] knowing there were no ſoldiers in Urjenz during that ſeaſon, came with a thouſand men; and after they had killed a thouſand of the inhabitants, loaded as many chariots with the moſt valuable effects, burning what they could not carry away, and marched off with a thouſand females. The Khan being informed of this in time, went to cut off their retreat at a certain defile, which he ſo well intrenched and paliſadoed in haſte that the enemy could not force him, till after an attack of two days: however, they were obliged to leave all their booty behind. Meantime the Khan, who did not deſign to let them eſcape him ſo cheaply, having gotten the ſtart of them by croſs roads, went to wait for them at another paſs: which the Ruſſians not being ablee to force, and water beginning to fail, ſo as they drank the blood of their ſlain, they made a laſt effort; which ſucceeded ſo ill with them, that ſcarce an hundred men eſcaped. Theſe made over to the river Kheſel, where they built a cabin a good way beyond Tûk, and there lived by fiſhing, waiting an opportunity to get back: but five days after, the Khan being informed of their abode ſent men there, who ſlew them all.

Six months after a thouſand Kalmûks [6] came to ſurprize ſome Uzbeks, who dwelt along the Kheſel towards Kât, and having killed a great number of them, were, on their return, loaden with booty and priſoners. But Arab Mahamet Khan being informed thereof, purſued them ſo briſkly that they had much ado to eſcape him, after leaving all which they had taken behind them.

Sometime after the Naymans, who never reliſhed well the government of this Khan, brought ſecretly into Khayuk, Khiſſeran Soltan, deſcended of Ilbars Khan, with a deſign to kill Arab Mahamet, and ſet the other up in his room. But the Khan having timely notice of the plot, had the Soltan ſeized and put to death. As for Safi Mirza, the chief conſpirator, his own brother Baba Mirza killed him, as a perſon unworthy to live after

[1] Or Turkey. [2] Or Pars. See the Tartar Cycle, p. 400. [3] Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 305, et ſeq. [4] In the tranſlation Arap, according to the Turkiſh pronunciation. [5] In the tranſlation Uruſſes. Theſe were the Koſaks who dwell on the river Jaïk, or Yaïk. [6] So the Uzbeks call the Eluths in contempt, and from them the Ruſſians have the name.

ſuch an offence. Two years after, Saſh Mirza, with twenty Vigûrs, went from Urjenz to Samarkant and fetched from thence Seleh Soltan, a deſcendant of Haſſankuli Khan; whereof the Khan being informed, he went forthwith to Urjenz, and put the new pretender to death, without inquiring farther after his accomplices, who, he ſaid, might have been innocently drawn into the plot.

Ten years after, a thouſand Kalmûks having invaded Karazm on the ſide of Bakirgan, plundered many habitations, and returned with a great number of priſoners, in ſpite of all the pains that was taken to purſue them.

Arab Mahamet Khan had ſeven ſons by ſeveral wives, Isfandiar Soltan, Habaſh, Ilbars, Abu'lghâzi Bahâdar, Shaûf Mahamet, Karazm Khan Soltan, and Augan. After that Prince had reigned peaceably for fourteen years, one day, when he was gone to Urjenz, ſeveral young men perſuaded Habſh and Ilbars (the one ſixteen, the other fourteen) to go with them from Khayuk to Urjenz, that they might be received in quality of their father's ſucceſſors. Being advanced to a fountain in the country of Piſhga (only one day's journey from that city) where they ſtaid ten days, the Khan ſent for them to come to him, and to tell them, that he would give them Wazîr for a portion. Their anſwer was, that they would come as ſoon as their men were gotten together. Arab Mahamet might have quaſhed this ſedition at once, by only publiſhing his orders, that none ſhould join the Princes, for he was much feared by his ſubjects: but neglecting this precaution, though at the ſame time he knew many went to ſee them, the people imagined what they did was by his own conſent.

The young Soltans judging themſelves ſtrong enough, made an irruption into Khoraſân; from whence they returned to their firſt camp loaden with plunder, and ſent two Perſians as a preſent to their father. After this they diſmiſſed all their troops excepting fourſcore men. Hither the Khan ſent again a Vigûr lord, to exhort them to come before him: but the Uzbeks between the countries of Darugan and Bakirgan, who had joined them, anſwered, that the Princes had no occaſion to go to their father, and that they had nothing to do with him. As this language foreboded a rebellion, the Khan being ſeized with fear, departed inſtantly for Khayuk. Hereupon the two Princes went anew to ravage the Perſian territories; and at their return ſeizing all their father's granaries, diſtributed the corn among their troops, which increaſed them conſiderably. Wheat was then ſo cheap, that two hundred weight might have been had for a tanga; for nothing but that grain was ſown from the ſmall town of Modekan, to this ſide of Bakirgan, and as far as the country of Kuigan. The Khan, who poſſeſſed a great extent of land on that ſide, cauſed the Kheſel to be cut behind Tûk, and by means of that opening with ſeveral canals, watered his lands. After which the opening being ſhut, the river reſumed its courſe to the ſea of Mezanderân.

Arab Mahamet finding the mutineers multiply daily, came to an agreement with his ſons, giving up to them Wazîr, and all the Turkmâns depending on it. After which, the two Princes, followed by four thouſand men, went to Khayuk, to ſalute their father.

Four years after, Ilbars Soltan aſſembled troops near Wazîr, under pretence of going to beſiege Yaurſurdi; but hearing the Khan was on the road to Urjenz, he went and took Khayuk. Arab Mahamet being informed of this ſurprize, turned back, by advice of his lords, who were of opinion that on his approach Ilbars would quit the city. But being come to Khaſgan, a little town near that place, the Soltan ſent thither five hundred men, who entering in the night, ſeized him and all his retinue. From thence being carried to Khayuk, Ilbars detained them all as his priſoners, and diſtributed among his troops all the money his father had been hoarding for many years, as well as the effects

of the captive lords [1]. The other brothers being informed of that deteſtable action, reſolved to make war on Ilbars, even Habaſh himſelf offered to accompany them: but they were diverted from that purpoſe by ſome of their lords, who judged that ſuch a proceeding might put their aged father's life in danger; while Ilbars, if let alone, would releaſe him of his own accord; as ſhortly after it came to paſs.

The Khan being come back to Urjenz with his ſon Isfandiar, they reſolved to ſeize Ilbars Soltan; but he diſcovering their deſign, fled to the deſart with only five or ſix men: however, they ruined his habitations, and tranſplanted the greater part of his ſubjects. At their return from this expedition, Abu'lghâzi Soltan propoſed to go kill his brothers Habaſh and Ilbars, who ſtill cloſely correſponded, as the only way to ſecure his father's life: but the Khan would determine nothing till he had conſulted Zin Haji Abu'lghâzi returning at the time appointed, and finding that lord did not approve of his propoſal, put his father in mind how he had been deceived before by Zin Haji's magnifying the forces of thoſe Princes to whom he was ſent on their firſt revolt; which had obliged him to retire to Khayuk, when he might eaſily have ſeized them, but for that falſe repreſentation [2]. He added, that as every body elſe he had conſulted approved of his deſign, except Zin Haji, it confirmed him in the opinion he had all along entertained, that he and his brother Kurbauk were traitors; and held a criminal correſpondence with Ilbars, by means of their two other brothers, who were the moſt intimate confidants of that Prince. In ſhort, he told his father, that if he did not follow his counſel, he would repent it when it was too late.

For all this, the Khan refuſed to enter into his meaſures; nor would Isfandiar Soltan join with him. Meantime Habaſh being informed, by one of their ſpies, of Abu'lghâzi's project, never forgave it him. Five months after, Arab Mahamet Khan, beginning to repent his not having followed the author's advice, ſent orders to Isfandiar Soltan and him, to join him immediately with their troops at Khayuk. In the interim he ſent to tell Habaſh and Ilbars, that as they had ten perſons about them who never ceaſed giving them evil counſel, in caſe they delivered them up to him, he could pardon all that was paſt; otherwiſe, he would own them no longer for his children. Upon their refuſal, the Khan advanced with his troops to Kandum, a borough not far from Khayuk, were he waited for his ſons. Abu'lghâzi, leaving his men to follow leiſurely, rode before [3]; and being come to Kandum, propoſed to his father to march along the right ſide of the river, while he, with his eight hundred men, ſhould oblige the Turkmâns, who incamped in the deſart, and were more than half of them his ſubjects, to join him; reſolving to deſtroy thoſe who belonged to his rebel brothers, in caſe they refuſed: for, without their aſſiſtance, they could not raiſe four hundred men. But the Khan not approving of his advice this time neither, as ſoon as Isfandiar arrived with his troops, they proceeded. When they were entered into the country of Ikzi Kumani, Abu'lghâzi ſet upon his father once more to make a diverſion among the Turkmâns; but to as little purpoſe as before. In ſhort, having advanced by ſlow marches as far as the little canal called Taſhli Ghermiſh, the two Princes, who had time enough given them to get all their forces together, came and charged their father ſo vigorouſly, that his men began preſently to fly, and left the unfortunate Khan a ſecond time priſoner in the hands of his unnatural ſons [4].

[1] Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 312, et ſeq. [2] Abu'lghâzi Soltan ſhould have made uſe of this argument before, when his father propoſed conſulting Zin Haji, in order to have diſſuaded him from that deſign. [3] He left Kât in the morning: he came to Kandum late in the evening. [4] Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 319, et ſeq.

In

In this battle, which was very bloody, Abu'lghâzi Soltan, being hemmed in by forty men, was brought off by ſix of his own, who came to his relief in the nick of time. On this occaſion he received a ſhot with an arrow in the mouth; ſo that he was obliged, afterwards, to have ſome little bone of the jaw taken away on the fractured ſide. After this, he made towards a river, which he was obliged to croſs by ſwimming; but had ſcarce got off his coat of mail, before the enemy came running after him, and crying, kill! kill! Hereupon plunging into the ſtream, which was very rapid, he with difficulty eſcaped drowning, by giving the horſe his head, and holding faſt by the main. Having gotten over with three of his men, he took the road to Kât, where he found ten more; and with them retired into Great Bukhâria, to Imâm Kuli Khan (the ſucceſſor of Ab'dol Momin Khan) who received him very kindly at Samarkant[1].

Isfandiar Soltan having retreated to Hazaraſb with his brothers Sharîf Mahamet and Karazm Khan Soltan, Ilbars and Habaſh came and beſieged them: but, at the end of forty days, coming to an accommodation, Isfandiar retired to the Shah of Perſia's court, under pretence of making a pilgrimage to Mekka, leaving the city in poſſeſſion of Sharîf Mahamet Soltan, who, four months after, retired into Great Bukhâria to his brother Abu'lghâzi Soltan. Karazm, by his departure, falling intirely into the hands of Ilbars and Habaſh, they divided it between themſelves: the firſt had Khayuk and Hazaraſb; the latter, Urjenz and Wazîr, with their dependencies. They aſſigned their father the little town of Kumkala, to live there with his three wives and two youngeſt ſons: but a year after, Ilbars having ſent for his father and two brothers, cauſed him to be put to death with Karazm Khan Soltan, and ſent Augan Soltan to Habaſh with the ſame intent. This latter, without whoſe knowledge all the reſt had been done, unwilling to imbrue his hands in the blood of his brother, had him conveyed to Ruſſia, where he died. As to the two ſons of Isfandiar Soltan, who were both infants, Ilbars had them educated at Khayuk. Arab Mahamet Khan loſt his life in the year 1621[2], called It, or the Dog, after having reigned twenty years.

The news of the Khan's death having reached the Perſian court, the Shah gave Isfandiar Soltan three hundred choſen men, to try if he could recover his father's dominions. Having been joined on the road by a hundred and ſeventy Turkmans, of the tribes of Taka and Yâmut, he advanced directly to the camp of Habaſh Soltan, near Tûk, but found him not there. That Prince was then feaſting at the houſe of one of his lords; when hearing of a ſudden the trumpet ſound (which is forbidden on any account, except on the approach of an enemy) he inſtantly took horſe, and fled to Ilbars Soltan. After this, all thoſe who had any regard for the memory of the late Khan, as well as ſuch as were the ſubjects of his other ſons, came and joined Isfandiar, whoſe affairs were taking the beſt turn imaginable, when the artifice of one Naſar Khoja intirely changed the face of them.

This perſon, deſcended from a holy man, called Saghidata, being devoted to Ilbars, who had married his daughter, as ſoon as he ſaw the ſtorm riſing, ſent to bid his ſon-in-law take courage, and tell him, that he would be with him in two days, with all the men he could get together. To this end, arming fifty men in haſte, he went and ſeized the ford of the river Kheſel on that ſide, in order to prevent any from paſſing who had a mind to join Isfandiar. After which he took the koran in his hands, and began to curſe that Prince aloud, giving out that he had embraced the Perſian ſect, and that

[1] Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 333, et ſeq. [2] Hejrah 1031. The author of the Deſcription of the Countries bordering on the Euxine, and Caſpian Seas, at the end of Travernier's Travels, mentions this event, with ſome little variation.

wherever he came he put to the ſword all the men, and condemned the women and children to ſlavery. As he backed all this with the ſolemneſt oaths, many of the common people (who could not believe that a man of his birth would violate the moſt ſacred laws purpoſely to impoſe on them) inſtead of repairing to Isfandiar, as they at firſt deſigned, went over to the two uſurpers.

Ilbars and Habaſh, by this means, ſoon found themſelves in a condition to go in queſt of their eldeſt brother: and the two armies meeting, Isfandiar was forced, after a bloody action, to retire towards Mankiſhlak. However, in that place being joined by three thouſand Turkmâns, and a great number of Uzbeks, who began to be weary of the government of the two princes, he went back again; and his brothers having advanced to meet him, with a conſiderable army, they continued fighting for twenty-two days ſucceſſively: but, at length, Isfandiar gained the victory; and having taken his brother Ilbars priſoner, cauſed him forthwith to be put to death. Habaſh Soltan took refuge with Sharnik Mirza, a lord of the Mankats [1], on the river Yem, hoping a good reception from the chief of that tribe, in return for having ſent back all the Mankat priſoners within his domains, when he reigned at Urjenz: but that lord deteſting his perfidiouſneſs, cauſed him to be arreſted, and ſent him to his brother, who had him executed without delay, in the year 1622 [2], called Tongûs, or the Hog [3].

## 5. *The Reigns of Arab Mahamet Khan, Isfandiar Khan, and Sharîf Mahamet Khan.*

*Partition of the Towns. — Plot againſt the Turkmâns. — Vigûrs and Naymans ſlain: — ſtand in their Defence. — New attempt againſt the Turkmâns. — The Uzbeks defeated. — Abu'lghâzi's Valour. — The People deſerting, he returns to Turkeſtân: — goes thence to Samarkant: — returns to Karazm. Uzbeks maſſacred. — Abu'lghâzi ſeized, and ſent Priſoner to Perſia. — Sharîf Mahamet Khan.*

THE news of this event coming to the ears of Abu'lghâzi and Sharîf Mahamet, at Samarkant, they took leave of Imân Zuli Khan, and returned to Urjenz. At their arrival they cauſed Isfandiar to be proclaimed Khan, and divided the dominions of their father among them. The Khan had for his ſhare, the cities of Khayuk, Hazaraſb, and Kât; Abu'lghâzi Soltan, Urjenz, with its dependencies (being then juſt nineteen years old); and Sharîf Mahamet Soltan, Wazîr.

The year after, all the principal ſubjects of Isfandiar Khan having gone in autumn to pay their court to him, Abu'lghâzi Soltan, before he ſet out, invited Sharîf Mahamet with three of his ſons, to his houſe; and, in preſence of two of his own vaſſals, aſked him if there was not ſome animoſity between him and the Khan. On his anſwering in the negative, he enjoined all the ſix to ſecrecy by oath; and then told them, he could not comprehend what his brother meant by keeping the Turkmâns about him a whole year; that, poſſibly, his deſign was to deſtroy all the Uzbeks about Khayuk, for having always favoured Ilbars Soltan, in which caſe he would be ſure to demand help of them: that, therefore, the beſt courſe they could take was, not to go to Khayuk, which might divert his intention: but that if they muſt needs go thither, it was his advice to kill all the Turkmâns they ſhould meet on the road; and then preſent themſelves before the Khan, with ropes about their necks, to implore pardon; excuſing themſelves on the uſual treachery of that people, and the great occaſions of complaint they have had againſt them in times paſt. But Sharîf Mahamet Soltan, not approving of ſuch a proceeding,

[1] Nicknamed Kara-kalpaks. [2] Hejrah 1032. [3] Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 324, et ſeq.

propoſed

propoſed killing Isfandiar Khan himſelf, and cauſing Abu'lghâzi Soltan to be proclaimed in his room.

This propoſal was approved by four of the lords: but Kurban Haji, a Vigûr, and one of Abu'lghâzi's vaſſals, not ſatisfied with rejecting it, declared, that if ever he heard any more mention of ſuch a plot againſt the Khan's life, he would impeach them. So blunt a declaration having broken their meaſures, they went to Khayuk: but four days after, being about to return, Isfandiar Khan cauſed Abu'lghâzi to be arreſted, and all the Vigûrs and Naymans, who were then in the city, to the number of five hundred, to be put to the ſword. On this occaſion an hundred Uzbeks, of other tribes, were ſlain, although he had forbidden that any of them ſhould be touched. In like manner, the troops which were ſent to deſtroy all about Khayuk belonging to thoſe two tribes (whom he was determined to root out) contrary to his orders, ſlew all the Uzbeks, who dwelt from Hazaraſb as far as the high-ſtone tower where the river Amû divides in two arms [1], not ſparing the very infants at the breaſt.

The Khan, after this, ſent Sharîf Mahamet Soltan to Urjenz, with orders to cauſe the throats to be cut of all the Vigûrs and Naymans depending on that city. Whereupon thoſe people gave him to underſtand, that they were reſolved not to ſuffer themſelves to be maſſacred without ſelling their lives dear: but that they were ready to quit the country, or receive Abu'lghâzi Soltan and Mahamet Saynbeg (one of the Khan's moſt truſty ſervants) to have an eye over their conduct. Theſe propoſals appearing reaſonable to Sharîf Mahamet, he ſent them to the Khan, who pitched on the laſt expedient. Abu'lghâzi Soltan being arrived, went and reſided on the ſide of the Kheſel, whither Sharîf repaired to him, with eighty Turkmâns, who went over to Mahamet Saynbeg, as ſoon as he arrived. Meantime thirty of the moſt conſiderable of the Uzbeks, beyond the river, came to welcome him, and offered him a thouſand choice men to be employed in his ſervice againſt Isfandiar Khan. On this occaſion, they propoſed to begin by ſlaying Mahamet Saynbeg and his eighty men; becauſe they looked on the Turkmâns as the only authors of the late maſſacres of their brethren; and then marching to beſiege Khayuk, would put to the ſword all ſuch of that nation as they found in its neighbourhood.

But this project appeared impracticable to Abu'lghâzi Soltan, who knew that the Turkmâns would be ſo much on their guard, that on the leaſt motion of the Uzbeks, they would take flight; ſo that before they could reach Khayuk, all the reſt of them would be removed wi h their effects; and what was worſe, the Kalmûks, in their abſence, would come and carry off their wives and children. He was therefore of opinion, that they ſhould treat Mahamet Saynbeg and his men kindly, and ſend them back loaden with civilities, in order to lull the Khan aſleep: that after this Sharîf Mahamet ſhould go paſs the winter in the little town of Kayuk, near Urjenz, whilſt the Uzbeks, beyond the river, ſet about making an intrenchment for their ſecurity, as if in dread of the Kalmûks: That they ſhould place guards along the two roads leading to the country of thoſe Tartars, as though to obſerve what paſſed; and that in ſpring a man ſhould come running full ſpeed from thoſe countries, with news of a Kalmûk invaſion: that on this advice they ſhould aſſemble troops, under pretence of going to meet the enemy; but in the way joining Sharîf Mahamet, they ſhould turn

[1] One of the arms, called Tokay, paſſes by that tower: the other, which is greateſt, having quitted its old bed, runs by a large channel into the Kheſel near Tûk; which had rendered Urjenz, when the author wrote, no better than a deſart.

of

of a ſudden towards Khayuk, ſurpriſe that city, where there could not be then above ſixty men about the Khan, and put all the Turkmâns to the ſword.

The Uzbeks, however, had no mind to depart from their deſign upon Mahamet Saynbeg, and his Turkmâns: but they finding it out, retired after night-fall, when every body was gone to reſt. The Uzbeks arriving ſoon after, Abu'lghâzi Soltan told them, that as the ſhorteſt follies are the beſt, his advice was to ſend to aſſure the Khan, that they knew not the reaſon of Mahamet's ſudden departure; and that if they had deſigned him any harm, they could eaſily have prevented him. But this advice was not reliſhed by his brother, and the Uzbeks, who inſiſted that they had no other meaſures to take, but march to Khayuk. Arriving in two days at the bridge of Taſh-kupruk, in the country of Khika, they halted there forty days, and killed ſome Turkmâns, the reſt retiring to that city [1].

Meantime the Kalmûks having ſurpriſed one part of the Uzbek camp, and carried a great number into ſlavery, many of them deſerted the army, beginning to have a bad opinion of their ſucceſs. On the news of this revolt, the Turkmâns, who dwelt about the mountain of Abu'lkhân and at Mankiſhlak, joining Isfandiar Khan at Khayuk, he took the field in his turn, and encountering the Uzbeks in the place above-mentioned, entirely defeated them. Abu'lghâzi Soltan ſeeing the battle loſt, retired with five hundred and forty of his men, into the intrenchment, which they had raiſed to cover their baggage. In the evening Isfandiar Khan drew near; but the Soltan ſallying on foot at the head of five hundred men, gave him ſuch a warm reception, that he durſt not make a ſecond attempt, intrenching himſelf at ſome diſtance. After they had looked on one another in this manner for ſix days, without daring to engage, they came the ſeventh to an accommodation, which the Khan had ſet on foot only with a view to draw Abu'lghâzi into the open field, where he propoſed to demoliſh him: but miſſed of his aim, in regard the Turkmâns had gone to pillage the borough of Khanaka, inhabited by the Sarts, juſt at the time his brother paſſed out of his intrenchment. However, at their return, he purſued him with five thouſand men. The Soltan ſuſpecting his deſign, formed in haſte an incloſure with his chariots, and defended himſelf ſo well, that the Khan was obliged at laſt, to come to a ſecond treaty. After this Abu'lghâzi, and his brother Sharîf Mahamet, taking up their abode at Urjenz, all the Uzbeks, who dwelt before on both ſides of the Amû, came to ſettle about that city.

Some time after a comet having appeared in the ſky, the common people who were perſuaded, conſidering the extraordinary animoſities which reigned among their Princes, that it portended ſome great calamities, went off by troops, which they called Top, top, into other countries. Nor was it in the power of Abu'lghâzi Soltan to reſtrain their flight: for while he ſent after the party which went out on one ſide, two or three others withdrew another way; ſome ſeeking ſhelter in Great Bukhâria, others in Turkeſtân, with the Kaſats [2] and Mankats: ſo that having thus, in a month's time, loſt three conſiderable troops of his ſubjects, he was conſtrained to retire elſewhere, to avoid lying at the mercy of Isfandiar Khan. Sharîf Mahamet Soltan, who was in the ſame caſe, went to Great Bukhâria: but Abu'lghâzi Soltan retired towards the Kaſachia Orda, and went to viſit Iſhîm Khan at Turkeſtân.

Three months after, Iſhîm going to Taſhkant, to pay his reſpects to Turſum Khan, the reigning Prince of thoſe provinces, preſented Abu'lghâzi to him; mentioning the

[1] Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 334, et ſeq.

[2] Theſe muſt be the Kaſatſia or Kaſachia order, mentioned below, who poſſeſs the eaſt part of Turkeſtân. The Mankats, or Karakalpaks, being maſters of the weſt part.

obligations which they owed his houſe, on account of the protection given many of their relations, who had fled to Karazm for refuge. Hereupon Turſum Khan received him at his court, and treated him with much diſtinction. But two years after Iſhîm having maſſacred the Khan, and all thoſe of the Kataguns who were his ancient ſubjects, Abu'lghâzi ſeeing there was no leſs diſcord between their families than there was in his own, went into Great Bukhâria. On his arrival he found a very cold reception from Imân Kuli Khan, becauſe he had applied firſt to Turſum Khan, who was his enemy.

For this reaſon he told the Uzbeks, who had retired thither before him, that he ſhould be obliged to hearken to the Turkmâns, who promiſed to eſpouſe his intereſt to the utmoſt, provided he would forget what was paſt. The Uzbeks upon this aſſured him, that though they had retired from him at the appearance of the comet, yet he might always depend on their zeal for his ſervice: that, on the other hand, they flattered themſelves that he would continue his protection to them; of which they ſaid they had the more need, as they could not depend on the promiſe of his brother Sharîf Mahamet Soltan, who was naturally unconſtant, and might one time or other ſide with the Turkmâns againſt them. Laſtly, they adviſed him to go over to the Turkmâns on the firſt invitation, and promiſed to repair to him in proper time.

Shortly after, there came a new deputy from the Turkmâns, to let him know that Isfandiar Khan, being informed they had invited him to their quarters, had retired to Hazaraſb, fearing a ſurprize. Upon this Abu'lghazi Soltan, followed only by five or ſix perſons, went directly to Khayuk, where he was immediately joined by numbers of people from all parts. Two months after he learned, that his brother Sharîf Mahamet being reconciled with the Khan, was arrived at Hazaraſb, and that they intended to turn all their forces againſt him. On this advice he took the field, with what troops he had, and the two armies coming to a battle, that of Abu'lghâzi Soltan had the better; which obliged his two brothers to make peace with him. Yet ſix months after they came unexpectedly, and beſieged Khayuk with above fifteen thouſand men, for all the Turkmâns thereabout joined them: but although Abu'lghâzi had only ſix hundred with him, he defended himſelf ſo vigorouſly that he obliged them at length to return with loſs; the conſequence of which was a new treaty [1].

Sometime after three thouſand families of thoſe Uzbeks, who three years before had fled from about Khayuk to the Kaſats and Mankats, to avoid the fury of Isfandiar Khan, returned and went to ſettle on the ſea-coaſt, about the mouth of the river Amû. On this news eight hundred others ſet forward, on their return from Great Bukhâria, in order to ſettle in the country of Aral: but the Khan, who looked on the Vigûrs and Naymans as the cauſe of all the misfortunes of his family, being informed thereof, came upon them by ſurprize with ſome troops, on the banks of the Kheſel towards Kât, and put them all to the ſword, man, woman, and child.

Isfandiar Khan taking this occaſion to invite his two brothers to court, under pretence of regulating with them what concerned the affairs of the Uzbeks, perſuaded Sharîf Mahamet to repair to the country of Aral among thoſe people, as it were of his own accord, and unknown to his brother. Next morning ſome of the principal Turkmâns coming to viſit the Khan on that occaſion, he ſolemnly proteſted Sharîf Mahamet had undertaken that journey without his privity; and to ſet them againſt Abu'lghâzi Soltan, pretended that it was done by his advice. He went farther, and told them, that it was this laſt, who had recalled the Uzbeks to ſettle in the country of Aral, with a deſign to make uſe of them againſt the Turkmâns, and that he had ſent his brother thither to

[1] Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 341, et ſeq.

prepare them for that purpoſe: he concluded by ſaying, that, as from thence it appeared he was contriving ſome dangerous plot againſt them, their only courſe was to prevent him by ſeizing his perſon.

This advice having been approved of by all the aſſembly, he cauſed the gates of the caſtle to be ſhut, and ſent to arreſt Abu'lghâzi Soltan, who was ſtill faſt aſleep. After this the Khan carrying him to Yaurſurdi, ordered the governor to ſend him under a ſtrong guard into Perſia: that officer for better ſecurity, conducted him in perſon to Hamadân, where Shah Sefi [1], the ſucceſſor of Abbâs, then was; who ordered him to be conveyed to Iſpahân, where he aſſigned him a houſe and ten thouſand tanga [2] a-year, for his expences [3]; but at the ſame time had him carefully watched, that he might not eſcape.

Isfandiar Khan died the firſt day of the year 1634 [4], after having reigned twelve years, and left two ſons, Yuſhan and Aſhrâf. He was ſucceeded by his brother Sharîf Mahamet Soltan, who fixed his reſidence at Urjenz. This Khan was much at variance with the Kalmûks (or Eluths), who in his time came and ſeized a great part of Karazm. He died in the year [5] 1642 [6], leaving, as it ſhould ſeem, the throne vacant.

## 6. *The Reign of Abu'lghâzi Khan.*

*His Birth and Marriage: — eſcapes from Iſpahân: — ſuſpected at Baſtam: — gets out of Perſia: — received by the Turkmâns: — is proclaimed Khan: — attacks Khayuk, without Succeſs: — afterwards takes it: — perfidious Dealing with the Turkmâns. — Kalmûk Invaſions repelled by the Khan: — he invades Great Bukhâria: — makes great Ravages: — attacked in his Retreat by a great Army: — his brave Defence: — defeats the Enemy: — makes new Invaſions: — reſigns the Crown: — his Death. — Abu'lghâzi Khan's Character: — he is honoured in Perſia. — Anuſha Mahamet Khan leagues againſt Perſia: — makes great Ravages. — Haji Mahamet Bahâdur Khan's Embaſſy to Ruſſia. — Revolution in Karazm.*

ABU'LGHAZI Soltan was born at Urjenz in the year 1605 [7], on Monday, in the month of Asfet, at ſun-riſe, forty-eight days after the defeat of the Koſaks before-mentioned [8]; who having met with, near the river Jaïk, ten merchants of Urjenz, trading to Ruſſia, ſlew eight, and made the other two ſerve as guides in their expedition. On this occaſion his father Arab Mahamet Khan ſaid, that child will be happy, becauſe his enemies were defeated before he was born [9]; and in regard his mother was deſcended from Soltan Ghâzi [10], ſon of Ilbars Khan, he gave him the name of Abu'lghâzi Bahâdur, and when he was ſixteen years of age, married him, granting him one half of Urjenz; the other half of which he at the ſame time aſſigned to Habaſh Soltan. The year following [11], upon ſome difference which happened between the two brothers, his father gave him the city of Kât for his portion; and not long after the unfortunate battle was fought, wherein the Khan was taken priſoner, and put to death by his unnatural ſons [12].

[1] He aſcended the throne in 1629, at the age of ſixteen. [2] Coin of Karazm. [3] This happened about the year 1630; for it was thirteen years before he was proclaimed Khan. [4] Hejrah 1044, called Ghilki, or the horſe. [5] Hejrah 1052. [6] Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 329, and 347, et ſeq. [7] Hejrah 1015, called Tauſhkan, or the hare. [8] P. 502. [9] The Tartars, in general, are full of ſuch ſuperſtitious whimſies. [10] Here the author gives his genealogy from Adam, which the reader may eaſily trace from this hiſtory as high as Jenghiz Khan, whoſe pedigree has been already ſet forth. [11] This was in 1621. Hejrah 1031. [12] Hiſtory of the Turks, as before, p. 330, et ſeq.

What paſſed from that time, till Abu'lghâzi Soltan was ſent into Perſia, has been already related. After he had remained there in the condition of a priſoner ten years, he formed the deſign to make his eſcape. This having been approved of by three of his domeſtics whom he acquainted with it, he called the perſon who had the guard of him, and after he had ordered him to take a horſe, which had been ſent him for his kitchen, to the butchers, gave him a thouſand tanga, bidding him go buy a pretty ſlave, and paſs the night with her. His ward being gone full of joy at his preſent, Abu'l-ghâzi, and his men, went in the evening to a neighbouring ſtable, and took out eight horſes; after which he cauſed all their beards to be ſhaved: when every body was at reſt, he made one of them who could ſpeak the Turkiſh and Perſian, to put on his beſt cloaths, becauſe he was to repreſent the maſter: the ſecond domeſtic was dreſſed as a ſort of gentleman: the third wore the garb of a valet, and himſelf was diſguiſed like a groom.

In this equipage leaving Iſpahân, they got ſafe to Baſtâm [1]: but three of their horſes failing a little beyond that city, they were obliged to ſtop at a village on the road, called Boyiſh, inhabited by Saghits. He who paſſed for the maſter being ſeated on a carpet at the gate, with one of the valets ſtanding behind him, while the other held the horſes, Abu'lghazi entered into the place to ſwap the tired cattle. He preſently got off two of them: but having aſked one among the crowd who flocked about him, which was the way to the village of Maghi; an old man of ſeventy grew ſuſpicious of him, telling his neighbours, that as ſcarce one in ten of themſelves knew the way to Maghi, he judged this muſt be the Soltan of the Uzbeks, who was making his eſcape. He added, that as in caſe it was ſo, there would be couriers after him in a day or two: he adviſed them to ſeize and carry him to Baſtâm, or at leaſt not to exchange horſes with him, in regard thoſe who did would have a bad time of it. On this occaſion the counterfeit groom, who ſpoke the language of the country perfectly well, by way of anſwer, told the old man a very formal ſtory, too long to repeat here; which gaining the people on his ſide, he ſwapped the third horſe, and got ſufficient information about the road.

Having made great expedition to paſs the borders of Khoraſân, he arrived at length in the neighbourhood of Karakum [2], at a place where the road dividing, one led to Mankiſhlak, the other to the mountain of Kuran. Reſolving to keep the fields no longer (as till then he had done, to avoid meeting much people) he ſtruck into the latter, and came to a village; which happening to be inhabited by Turkmâns, he aſked a lad whom he ſaw near the road, what ſort of people thoſe were. The boy having anſwered, we are Kiſilaſaks; he demanded how they came there, ſince they belonged to Mankiſhlak? The youth replied, that the Kalmûks had driven them out of their habitations three years before, and named ſome families of the tribe of Irſari, known to Abu'lghâzi, who dwelt not far off.

The Soltan, glad to find himſelf out of the Perſian dominions, went to the village, where he was received with extreme joy by the inhabitants, at whoſe invitation he ſtaid there the winter; but in ſpring repaired to the Turkmâns of the tribe of Taka, who dwell near the banks of the Amû, at the foot of the mountain Kuran. With theſe he ſtaid two years, and then went to Mankiſhlak, where he found no more than ſeven hundred families, who were reduced under the obedience of the Kalmûks [3]. The Khan of the Kalmûks being informed of the Soltan's arrival in his dominions, ſent one

[1] In the province of Komes, and borders of Aſtarabâd. [2] A black ſandy deſart, on the borders of Karazm. [3] Or Eluth Mongols.

of

of his principal officers to invite him to court [1]. Abu'lghâzi accepting of the invitation, was treated with great diſtinction the whole year he remained with him: after which, having formed a deſign of going to Urjenz, the Khan ſuffered him to depart, with many marks of friendſhip.

He arrived at that city in the year 1643 [2]; and ſix months after the Turkmâns proclaimed him Khan, in the country of Aral, towards the entrance of the river Amû into the ſea of Mazanderan: this was in 1644, two years after the death of Sharîf Mahamet Khan. Yuſhan and Aſhrâf, the two ſons of Isfandiar Khan, his predeceſſor, being in poſſeſſion of Khayuk and Hazaraſb, the Turkmâns within their juriſdictions refuſed to ſubmit to Abu'lghâzi Khan; and put themſelves under the protection of Nadir Mahamet Khan of Great Bukhâria, after ſending Aſhrâf Soltan to the Perſian court to be brought up there [3].

Upon this Abu'lghâzi Khan having ſent twice to pillage the habitations of the ſubjects of Khâyuk, Nadir Mahamet Khan placed commanders and ſtrong garriſons in that city, and Hazaraſb, and ſent Isfandiar Khan's widow to dwell in the country of Kanſki; having afterwards conferred the government of thoſe two places on his grandſon Kaſim, ſon of Khiſſeran Soltan, Abu'lghâzi Khan reſolved to pay him a viſit. To this end he embarked his infantry in the country of Aral, to aſcend the river Kheſel, as far as the bridge of Taſh Kupruk, and followed by land with his cavalry. Being arrived at the place of rendezvous, he marched with ſome of his foot to the borough of Kandum, and paſſing a brook which lay between him and the city, hid an hundred and eighty of his men in a valley: then with ſixty bowmen and twenty muſketeers, advanced up to the place, ordering them not to fire till they ſaw him fire.

The enemy perceiving them coming, made a ſally with a thouſand men, of whom ſeven hundred had coats of mail, though not above five of the Khan's were ſo accoutred. That Prince, without being diſmayed at their numbers, drew them dexterouſly to the place where he deſigned; and then marching up, gave them ſo rude a ſalutation with arrows and bullets, at twenty paces diſtance, as allayed much of their firſt fury; while thoſe who lay concealed coming to charge them at the ſame time in flank, they fell into confuſion, and fled towards Khayuk. The Khan, who was not able to purſue for want of horſe, returned, and ſent his troops into quarters.—Here Abu'lghâzi Khan breaks off his hiſtory, having been hindered from finiſhing it by a grievous ſickneſs of which he died. What follows was added by his ſon and ſucceſſor, Anuſha Mahamet Bahâdur Khan.

Some time after Nadir Mahamet Khan, of Great Bukhâria, having recalled his grandſon Kaſſim Soltan from Khayuk; ſent Yakûb, one of his lords, to Hazaraſb, to govern what he poſſeſſed in Karazm: but having, in the interim, been dethroned by his vaſſals. for his harſh treatment of them, they ſet up his ſon Abdallazîz Soltan. On the news of this revolution, Abu'lghâzi Khan marching to Khayuk, in the year 1646 [4], found no difficulty to poſſeſs himſelf of it: after which he cauſed proclamation to be made, that all the Turkmâns who had quitted their habitations on account of the late troubles, might freely return home, on his promiſe never to think of their paſt faults.

On theſe aſſurances, thoſe who dwelt beyond Hazaraſb, ſent deputies to the Khan; who ordered, that they ſhould all repair to him before that city, which he was going to

[1] The author makes no mention where the Khan of the Kalmûks kept his court, or whether any part of Karazm was then under his dominion. It was at this time that the author learned the Mogul language, in which he wrote his hiſtory. See Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 31. [2] Hejrah 1053, called the Ghilan, or the ſerpent: elſewhere Yilan. [3] Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 349, et ſeq. [4] Hejrah 1056 called Tauk, or the hen.

take

take poſſeſſion of, and there tender him their faith and homage. The Turkmâns being aſſembled, according to his orders, he ſent to deſire them to provide his kitchen with milk and cattle, for that he intended next day to make a great feaſt. This having been performed to the Khan's ſatisfaction, he treated them very ſplendidly; but towards evening cauſed them all to be killed, to the number of two thouſand perſons, and then ſent to plunder their habitations.

Next year [1] marching into the country of Tarkhan, in queſt of the Turkmâns, who had quitted Khayuk after Hajîm Soltan's departure, he put to the ſword thoſe whom he found; but the greater number fled into the province of Bamaburinak, whither he went to diſlodge them, in the year Zizkan, or the mouſe [2]. Such as knew not where elſe to go ſent their wives and children into the country of Aral, and intrenched themſelves under the ruins of ſome old walls. The Khan finding them in this ſituation, made them ſome propoſals; but as they durſt not truſt him, they marched out a foot, and threw themſelves deſperately on his troops, but were ſo well received, that not one of them eſcaped. After this Abu'lghâzi Khan, being reſolved to reduce the Turkmâns ſo low, that they ſhould not be able to raiſe diſturbances for the future, made ſeveral expeditions againſt them, wherein he chaſtized them ſeverely.

In the year of Saghir [3], a lord of the Kalmûks coming with ſome troops to Kât, cauſed many people to be killed, and others to be carried into ſlavery. Soon after another arriving to traffic, the Khan let them finiſh their buſineſs, and then following them, defeated their rear in the country of Yuguruk-baſh: after which, coming up with the body of their troops, he put them to flight, leaving their effects behind them. Three years after [4], Abu'lghâzi Khan having been informed, that the Kalmûks hovered upon the frontiers both of Great Bukhâria and Karazm, with ſtrong parties, and made terrible havoc wherever they came, ſent Abdolazîz Khan notice to be upon his guard. Meantime three lords of the Torgauts invaded the lands of Hazaraſb, where they deſtroyed the village Yeſdus, and took out of another, called Danugan, much cattle and people.

Upon this advice Abu'lghâzi Khan took horſe immediately to purſue them, contrary to the requeſt of his officers; and though they were ten days' march a-head of him, yet by riding day and night, he at length came up with their rear, near the mountain Irder, whom he defeated; then purſuing the reſt, overtook them in the country of Segheri-rabat, where they were ſo well intrenched, that it was impoſſible to force them: but, on the other hand, as they durſt not ſally forth to continue their journey, they ſent all the plunder they had taken, with their bows and arrows to the Khan, intreating pardon for the offence; pretending they did not know the above-mentioned villages belonged to him, and promiſing never to invade his dominions for the future. Hereupon he ſent them back their arms, and ſuffered them to return home in peace [5].

After this, Subhan-kuli Khan of Bâlk, who had married his brother Sharîf Mahamet Khan's daughter, ſent to intreat his aid againſt Abdolaziz Khan, who had taken the field with an intent to deprive him of his dominions [6]. Abu'lghâzi Khan, willing to aſſiſt his near relation, and revenge the injuries done his houſe by Abdallah Khan, advanced in the year Koy, or of the ſheep [7], into the province of Koghertlik,

[1] 1647, called It, or the year of the dog. [2] The firſt of the duodenary cycle of the Mongols: was the year 1648. [3] Or, of the cow, 1649. [4] In the year Lu, or the crocodile, anſwering to 1652. [5] Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 357. [6] Bernier informs us, that Abdolaziz, aſſiſted by Aureng zeb, ſent by the Great Mogul, Shah Jehân laid ſiege to Bâlk; but ſuſpecting Aurengzeb might keep the city, when taken, he ſtruck up a ſudden peace with the Khan, and marched home. [7] Anſwering to the year 1655.

bordering

bordering on Great Bukhâria; and ſent a body of ten thouſand men to plunder the city of Karakul, while he went in perſon againſt that of Siuntz-bala, which he deſtroyed with thirty or forty neighbouring villages. After this he returned, for a while, to Khayuk; and then, in a ſecond invaſion made the ſame year, plundered Karakul afreſh. Thence paſſing on to the province of Gordiſh, he defeated an army of fifteen thouſand men (ſent by Abdolaziz Khan, who was then at Karſhi) ſcarce a thouſand of them eſcaping. A great part of theſe threw themſelves into Karakul; but the Khan following them, took priſoners all who were not ſlain, and burnt the few houſes that remained in that town.

In the year Bizin, or the ape [1], he took the town of Zarjui [2], which he entirely deſtroyed, and plundered the country round it. Next year he went and ravaged the province of Yayzi [3], which extends from the city of Karakul to that of Nerſem; and having taken much plunder, was gone back to his own frontiers, at the ſame time that Abdolazîz Khan, accompanied by Katim Soltan, was on the march, with a numerous army, to make a diverſion in the province of Koghertlik. But as ſoon as he heard of Abu'lghazi Khan's return to Korazm, he retreated with ſo much precipitation, that many of his men killed their horſes, though no one had thoughts of purſuing them. Abu'lghazi Khan, who in the mean time had taken a turn to Khayuk, made another invaſion the ſame year, with twenty-five thouſand men, into Great Bukhâria; and having taken the city of Karmina, gave it to be pillaged, returning with conſiderable booty, and many priſoners.

But in his retreat having paſſed a river over a bridge, he cauſed his tents to be ſet up there, and believing himſelf very ſecure in that place, ordered that the baggage ſhould begin to march at midnight, and that the army ſhould follow at day-break, keeping about his perſon no more than his uſual guard of an hundred men. Next morning, ſome hours after the army had decamped, one of his principal officers entered his tent, and finding him ſtill faſt aſleep, cried to him, "Riſe, ſir, is this a time to ſleep here?" but the Khan made anſwer, "Whom is it you would have me afraid of, ſince we have not heard of any enemy troops in all this province?" At the ſame time one came to inform Abu'lghâzi Khan, that troops of the enemy appeared on the other ſide of the river: and in reality it was Abdolazîz Khan himſelf at the head of ſixty thouſand men; who having been informed, that the Khan of Karazm was going to beſiege Karmina, by a beggar, whom that prince gave an alms to on the road, ſet forward immediately, with all his forces.

Abu'lghâzi Khan, on the enemy's approach, retired leiſurely towards his troops; which being about to paſs a little marſhy brook, he ſent orders for them to halt on this ſide. Mean time a thouſand horſemen in coats of mail, began to preſs him at the heels: on which the Khan, having gained a paſs, made his hundred men alight (as he did himſelf) the better to make uſe of their muſkets, and ſent to order his army to return. After this he detached Yadigar Atalik (the firſt lord of his court) with thirty men, to attack the thouſand horſe at the entrance of the defile, while he ſtood ready to ſupport him with the reſt. Yadigar executed his orders with ſo much conduct, that having firſt ſtunned the enemy, by a clever fire made on them near at hand, he knew ſo well afterwards how to manage his ſmall forces, by retiring or advancing, as occaſion ſerved, that he diſputed the paſs till Anuſha Mahamet Bahâdur Soltan (the Khan's ſon, then but fourteen years of age) came to his father's aſſiſtance, at the head of ſix hundred horſemen, with three hundred foot ſoldiers behind them.

[1] 1656. [2] In the tranſlation, Zardſui. [3] In the tranſlation, Jaizi.

Abu'lghazi

Abu'lghâzi Khan, upon this reinforcement, marched out of the defile to receive thoſe thouſand men: but as in the interim the enemy's army had time to approach, they were quickly ſupported by a great body of troops; which having ſurrounded the Khan on all ſides, would, doubtleſs, having mauled him ſeverely, if he had not ordered his ſon, Anuſha Mahamet, with four hundred men, to fall furiouſly on the right of a great ſquadron, which blocked up the road to their army, while he attacked the left with the ſix hundred that remained. This was executed with ſo much ſucceſs, that having forced the enemy's troops on both ſides, they made their way through them, and rejoined their own, which advanced in haſte, to reſcue their Khan from the danger he was in.

As ſoon as he had put himſelf at the head of his army, he cauſed it to march forward, under command of Anuſha Mahamet, to attack the enemy's forces, which began to appear; and as ſoon as the reſt of his troops arrived, he made them advance to the right and left of his ſon, in order to ſuſtain him. Then the engagement becoming general, they fought a long time with equal fortune: but at length the juvenile courage of Anuſha Mahamet prevailing (although the firſt time he was at ſuch an entertainment) the army of Abdolazîz Khan was defeated, notwithſtanding its great ſuperiority, and purſued as far as the above-mentioned river [1]. The rout was ſo ſignal, that a great number of the enemy, who could not gain the bridge, were drowned in the ſtream; and their Khan himſelf, though much wounded, was obliged to paſs it by ſwimming, to avoid being taken.

Abu'lghâzi Khan returning to Khayuk with a great number of priſoners, gave a ſplendid feaſt to all his lords and great officers; and after he had in public extolled the valour of his ſon, reſigned to him the city of Hazaraſb, with ſubjects for its defence. Next year [2] the Khan again entered Great Bukhâria, and took the city of Wardanſi; and cauſing it to be ſacked, returned loaden with plunder and priſoners. Four years after [3], he made another expedition thither; and advancing to the very walls of Bokhâra, the capital of the whole country, cauſed all the villages within its juriſdiction to be deſtroyed: after which he encamped before the gate Namoſga, with an intent to take the city; but conſidering that there would be no glory in ſuch an exploit, at a time when the Khan was abſent at Samarkant, and that there were none but women and Tajiks, or burghers, in the place, he laid aſide the deſign till another opportunity, and returned with much booty, and many priſoners.

Abu'lghâzi Khan being now ſixty years old, began to conſider, that there was blood enough ſhed to ſatisfy the paſſion of revenging the murder of the Princes of his houſe committed by Abdallah Khan; and that it would be acting againſt the dictates of conſcience to perſiſt any longer in giving diſturbance to a Prince, who was of the ſame religion with himſelf, while he could more uſefully employ his arms againſt the Kalmûks and Perſians. Guided by theſe ſentiments, he ſent ambaſſadors to Abdolaziz Khan, with propoſals of peace; which having been accepted, he recalled his troops from the border of Great Bukhâria, and ſent them towards the country of Khoraſan. After this, he reſigned the throne to his ſon Anuſha Mahamet Bahadur Soltan, with a deſign to ſpend the reſt of his days in ſerving God: but he died not long after, in the month of Ramadhân, in the year 1074 [4], having regined twenty years [5].

[1] It is much this river is not named, nor are the diſtances and ſituations of places marked diſtinctly enough to be of ſuch ſervice in geography as might have been expected. [2] Being that called It, or the dog, anſwering to 1658. [3] In that called Bars, or the tiger, correſponding with 1660.
[4] 1663, called Tauſhkan, or the hare. [5] Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 364, et ſeq.

Chardin gives Abu'lghâzi, or Abu'l Kazi [1], (as he writes the name) a very advantageous character. He ſays, that Prince knew ſo well how to diſguiſe the natural barbarity of the Tartars, that you would have taken him for a Perſian, he behaved with ſuch a grace and affability on all occaſions; ſo that Shah Sefi (for diſtinction ſake called Mazi [2]) obſerving him endowed with ſo many rare qualities, admitted him into his mejels, or royal aſſemblies, where he ranked him equal with the grandees of his kingdom, and for his maintenance aſſigned him penſions no way inconſiderable.

The ſame author informs us, that on his being brought [3] to Iſpahân, Sefi looked on him not as a robber, but a priſoner of war, and paid him all the honours due to a perſon of royal birth; aſſigned him a revenue of fifteen hundred tomans, amounting to ſix thouſand pounds; gave him a ſtately palace, richly furniſhed, with a ſuitable number of officers and retinue to attend him, during the ten years he continued there. After his return [4] to Karazm, he proved a conſtant friend to Perſia, keeping Subhân-kuli Khan [5], and Abdo'laziz Khan [6] of Bokora, in ſuch awe, that as ſoon as either of them entered Perſia, he was in the bowels of their territories.

But after his death, the crown deſcending to his ſon, Enuſh Khan [7], Abbâs the ſecond withdrew his penſion, which in kindneſs he had given his father: but the ſon, who looked on it as a kind of tribute, paid by the Perſian monarch to the King of Kareſhm, or Orkenj, to keep him from plundering his dominions, thought the ſureſt way to recover it, or at leaſt to make himſelf amends for the loſs, would be to ravage the frontier provinces. To this purpoſe he enters into a league with the two other Khans againſt Perſia, eſpouſing the ſiſter of the Prince of Bâlk, and giving his own in marriage to him of Bokora.

However, Abu'lghâzi Khan having been of the Shiyah ſect, of which the Perſians are, and not of the Sunni perſuaſion, ſuch as the Uzbeks [8] profeſs; Enuſh Khan made open profeſſion of the latter: but his allies, as a proof of his ſincerity, required, that he ſhould begin the war firſt, promiſing next year to aſſiſt him with all their forces. Hereupon the Prince of Orkenj entered Perſia in the year 1665, but met with a powerful reſiſtance: for Abbâs having been informed of the conſpiracy of theſe petty Kings, ſet forward with a great army, reſolving to conquer their territories, and annex Bâlk to his own dominions. The Uzbeks terrified at his approach, thought it beſt to deſiſt; and next year ſent their ambaſſadors to beg a peace.

On the death of Shah Abbâs II. which happened ſoon after, the Tartars taking heart again, the Prince of Orkenj, in 1667, entered Merve Sava, with his Uzbeks [9]; who finding no reſiſtance, made ſtrange havock; nor could the governors have prevented it, if they had force enough, conſidering with what ſwiftneſs thoſe people invade a country, and retire. Perſia being then governed by a young unexperienced Prince,

[1] The author ſays, the name ſignifies Father Arbiter: but Abu'lghâzi ſignifies the father of one who conquers on account of religion. [2] That is, the paſſed reign. [3] According to Chardin, he was made priſoner after a battle, in which the Uzbeks loſt twelve or eighteen thouſand men. [4] The circumſtances of his eſcape are differently told by Chardin. [5] That is, the Prince, the ſlave of the praiſe-worthy, meaning god. [6] Chardin writes Abdulhazize Kaan, which ſignifies the ſervant of the Majeſty, meaning divine Majeſty. [7] That is, the lord of profit, the ſame with Anuſha Mahamet Bahâdur Khan. [8] Chardin writes them Yuſbeks; which, according to the Perſians, ſignifies an hundred lords, to ſhew that they are governed by many Princes. He adds, that the Yuſbeks reject this etymology as falſe and injurious, ſaying, it is compounded of Yuſi, he, and bek, lord; as who ſhall ſay, he the lord, or he is the lord: as if theſe were the only people on the earth, who are truly lords.—Coronation of Soleyman III. p. 115. But in all likelihood this muſt be a miſtake, ſince, according to the Uzbek hiſtory, they take their name from Uzbek Khan, agreeable to a common cuſtom among the Tartars in general. [9] This muſt be the territory of Marû, ſo often mentioned before, and for a time belonging to Karazm.

preparations to repel the enemy went on very ſlowly. At laſt two great lords ſet forward with four thouſand men, to join the forces already in Khoraſân. Six weeks after, money was ſent to pay the troops in that province, under a convoy of two hundred men: but the Uzbeks getting intelligence of it, ſent out a party three thouſand ſtrong; who took their meaſures ſo well, that they carried off all the treaſure, in ſpite of the troops that were detached to overtake them [1].

From this time we find but little mention in authors about the affairs of Karazm, till 1714, when, according to Bentinck, Haji Mahamet Bahâdur Khan, grandſon of Abu'lghâzi Khan, ſent a miniſter to Peterſburg, to treat of an alliance with the court of Ruſſia [2]. Webber mentions this Prince, but calls him only the Khan of Uzbek, and ſays, the deſign of the embaſſy was to prevail on Peter I. to oblige Ayuka Khan [3], his vaſſal, not to join with the Princes his neighbours, or ſtir them up againſt him. On which condition he offered to aſſiſt the Tſar with fifty thouſand horſe, at any time, and allow his karawans a paſſage through his dominions to China; which journey might be performed on a good road in four months, whereas that through Siberia was very long and troubleſome [4]. He propoſed alſo to enter into a treaty of commerce with Ruſſia, which would prove of great advantage.

The ambaſſador was Acherbi, about fifty years of age, of a lively and venerable aſpect, wearing a long beard, and an oſtrich feather on his turban, which none but the chief lords wear. He ſaid his Khan was turned of twenty, and the year before married the King of Perſia's eldeſt daughter: that his country was called Uzbek [5], and reſidence Khiva, which conſiſted only of tents and huts, but never fixed to a certain place [6]: that the Khan is a ſovereign prince, but his authority limited by a ſort of ſenate: that he was able to raiſe two hundred thouſand horſemen; in which number the Tſar judged were included all his male ſubjects, old and young: Laſtly, that the country of Uzbek bordered on China, Hindûſtân, and Perſia. Among other things it is mentioned, that the Tſar liked the ambaſſador's muſic well enough [7], on which occaſion it muſt be obſerved, that the inhabitants of Karazm were formerly very famous for their proficiency in that art [8].

Bentinck informs us, that between 1714 and 1724, when he wrote, there happened a revolution, of which he knew not the particulars [9]. Perhaps that mentioned by Nacchi the Jeſuit [10], may relate to it. This miſſioner takes notice, that ſome years before he wrote, he ſaw the Prince of the Uzbeks paſs through Aleppo, in his way to Mohammed's tomb, with an intention to live there a private life. His ſon had rebelled, and having ſeized him, cauſed his eyes to be put out, that he might have no longer hopes of re-aſcending the throne. He marched on horſeback with his eyes bound up, conducted by fifty guards. But ſince that time we underſtand, ſays Nacchi, that the ſon died miſerably, and his father was reſtored [11].

It may be preſumed, that Haji Mahamet was the unnatural child, although the title of Haji, or pilgrim, better ſuits the blind Prince: but Mahamet ſeems too young to have had ſuch an enterprizing ſon. However that be, in 1719 the Uzbeks of Karazm ought to have had a Khan of an enterprizing genius, and who could ſee well to command in perſon the expedition againſt Beckowit.

[1] Chardin's Coronation of Soleyman, p. 116, et ſeq. [2] Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 373, in the note. [3] See before, p. 401. a. [4] But ſhould that road be deſerted, it would hinder the peopling of Siberia. [5] The author miſtook the name of the people, for that of the country. [6] That is, his ſummer camp is not fixed: but his winter reſidence is Urjenz, or ſome other city. [7] Preſent ſtate of Ruſſia, vol. i. p. 20, et ſeq. [8] De la Croix's hiſtory of Genghiz Can, p. 240. [9] Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. as before, p. 373. [10] He wrote between 1720 and 1724, when his memoirs were printed, in the fourth tome of the Memoires des Miſſions en Syrie, et en Egypt. [11] See Journey from Aleppo to Damaſcus, p. 80, et ſeq.

## CHAP. V. — A DESCRIPTION OF GREAT BUKHARIA.

BOKHARIA, Bukhâria, Bogaria, Bokaria, or Boharia, as it may be variouſly written, is the name given at preſent to all the country or tract of land between Karazm, and the great ſandy deſart bordering on China. It ſignifies the country of the Bukhars, which Abu'lghâzi Khan informs us, is a Mongol word, implying a learned man: becauſe, adds he, all thoſe, who have a mind to be inſtructed in the languages and ſciences, go into Bukhâria [1]. Hence it appears that this name has been impoſed by the Mongols, who conquered this region in the time of Jenghiz Khan. The ſame author mentions the Bukhars elſewhere [2]; but in thoſe places the term ſeems to be reſtrained to the inhabitants of the city of Bokhara. This vaſt region is divided into two parts, the Great, and the Little Bukhâria: but it is obſervable, that although Abu'lghâzi Khans frequently ſpeaks of the former, he never once mentions the latter; which name, poſſibly, may not be ſo much in uſe with the Uzbeks; or may have come in uſe only ſince the Eluths, or Kalmûks, conquered the countries comprized under that denomination in the laſt century. Both names are in uſe with the Ruſſians, from whom they came to us.

### SECT. I. — THE NAMES, EXTENT, SITUATION, AND PROVINCES OF GREAT BUKHARIA.

*Names, Bukhâria. — Mawara'lnahr. — Turân. — Uzbeks Country: — Its Situation and Extent: — Soil and Produce: — Diviſion.*

THE country of Great Bukhâria is nearly the ſame with that, called by the Arabs, Mawara'lnahr: which ſignifies, what lies beyond the river, meaning the Jihûn or Amû, by the Greeks, Oxus; and is little other than a tranſlation of Tranſoxana, the name given by the ſame ancients to thoſe provinces. Under this appellation was comprehended all the ſpace of country thoſe powers poſſeſſed beyond that river, which, at different times, was of different dimenſions. Although generally Mawara'lnahr ſignified all the lands between the Jihûn, and the Sihûn [3], now called Sîr, which ſeparated them from thoſe of the Turks; who, during the dominion of the Arabs in theſe parts, ſpread very far over Grand Tartary. However, Abu'lghâzi Khan, though in ſome places he ſeems to uſe the words Great Bukhâria and Mawara'lnahr, to denote the ſame country; yet, in other places, the firſt name ſeems to be more limited, and even reſtrained to the territories of the Khan of Bokhara, one of the three powers into which Great Bukhâria is divided.

Great Bukhâria is alſo comprized under the name of Turân [4], or the country of the Turks [5]; which is likewiſe given, by the Arabs and Perſians, to the countries north of the Amû, in oppoſition to Irân, or Perſia at large, ſituate to the ſouth of that river; and includes a conſiderable part of what fell in diviſion to Jagatay Khan, ſecond ſon of Jenghiz Khan, from whoſe deſcendants the Uzbeks conquered it. But here it muſt be obſerved, that Abu'lghâzi Khan uſes the word Turân in a different

[1] See hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 108. [2] The ſame, p. 142, et ſeq. [3] By the Greeks, Jaxartes. [4] Abu'lfeda ſays, the name of Turân is given to all Mawara'lnahr, that is, the countries belonging to the Hayatelah. So thoſe people were called by the Arabs: but by the Perſians, Abtelah, or Water of Gold. Theſe are the Ephthalites of the Byzantine hiſtorians. [5] Or of Tûr, from whom the Perſians ſay the Turks are deſcended.

ſenſe, namely, to denote the countries lying between the river Sîr, and the Icy Sea [1], or, perhaps, more particularly Siberia: For he tells us, that Kuchum, or Kujum Khan was driven by the Ruſſians, out of the country of Turân [2]; and it appears from the Ruſſian hiſtory, that he reſided at Siber (near Tobolſkoy) then the capital of Siberia [3]. However, we incline to think with the Engliſh tranſlator, that inſtead of Turân, in that place it ſhould be written Tura: and this opinion [4] ſeems confirmed, by a paſſage in Abu'lghâzi Khan's hiſtory, where the country of Tura is expreſsly mentioned, together with Ruſſia and Bulgaria; without doubt, to ſignify the country about the river Tura, in Siberia, which falls into the Obi, over againſt Tobolſkoy.

As our early geographers gave this country the name of Zagatay, or Jagatay, from Jagatay Khan, to whoſe ſhare it fell, ſo the more modern call it Uzbek, from its preſent poſſeſſors; as if the name of the conquerors muſt neceſſarily paſs to the conquered dominions. But if any part of this great continent (adds the tranſlator) ought to be called ſo, it ſhould be that ſituate between the rivers Jaïk and Sîr; from whence the Uzbeks came, and to which Mirkond refers, when he tells us [5], Shaybek Khan came from Uzbek, and drove Mirza Babor, the firſt Great Mogul, out of Mawara'lnahr. After all, continues he, theſe are names given by foreign hiſtorians, and geographers, to countries, and which are entirely unknown to the natives [6].

Great Bukhâria (which ſeems to comprehend Sogdiana and Baktriana of the ancients, with their dependencies) is ſituate between the thirty-fourth and forty-ſixth degrees of latitude, and between the ſeventy-ſixth and ninety-ſecond degrees of longitude. It is bounded on the north by the river Sîr, which ſeparates it from the dominions of the Eluths, or Kalmuks: on the eaſt by the kingdom of Kaſhgar, in Little Bukhâria on the eaſt: the dominions of the Great Mogul and Perſia on the ſouth; and the country of Karazm on the weſt: being about ſeven hundred and ſixty miles long from weſt to eaſt, and ſeven hundred and twenty broad from ſouth to north.

According to Bentinck, nature has denied nothing to this fine country to make living in it agreeable. The mountains abound with the richeſt mines; the vallies are of an aſtoniſhing fertility, in all ſorts of fruits and pulſe; the fields are covered with graſs the height of a man; the rivers ſwarm with excellent fiſh; and wood, which is ſo ſcarce all over Grand Tartary [7], is found here in great plenty in ſeveral parts. In ſhort, it is the beſt cultivated and inhabited of all the northern Aſia. But all theſe bleſſings are of very little uſe to the Tartar inhabitants, who are naturally ſo lazy, that they would rather go ſteal, or rob and kill their neighbours, than apply themſelves to improve the benefits which nature ſo liberally offers them [8].

Great Bukhâria is ſubdivided into three great provinces, viz. thoſe of Proper Bukhâria, Samarkant, and Bâlk. Each of theſe three countries hath commonly its particular Khan; but at preſent the Khan of Bukhâria is in poſſeſſion of the province of Samarkant: ſo that all which lies to the north of the Amû, and alſo the eaſtern [9] part of what lies to the ſouth of that river, being in his hands, makes him a very powerful Prince.

[1] Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 141. [2] The ſame, p. 209. [3] The ſame, part 2. p. 622. [4] The ſame, part 1. p. 131. [5] Teixeira's hiſtory of the Kings of Perſia, p. 319. [6] See hiſtory of the Turks, as before, p. 452, et ſeq. [7] The author ſays, over the reſt of Grand Tartary, thus making Bukhâria a part of it; but improperly, we think. [8] Hiſtory of the Turks, as before, p. 455. [9] Rather, we ſhould think, the weſtern part.

## 1. *The Province of Proper Bukhâria.*

*Proper Bukhâria.—Provinces, Duruganata: — Gordiſh: — Kuzin and Karmina. — Bokhara City. — The Water unwholeſome. — High Prieſt. — The Khan. — Religious Wars. — The Coin. — Commerce there, with other Nations: — Eaſy Duties. — Karmina. — Wardanſi. — Karſh. — Zamin, or Zam. — Paſs of the River Amû.*

THE province of Proper Bukhâria, or Bokhara, is the moſt weſtern of the three, having on the weſt Karazm; on the north a deſart, called by the Arabs, Gaznah; on the eaſt the province of Samarkant; and, on the ſouth, the river Amû. It may be about three hundred and eighty miles long, and three hundred broad.

Abu'lghâzi Khan, in the hiſtory of his wars, mentions ſeveral provinces and towns in Proper Bukhâria, ſome of which the French editor gives an account of. With regard to the provinces, that author ſpeaks of four, viz. Duruganata, Gordiſh, Kuzin, and Karmina.

The country of Duruganata is a large province, bordering on that of Yanghiarik in Karazm. Gordiſh, a large province alſo, towards the frontiers of Karazm, is one of the moſt agreeable and fruitful in Great Bukhâria: it is alſo very populous, and well cultivated. Kuzin and Karmina, are two little provinces, ſituate towards the middle of Proper Bukhâria [1]. The towns of Proper Bukhâria, or Great Bukhâria, mentioned by Abu'lghâzi Khan, are chiefly Bokhara, Zam, Wardanſi, Karakul, Siuntzbala, Karſhi, Zarjui, Nerſem, and Karmina.

The city of Bokhâra, or Boghar, according to Jenkinſon, is ſituated in the loweſt part of all the country, and, by his obſervation, in thirty nine degrees ten minutes latitude, twenty ſtages from Urjenz. It is of great extent, and fortified with a high wall made of earth. It is divided into three parts, whereof the caſtle of the Khan, who reſides here, and what depends on it, takes up one: the murſas, officers of the court, and thoſe belonging to that Prince's retinue, the ſecond part: the third, which is biggeſt, being poſſeſſed by the burghers, merchants, and other inhabitants. In this laſt diviſion, every trade, or profeſſion, has its particular quarter. The houſes, for the moſt part, are of earth; but the temples, and many other ſtructures, as well private as public, are of ſtone [2], ſumptuouſly built and gilt; eſpecially the baths which are ſo artfully contrived, that the like is not in the world.

The water of the little river that runs through the city, is very bad, breeding in the legs of thoſe who drink it, worms an ell long, between the fleſh and the ſkin; which working out about an inch every day, are rolled up, and thus extracted: but if they break in the operation, the patient dies. For all this inconveniency, it is there forbidden to drink any other liquor, but water and mares' milk: ſuch as break that law being whipped through the markets. There are officers appointed to ſearch all houſes for aqua vitæ, wine or brag [3]; and in caſe they find any, to break the veſſels, ſpoil the drink, and puniſh the owners: nay, often, if a man's breath ſmells with ſtrong liquor, he incurs a good drubbing.

This great ſtrictneſs is owing to the metropolitan (or head of the law) in Bokhâra, who is more obeyed than the King: nay, he depoſes him at pleaſure, as he did the King, who reigned when Jenkinſon was there, and his predeceſſor, ſlaying him in his chamber in the night-time.

[1] Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 462. Abu'lghâzi Khan's hiſtory.

[2] Bentinck ſays, they are of brick.

[3] Or, braga, as in

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The King hath no great power, or riches. His revenues are but ſmall, and he is maintained chiefly by the city: for he takes the tenth of all things there ſold, to the great impoveriſhment of the people; and when he wants money to pay his debts, ſends his officers to take goods from the ſhop-keepers upon credit, whether they will, or not. Thus he acted to pay Jenkinſon for nineteen pieces of kerſey. However, that gentleman was very civilly treated by him who reigned in 1559. He often ſent for, and diſcourſed with him about the laws, religion, and power of the European countries. At his inſtance likewiſe, he ſent an hundred armed men in purſuit of robbers, who had attacked his karawan: four of whom being taken, were hanged, and part of his goods reſtored.

The country of Boghar was formerly ſubject to the Perſians, and the Perſian language is there ſpoken: but the Bogharians are continually at war with thoſe neighbours, on account of religion, although both nations are Mohammedans. They likewiſe quarrel with them, becauſe they will not cut the hair off their upper lips, as they and all other Tartars do. This they reckon a great ſin, and for that reaſon call them Kafrs, that is, unbelievers, as they do the Chriſtians. Ten days after Jenkinſon left the city, the king of Samarkant came and beſieged it, in abſence of that Prince, who was at war with one of his kinſmen.

They have no gold coin at Bukhâra, and but one piece of ſilver [1], worth twelve-pence Engliſh. Their copper money is called pooles, whereof one hundred and twenty go to the ſilver-piece; which is not ſo commonly uſed in payment as the copper, the King cauſing it to riſe and fall every other month, and ſometimes twice a month.

As to the trade of Bukhâra, Jenkinſon obſerves, that in his time there was a great reſort of karawans from India, Perſia, Bâlk, Ruſſia, and other countries: but he adds, that the merchants are ſo poor, and bring ſo few wares, which yet they muſt wait two or three years to ſell, that there is no hopes of any trade there worth following. The Indians brought nothing but white calicos, and carried back wrought ſilks, red hides, ſlaves, horſes, and ſuch like; but would not traffic for kerſeys, and other cloth.

The Perſians brought kraſka, woollen and linen cloth, wrought ſilks, argomaks, and the like; carrying from thence red hides, with other wares of Ruſſia, and ſlaves of divers countries. The cloth they had from Aleppo in Syria, and other parts of Turkey; therefore would buy none of Jenkinſon's. The Ruſſians carried red hides, ſheep-ſkins, woollen cloths, wooden veſſels, bridles, ſaddles, and ſuch like, which they exchanged for calicos, ſilks, kraſka, and other wares; but the vent is very ſmall. Formerly karawans came from Kathay [2], when the way was open. They were nine months on the journey, and brought muſk, rhubarb, ſatin, damaſk, and other goods: but that commerce had been obſtructed for two or three years, by the wars which continued to diſtract the countries of Taſken and Kaſgar [3], two cities that lie in the way [4].

Bentinck, who ſeems to have taken his deſcription of Bokhâra wholly from Jenkinſon, obſerves further, that this city is conveniently ſituated for trade with the above-mentioned countries; and that the duties commonly paid there are very moderate, not amounting to quite three per cent. But that on account of the extraordinary oppreſſion, which the foreign merchants continually meet with there, the trade is very ſmall at preſent. However, from hence the dominions of the Great Mogul, and part of Perſia, are ſupplied with all ſorts of dried fruits, of an exquiſite flavour [5].

[1] Bentinck ſays, the money of Perſia and the Indies is current here alſo. [2] Or, China. [3] Or, Taſhkant and Kaſhgar. Thoſe people, who were at war with Taſhkant, now the capital of the Eaſtern Turkeſtân, were the Koſſaks. [4] Jenkinſon's voyage to Boghar, in Purch. Pilgr. vol. iii. p. 239, et ſeq. [5] Hiſtory of the Tur[illegible] &c. p. 465, et ſeq.

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The ſame author gives ſome account of three or four more of the cities belonging to Proper Bukhâria. Karmina is ſituate in the province of the ſame name, towards the frontiers of Karazm, to the north-weſt of Bukhâra; and is but inconſiderable at preſent.

Wardanſi lies to the weſt of the ſame city, near the borders of Karazm. It is a pretty large, ſcambling town, inhabited by the Bukhârs, who traffic into Perſia and Karazm.

Karſhi is ſituate on the north ſide of the Amû [1], and is at preſent one of the beſt towns in Great Bukhâria, being large, populous, and better built than any other in that country. The neighbouring lands are exceeding fertile in all ſorts of fruits and pulſe, and its inhabitants drive a great trade in the north parts of the Indies.

Zamin [2] is a ſmall town upon the right (or north) ſide of the Amû, towards the borders of Perſia. It is remarkable for nothing but its paſſage over that river, which is of great advantage to the Uzbeks of Great Bukhâria, in their expeditions on that ſide [3].

## 2. *The Province of Samarkant.*

*Bounds and Extent:—Samarkant City:—The Caſtle:—Famous Academy:—The River:—Silk Paper: Fruits.—Otrar, or Farab.—Kojand and Termed.—Kâſh—Anghien.—Map of Bukhâria.*

THIS province, called Mawara'lnahr, by Bentinck, lies to the eaſt of Proper Bukhâria, and north of Bâlk. It extends as far as the borders of Kaſhgar in Little Bukhâria; being about five hundred and forty miles long from weſt to eaſt, and five hundred broad from ſouth to north.

This country, formerly, was full of flouriſhing cities; moſt of which are now ruined, or much decayed. The chief of all is Samarkant, or Samarkand [4], ſituated on a river and valley called Sogd [5], in the latitude of thirty-nine degrees, thirty-ſeven minutes, twenty-three ſeconds, according to the obſervation of Ulugbeg, who reigned here in 1447. It is ſeven days' journey to the north-eaſt of Bokhâra. It falls ſhort, at preſent, ſays Bentinck, of being ſo ſplendid as it was in times paſt: yet it is ſtill very large, and well peopled. It is fortified with ſtrong bulwarks of earth [6], and its buildings are much in the ſame condition with thoſe of Bokhâra, excepting that one finds ſeveral private houſes built of ſtone, there being ſome quarries [7] about the town.

The caſtle appointed for the reſidence of the Khans, is one of the moſt ſpacious: but as at preſent this province has no particular Khan, it falls inſenſibly to ruin; for when the Khan of Great Bukhâria comes in the ſummer to paſs ſome months at Samarkant, he uſually encamps in the meadows near the city.

The academy of ſciences in that city, is one of the moſt famous among the Mohammedans, who reſort from all the neighbouring countries to perform their ſtudies there.

The little river, which paſſes by the town, and falls into the Amû [8], would be of great convenience to the place, by opening a communication with the neighbouring

[1] It lies between Bokhâra and Samarkant. Timûr-beg uſually encamped with his army near this city. Karſhi ſignifies a palace, a name given to Nakſhab, or Neſef. It ſtands on the river Tûm. [2] Called alſo Samin and Zam. [3] Hiſtory of the Turks, as before, p. 464, et ſeq. [4] Written by ſome, Samarakand. [5] Hence the Sogdiana of the ancients. [6] Abu'lfeda ſays, it had a wide ditch round the walls. [7] The ſame author ſays, they are dug in a hill called Kuhak, and that the ſtreets are paved with ſtones. [8] To the ſouth-weſt; others make it to riſe a few miles eaſt of the Amû, and fall into a lake to the eaſt of Samarkant.

dminions,

dominions, if the inhabitants had but the induſtry to make it navigable [1]. But for trade to flouriſh, there would require another kind of maſter than the Mohammedan Tartars.

It is ſaid, that Samarkant furniſhes the beautifulleſt ſilk paper made in all Aſia, which makes it in great requeſt throughout the eaſt. The country produces pears, apples, raiſins, and melons, of an exquiſite taſte, and in ſuch plenty, that it ſupplies the empire of the Great Mogul, and a part of Perſia with them.

The other remarkable cities in this province were Otrar, Zarnuk, Kojand, Kaſh, Saganian, Waſhjerd, and Termed: but of theſe we meet with ſcarce any account in modern travellers. Otrar, called by the Arabs, Farab, is the moſt diſtant city from the capital, and lies almoſt due north. It ſtands in the moſt north-weſt part of the province, on a ſmall river, which two leagues thence falls northward into the Sîr [2]. This place is famous for the death of Timûr-beg, or Tamerlan, in 1405; and though not conſiderable at preſent, was the capital of Turkeſtân, when that kingdom was in its flouriſhing ſtate under Kavar Khan, before-mentioned.

Kojand, or Kojend, lies ſeven ſtages to the north-eaſt of Samarkant, and four ſouth of Taſhkant, or Alſhâſh, on the river Sîr, being a famous paſſage over that river, as Termed is over the Amû. Saganian and Waſhjerd are ſeated on the river Saganian, that falls into the Amû. Kaſh lies not far to the eaſt of Karſhi, and ſouth of Samarkant. Timûr-beg was Prince of this city before he roſe to his greatneſs.

To theſe places may be added Anghien, which is the moſt eaſtern town of note in Great Bukhâria, ſtanding near its borders towards Kâſhgar, and not far from the ſource of the Sîr, on whoſe northern bank it is ſituate, in the latitude of forty degrees; according to the Jeſuits maps of Tibet, drawn from the journals of Chineſe and Tartar travellers. For exhibiting the country from thence, to the Caſpian Sea, thoſe miſſioners tranſmitted memoirs, which were put into the hands of Mr. Danville, in order to make a general map of Tatary: but as thoſe memoirs are not publiſhed with the reſt by Du Halde, nor any marks inſerted in this map by roads, or otherwiſe, whereby one may trace or diſtinguiſh the places to which thoſe memoirs relate; we are quite at a loſs to know how far they were of uſe to that ſkilful geographer, in drawing the part which concerns Great Bukhâria, more particularly as to the courſe of the Sîr with the countries and rivers to the north of it, wherein his map differs ſo widely from and ſeems to excel all others.

## 3. *The Province of Bâlk.*

*Bounds and Extent:—Soil and Produce:—Inhabitants civilized.—City of Bâlk:—The Khan's Caſtle: Its Trade.—Anderâb.—Lapis Lazuli Quarries.—Badag-ſhân.—Mines of Gold, Silver, and Rubies.—Belûr-tâg.*

THE province of Bâlk or Bâlkh, lies to the ſouth of the province of Samarkant, and eaſt of that of Proper Bukhâria. It is about three hundred and ſixty miles long, and two hundred and forty in breadth.

Bentinck obſerves, that although this part is but ſmall, in compariſon of all the reſt, which is in the hands of the Khan of Bukhâria; yet being extremely fertile, and thoroughly cultivated, the Prince, in whoſe poſſeſſion it is, draws a fair revenue out of it. This province particularly abounds with ſilk, of which the inhabitants make very pretty ſtuffs.

[1] Abu'lfeda ſays, the water was conveyed by leaden pipes into the city. See his Deſcr. Choraſmia, &c. p. 62. [2] Called, formerly, Jihun, and Alſhâſh,

The Uzbeks, ſubject to the Khan of Bâlk, are the moſt civilized of all who inhabit Great Bukhâria, to which the large trade they have with the Perſians and Indians, in all likelihood, contributes much; excepting in this, and that they are leſs thieviſh, and more induſtrious, they differ in nothing from the other Tatars[1].

The country of Bâlk is divided into ſeveral provinces: the moſt remarkable are Khotlân, or Katlân, Tokhareſtân, and Badagſhân. Its chief cities are Bâlk, Fariyab, Talkân, Badagſhân, and Anderâb.

The city of Bâlk is ſituate towards the borders of Perſia, about fifty miles to the ſouth of Termed, on the river Dehaſk, which about forty miles thence to the north-weſt falls into the Amû. Bentinck informs us, that Bâlk is at preſent the moſt conſiderable of all the towns poſſeſſed by the Mohammedan Tatars, being large, fair, and well-peopled: moſt of its buildings are of ſtone, or brick; and its fortifications conſiſt of bulwarks of earth, fenced without with a ſtrong wall, high enough to cover thoſe employed in its defence.

The Khan's caſtle is a great building, after the eaſtern faſhion, built almoſt wholly of marble, dug out of the neighbouring mountains, which afford fine quarries of it. It is jealouſy alone which has hitherto preſerved this Prince in the poſſeſſion of his dominions, as it is ſure to find him a ſupport from one of the neighbouring powers, when the other appears diſpoſed to ſeize his territories.

All foreigners having free liberty to tranſact their affairs in this city, it is become the reſort of all the buſineſs carried on between Great Bukhâria and the Indies; to which the fine river above-mentioned, which paſſes through its ſuburb, contributes not a little. Merchandizes pay two per cent. going in and coming out; but thoſe who only travel as paſſengers, pay nothing at all in this place.

The town of Anderâb is the moſt ſouthern, which the Uzbeks poſſeſs at preſent; being ſituate at the foot of the mountains which ſeparate the dominions of Perſia, and the Great Mogul from Great Bukhâria. As there is no other way of croſſing thoſe mountains towards India with beaſts of carriage, but by the road through this city, all travellers and goods from Great Bukhâria, deſigned for that country, muſt paſs this way; on which account the Khan of Bâlk conſtantly maintains a good number of ſoldiers in the place; though otherwiſe it is not very ſtrong.

The neighbouring mountains afford very rich quarries of lapis lazuli, in which the Bukhâr inhabitants drive a great trade with the merchants of India and Perſia. For the reſt, Anderâb is very rich, and well peopled, conſidering it is but ſmall. Merchandizes pay there four per cent. for liberty of paſſing.

Badagſhân is ſituate at the foot of thoſe high mountains[2] which ſeparate the dominions of the Great Mogul from Grand Tartary. It is a very ancient city, and exceeding ſtrong, by its ſituation in the mountains. It is dependent on the Khan of Proper Bukhâria, and ſerves him for a kind of ſtate priſon, where he ſhuts up thoſe from whom he thinks it convenient to ſecure himſelf.

This town is not very big; but it is well enough built, and very populous. The inhabitants are enriched by the mines of gold and ſilver, as well as rubies, which are in their neighbourhood; thoſe who dwell at the foot of the mountains gathering a great quantity of gold and ſilver duſt in ſpring out of the channels, made every year by the torrents, which fall in abundance from the top of thoſe mountains, when the ſnow melts[3].

[1] Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 466.
[2] Theſe are called Belûr Tag, or the dark mountains.
[3] Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 466, et ſeq.

Thoſe mountains are called, in the Mongol language, Belûr Tâg, or the dark mountains: in them riſes the river Amû, there called Harrat; on the north ſide of which Badakſhân ſtands, about one hundred miles from its ſource. Its diſtance, from Bâlk, is about two hundred and thirty; and from Anghien, in the province of Samarkant, two hundred and ten. It is a great thoroughfare of the karawans deſigned for Little Bukhâria, or China, which take the ſame road.

## SECT. II.—THE INHABITANTS OF GREAT BUKHARIA, THEIR MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

THE inhabitants of Great Bukhâria are, 1. The Bukhârs, or Tajiks, who are the ancient inhabitants. 2. The Jagatays, or Mongols, who ſettled there under Jagatay, ſecond ſon of Jenghîz Khan: and, 3. The Uzbek Tartars, who are the preſent poſſeſſors.

### 1. *The Bukhârs, or Tajiks.*

*The Bukhârs:—their Perſons.—Men's Dreſs—Women's Habit.—Religion.—Trade.—Averſe to War.—Their Origin unknown.*

ALL the towns, both of Great and Little Bukhâria from the borders of Karazm as far as China, are inhabited by the Bukhârs; who being the ancient inhabitants of thoſe provinces, have that name given them throughout the eaſt: butthe Tartars commonly call them Tajiks; which word, in their language, ſignifies nearly the ſame as burgeſs [1], or citizen.

The Bukhârs are commonly of the ordinary ſize, but well ſet, and very fair complexioned, conſidering the climate. They have, for the moſt part, large eyes, black and lively; are hawk-noſed; their faces well ſhaped: their hair black and very fine; their beards thick: inſhort, theypartake nothing of the deformity of the Tartars, among whom they inhabit. The women, who are generally large, and well ſhaped, have fine complexions, and very beautiful features.

Both men and women uſe calico ſhifts and drawers: but the men wear, beſides a kaftan (or veſt) of ſome quilted ſilk or calico, which reaches to the calf of the leg; with a round cloth bonnet, ſhaped much after the Poliſh faſhion, having a large fur border: ſome alſo wear turbans, like the Turkiſh. They tie their kaftans about the middle with a girdle of a kind of ſilk crape, which goes ſeveral times round the body; and when they go abroad throw over it a long cloth gown faced and even lined in winter with fur. Their boots are made like the Perſian buſkins, but not altogether ſo neat; and they have the art of preparing horſe hides for the purpoſe, after a very ſingular manner.

The women wear long gowns of calico or ſilk, which are pretty full, and hang looſe about the body. Their ſlippers are ſhaped like thoſe worn by the women in the north of the Indies; and they cover their heads with a little flat, coloured bonnet, letting their hair hang down the back in treſſes, adorned with pearl and other jewels.

All the Bukhârs profeſs the Mohammedan religion, nearly after the Turkiſh form, except in ſome few ceremonies. They ſubſiſt entirely by following mechanic trades or commerce, which is wholly in their hands, neither the Kalmûks nor Uzbek Tartars meddling with it. But as ſeldom any foreign merchants arrive among them, eſpecially

[1] In contempt for their living wholly in towns, and following merchandize: whereas the Tartars prefer the field, and treat commerce as a baſe, mean employment.

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in thoſe parts where the Mohammedan Tartars are maſters, the Bukhârs go in crowds to China, the Indies, Perſia, and Siberia, where they trade to very conſiderable advantage.

Although they poſſeſs all the towns of theſe provinces, they never meddle with arms upon any account, and trouble themſelves only about their own affairs; paying the Kalmûks and Uzbek Tartars, who are in poſſeſſion of the country [1], a certain tribute, regulated yearly for every town and village. On this account the Tartars deſpiſe them extremely, treating them as cowardly, ſimple people, as may be obſerved in ſeveral places of Abu'lghâzi Khan's hiſtory before inſerted.

The Bukhârs themſelves are utterly at a loſs whence they draw their origin [2]. However they know by tradition, that they are not originally of Bukhâria, but came thither from ſome diſtant country. They are not divided into tribes, like the Tartars, and many other eaſtern people: whence thoſe who labour to reconcile ſacred hiſtory with profane, take occaſion to ſurmiſe, that they are the deſcendants of the twelve tribes of Iſrael [3], whom Salmanaſſer, King of Aſſyria, carried into the kingdom of the Medes [4]. To ſupport this conjecture it is obſerved, that the Bukhârs have much the appearance of Jews, and many cuſtoms not unlike theirs [5]: but the author thinks ſuch ſimilitudes too weak for being convincing proofs [6].

## 2. *The Jagatay Tartars.*

EVER ſince the time of Jagatay Khan, ſecond ſon of Jenghîz Khan, who had for his ſhare Great Bukhâria and Karazm [7], thoſe provinces bore the name of Jagatay, and his Tartar (or Mongol) ſubjects, whom he brought along with him, that of Jagatay Tartars; till Shabakht Soltan, having driven out the deſcendants of Tamerlan, the name of Jagatays gave place to that of Uzbeks: which, ſays the author, our geographers do not obſerve, continuing ſtill to give the name of Jagatay to Great Bukhâria, although it has ceaſed above two hundred years ago. However, it is ſtill uſed to diſtinguiſh the Tartars who firſt poſſeſſed that country, from thoſe who are the preſent maſters of it, although both, making now but one mixed body, are comprized under the general name of Uzbeks. On the other hand, the troops of the Great Mogul of India are called Jagatays by the Orientals; becauſe they were the Jagatays who conquered it [8], under Soltan Babor, after he had been expelled out of Great Bukhâria.

## 3. *The Uzbek Tartars of Great Bukhâria.*

*The Uzbeks: — their Dreſs, Diet, Language, Arms: — robuſt and brave: — the Women warlike: — their Horſes: — always at War: — few dwell in Towns.*

THE Uzbeks who poſſeſs this country, are generally reputed the moſt civilized of all the Mohammedan Tartars, notwithſtanding they are great robbers, like the reſt. As low as their boots, which they wear very clouterly, they are clothed, men and women, after the Perſian faſhion, but not at all ſo cleverly; and the chief among them wear a plume of white heron's feathers on their turbans.

[1] The Uzbeks are in poſſeſſion of Great Bukhâria, and the Kalmûks of the Leſſer. [2] The author would have done well to have ſatisfied his readers, whether the Bukhârs be the ſame people with the Sarts of Karazm, or not; and if not, to have mentioned in what reſpects they differ. [3] Methinks their not being divided into tribes, is an argument againſt, not for, this idle notion. [4] 2 Kings, xviii. [5] It cannot be otherwiſe, in conſequence of their being Mohammedans. [6] Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 455, et ſeq. [7] Rather the eaſt part of it, containing Kat and Kayuk, with the country of the Vigûrs, or Oyghûrs and Kaſhgar, which comprizes Little Bukhâria. [8] Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 458, et ſeq.

Pillaw (which is boiled rice, after the faſhion of the Orientals,) and horſe-fleſh, are their moſt delicious victuals; kumis and arack, both made of mares'-milk their common drink.

Their language is a mixture of the Turkiſh, Perſian, and Mongol tongues: yet they are able to underſtand the Perſians, and the Perſians them.

Their arms are much the ſame with the reſt of the Tartars, viz. the ſabre, the dart, the lance, and the bow of a larger ſize than ordinary, which they make uſe of with much ſtrength and dexterity. They have begun, for ſome time paſt, to uſe muſkets, after the Perſian manner. When they go to war, a great part of their cavalry wear coats of mail, and a little buckler to defend them.

The Tartars of Great Bukhâria pique themſelves on being the moſt robuſt and brave of all the Tartars; and they muſt needs be a courageous people, ſeeing the Perſians, who are naturally very brave, are yet in ſome meaſure afraid of them. The women alſo of this country value themſelves on account of their bravery. Bernier relates to this purpoſe a very romantic account, which was given him by the Khan of Samarkant's ambaſſador to Aureng Zeb. The truth is, that the Tartar women of Great Bukhâria go often to war with their huſbands, and do not fear coming to blows upon occaſion. They are, for the moſt part, very well made, and tolerably handſome; nay, ſome of them may paſs for perfect beauties in any country.

The horſes of theſe Tartars make but a very ſorry appearance, having neither breaſt nor buttocks, the neck long and ſtrait, like a ſtick, and the legs very high, and no belly. They are, beſides, of a frightful leanneſs: for all this, they are exceeding ſwift, and almoſt indefatigable. They are eaſily maintained; a little graſs, though ever ſo indifferent, and even a little moſs, ſatisfying them in caſe of need: ſo that theſe are the beſt horſes in the world for the uſe the Tartars make of them.

They are continually at war with the Perſians, the fine plains of the province of Khoraſân favouring their incurſions: but they cannot penetrate into the dominions of the Great Mogul, for the high mountains which ſeparate them, and are inacceſſible to their cavalry.

Such of them as feed upon their cattle, live under huts, like their neighbours the Kalmûks, encamping ſometimes here, ſometimes there, according to their conveniency: but thoſe who cultivate the lands, dwell in the villages and hamlets, very few of them living in the cities or towns, which are all poſſeſſed by the Bukhârs, or ancient inhabitants [1].

## SECT. III. — THE KHANS OF GREAT BUKHARIA.

INTRODUCTION. — As we do not propoſe to give a complete hiſtory of the ſeveral races of the Kings of this country, but only of ſuch as deſcended from the famous Jenghîz Khan; we ſhall refer our readers for thoſe who preceded the times of that Khan, to the tranſlations of Almakin and Abu'lfaraj [2], with the extracts given by Teixeira and D'Herbelot [3], from other Oriental hiſtorians. The ſucceſſion of the Mogul Khans is divided into two races, or branches: the firſt that of the Jagatays, or thoſe who deſcended immediately from Jagatay, ſecond ſon of Jenghîz Khan: the ſecond that of the Uzbeks, who derive their origin from Juji, eldeſt ſon of that conqueror. Of the firſt

[1] Hiſtory of the Turks, &c. p. 458, et ſeq. [2] Both from the Arabic: the firſt by Erpenius, under the title of "Hiſtoria Saracenica;" the ſecond by Dr. Pocock, and ſtyled "Hiſtoria Compendioſa Dynaſtiarum." [3] The firſt in the Hiſtory of Perſia; the ſecond in his "Bibliotheque Orientale."

Abu'lghâzi

Abu'lghâzi gives a regular hiſtory, though in brief, and not accompanied throughout with the dates and lengths of the reigns. Of the Uzbek Khans of Great Bukhâria, he treats only occaſionally, on account of the wars, or alliances, that happened between them, and the Khans of Karazm.

### 1. *The Khans deſcended from Jagatay Khan.*

*Jagatay Khan. — Kara Hulaku Khan. — Doyzi Khan. — Yaſun Timûr Khan. — Ali Soltan Khan. — Kazan Khan. — Amîr Kazagan. — Seyruk Tamiſh Khan. — Toglûk Timûr Khan. — Amîr Timûr Khan.*

JAGATAY Khan had ſomething ſo very ſevere in his aſpect, that every body was afraid to look at him: but he had a vaſt deal of wit, on which account it was that Jenghîz Khan gave him, for his ſhare, all the country of Mawara'lnahr, and half of Karazm, as well as the Vigûrs [1], and cities of Kaſhgar, Badagſhân, Bâlk, and Gaſnah, with their dependencies, as far as the river Sir-indi, or Indus. However, he never reſided in his dominions, but with his brother Ugaday (or Oktay, at Karakoram) leaving proper perſons to govern in his abſence. He had ſeven ſons, Mutugan, Muzi, Balda Shah, Saghin-lalga, Sarmans, Buſſu-munga, and Baydar.

Jagatay dying in 1242 [2], he was ſucceeded by his grandſon Kara Hulaku, ſon of Mutugan; who deceaſing while his ſon Mubarak Shah was yet very young, his mother, Argata Khatun, took the regency till he attained the age which qualified him to reign by himſelf. After the death of Mubarak Shah, Algu, ſon of Baydar, came to the crown, and had for his ſucceſſor Barak Khan, who in the third year of his reign embraced Mohammediſm, and took the name of Jelal-addîn. He dying, the dignity of Khan was conferred on Beghi, ſon of Sarmans; who was ſucceeded by Buga Timûr, a great grandſon of Mutugan.

Buga Timûr had for his ſucceſſor Doyzi Khan, ſon of Barak Khan; who was ſucceeded by his ſon, Konza Khan. Konza dying, Baliga alſo, a grandſon of Mutugan, aſcended the throne, and was ſucceeded by Iſan Boga, ſecond ſon of Doyzi Khan. After him, his brother Dwi Timûr held the ſceptre of Mawara'lnahr, which was poſſeſſed next by his brother Tarmaſhir; who embraced Mohammediſm, and reſtored that worſhip, which had almoſt become extinct ſince the time of Barak Khan.

Tarmaſhir Khan was ſlain by his brother Butan Khan, who afterwards ſeized the throne, and had for his ſucceſſor his nephew Zangſhi. Yaſun Timûr, brother of this Khan, envying him the dignity, reſolved to make him away alſo: but their mother ſuſpecting his deſign, adviſed Zangſhi Khan to be on his guard; who immediately taking the field againſt Yaſun Timûr, had the misfortune to loſe the battle, with his life: after which, the victor cauſed his mother's belly to be ripped up, in revenge for having given his brother the information above mentioned.

During his reign, Ali Soltan, a Prince deſcended from Ugada Khan, became ſo formidable, that after his death he brought Mawara'lnahr under his ſubjection: but Ali dying, Kazan Soltan reſtored the poſſeſſion to the houſe of Jagatay Khan. He was a very cruel Prince. He at firſt carried on a war ſucceſsfully againſt Amîr Kazagan, whom he defeated: but afterwards having taking up his winter-quarters about Karſhi, the weather proved ſo ſevere, that moſt of his horſes periſhed. On this ad-

[1] Rather, we preſume, the country of the Vigûrs; which ſeems to have been that part of Little Bukhâria containing the countries of Turfân and Hami, or Khamil, with the adjoining parts of Tartary northward. [2] Hejrah, 640.

vice,

vice, Amîr Kazagan returned immediately; and the Khan meeting him with his forces, now reduced to infantry, he was ſlain in the battle, in the year 1348. Kazan was the laſt of the ſixteen Princes of the poſterity of Jagatay, who reigned with the full power and dignity of Khans: for thoſe who ſucceeded him had only the name, without the authority, each head of a tribe aſſuming the liberty of acting according to his own fancy.

After Kazan's death, Amîr Kazagan, deſcended of Ugaday Khan, mounted the throne; but was ſlain when he had reigned two years, nobody knows by whom. On this Bayan Kuli, ſon of Surga, ſon of Doyzi Khan, of the line of Jagatay, ſeized the ſceptre, although Kazagan left ſeveral ſons; one of whom, called Abdallah, he cauſed to be ſlain, on ſuſpicion of having a criminal correſpondence with his wife. Timûr Shah, ſon of Yaſun Timûr Khan, ſucceeded Bayankuli. His ſucceſſor was Adil Soltan, ſon of Mahamet Pulad, ſon of Konza Khan. Among the vaſſals of this Prince there were two heads of tribes, Amîr Timûr, ſon of Taragay, of the tribe of Burlas; the other Amîr Huſſeyn, nephew of Abdallah Khan, deſcended from Ugaday Khan. Theſe two lords conſpiring againſt Adil Soltan, ſeized his perſon, and, having bound him hands and feet, drowned him. They nominated in his room Kabul Soltan. In his reign they ſeized the city of Balk, and ſlew the Khan, who governed there.

On Kabul Khan's deceaſe theſe two lords ſet up Seyruk Tamiſh, ſon of Daniſhmanza, deſcended from Ugaday Khan; and, after his death, his ſon, Mohammed Soltan, was inveſted with the dignity, but poſſeſſed no more of the power than his predeceſſors, ſince the time of Kazan Khan. Whilſt the government was on ſo unſteady a footing, Amûr Timûr made war againſt all the Mongol tribes, in the country of Mawara'lnahr, getting ſometimes the better, at other times the worſt. Togalak (or Togluk), Timûr Khan of Kaſhgar, who was become very formidable during theſe troubles, perceiving ſo favourable an opportunity to enlarge his dominions, entered Mawara'lnahr with a great army. At his approach one part of the inhabitants, tired with their civil wars, ſubmitted to him; another part, who reſiſted, was put to the ſword; and the reſt retired with Timûr and Huſſeyn into Karazm.

Togalak Timûr Khan having ſtaid a whole year in the conquered country, gave the government to his ſon Ilyas Khoja, and went back to Kâſhgar, where he died the year following. On this news thoſe two lords returning, conſtrained Ilyas Khoja to retire to Kâſhgar. After this, they divided the ſovereign authority between them, and lived for ſome time in good underſtanding: but, at length, falling at variance, they came to a bloody battle near Bâlk; in which Huſſeyn being ſlain, left his rival ſole maſter of the country. It is true, Mohammed Soltan Khan always bore the title, but it was Amîr Timûr who in fact reigned; and the Khan was ſo far from envying him, that he continually prayed for his life. Timûr having reigned in this manner for thirty-three years, at the age of ſixty, entered into the country of Rûm, and fought with Soltan Bayazîd a bloody battle, which laſted from morning till late in the night. The Soltan ſeeing his army entirely deſtroyed, fled: but Timûr ſending the Khan in purſuit of him, his few followers were ſlain, and himſelf taken priſoner.

After a year's ſtay in thoſe parts, Timûr returned to his own dominions, and put to death not only Soltan Bayazîd, but alſo the good Mohammed Soltan Khan; and then cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed Khan. This done, he undertook an expedition againſt Kitay; but got no farther than the city of Otrar, where he fell ſick, and died in the year 1404, after he had reigned thirty-ſix years, and lived ſixty-three. Abu'lghâzi Khan's deſign having been only to ſpeak of thoſe Princes who deſcended from Jenghîz Khan, he

he gives no account of the ſucceſſors of Amîr Timûr, becauſe they were of his race; whom, at length, the Uzbeks, under Shahbâkht Soltan, diſpoſſeſſed of their dominion in Mawara'lnahr, or Great Bukhâria.

## 2. *The Uzbek Khans of Great Bukhâria.*

*Introduction. — Shâhbakht Khan. — Kuſhanji Khan. — Abuſayd Khan. — Obeyd Khan defeated by Din Mahamet. — Iſkander Khan. — Abdallah Khan ſubdues Karazm. — Abdel momîn Khan. — Imâm kuli Khan. — Nadir Mahamet Khan. — Abdalazîz Khan. — Diſagreement of Hiſtorians.*

WE have in Teixeira, D'Herbelot, and other extracts from the Oriental authors, ſome account of the Princes who reigned in Great Bukhâria ſince the Mohammedan conqueſts, under the ſeveral dynaſties of the Arabs, Perſians, and Turks. The ſame authors treat alſo of the ſucceſſors of Jenghîz Khan in that country; but ſpeak very little, and confuſedly of the Uzbek Princes who governed there. They neither give us all their names in order of ſucceſſion, nor the dates or lengths of their reigns, and put an end to their dominion above two hundred years ago. In ſhort, the beſt account of the Uzbek Khans of Great Bukhâria to be met with any where, is that which Abu'l-ghâzi Khan has inſerted occaſionally in his Hiſtory of Karazm, on account of the wars that happened from time to time between thoſe two countries, of which, chiefly, the following is an abſtract.

1. Shahbakht (or Sheybeg) Khan, in the year 1494, invaded Great Bukhâria, from whence he drove out Soltan Babor, with the Jagatays; who retiring into India, made ſome conqueſts, and ſettled there. After this he entered Khoraſân, and ſubdued that province alſo, from Soltan Huſſeyn Mirza. Theſe conqueſts he finiſhed in 1498, from whence his reign commences. In the year 1507, Soltan Huſſeyn raiſed an army at Herât, the capital of Khoraſân, with a deſign to invade Great Bukhâria: but dying by the way, his ſon Padi Azzamon ſucceeded him. This Prince, unable to withſtand Shaybeg, retired to Khandahâr; where raiſing forces, he returned to meet the Uzbek: but being defeated, fled into Perſia to Shah Iſmaël Sofi. This Prince eſpouſing Padi Azzamon's cauſe, marched againſt Shaybeg in the year 1510; and meeting him at Marû, a bloody battle was fought, wherein Shaybeg's army was defeated, and himſelf killed, after he had reigned twelve years.

2. Kuſhanji Khan, the ſucceſſor of Shaybeg, is reckoned the moſt noble and powerful of all the Uzbek Princes who reigned in Mawara'lnahr. In 1512, Soltan Babor returning out of India, and being joined by Ahmed Isfahani, paſſed the Jihûn (or Amû) and raviſhed the country about Karſhi. In ſhort, they had almoſt reduced the whole country, when Kuſhanji Khan, ſetting forward with an army, met and defeated them. The Perſian general was killed on the ſpot, and Babor fled back to India. In 1529, Kuſhanji Khan marched into Perſia againſt Shah Tahmaſb, ſon of Iſmaël; but was defeated, and retired to his dominions. After this he returned to Marû, and would again have broken into Perſia; but a peace being concluded between the two monarchs, he went back to Samarkant, where he died the ſame year, after a reign of twenty-eight.

3. He was ſucceeded by his ſon, Abuſayd Khan; who reigned four years, without doing any thing remarkable, and died in 1532.

4. Obeyd Khan, his ſucceſſor, was the ſon of Mohammed Soltan, brother of Shâhbakht, who conquered Great Bukhâria. This Prince entering Khoraſân, took ſome towns; while the Uzbeks of Karazm, doing the like on their ſide, Shah Tahmaſb

thought fit to make peace with the Uzbeks. Stirred up by Omar Ghâzi Soltan, who fled to him from Karazm, this Khan, in conjunction with the Khans of Samarkant and Tashkant, enters that country in 1542; which they over-ran, seizing Avanash Khan, and all the Princes of his family, whom he divided, together with the towns, among his confederates. Din Mahamet Soltan, eldest son of Avanash Khan, as soon as Obeyd Khan was withdrawn, invading Karazm, retakes Khayuk and Urjenz. On this news, Obeyd Khan returns with a numerous army; but being met by Din Mahamet the same year with much inferior forces, was entirely defeated, and the Princes, his relations, restored by an exchange of prisoners.

About the year 1550, Obeyd Khan entering Khorasân, took Marû from the Persians; but growing jealous of the governor, and sending an army to displace him, that officer surrendered it to Din Mahamet, then Khan of Karazm. After this, Nûr Mahamet Soltan, grandson of Din Mahamet Khan, being envied the possession of his grandfather's estate in Khorasân, the Princes of his family combined to take it from him: whereupon he delivered up his four cities of Marû, Nasay, Yursurdi, and Duruhn, to Obeyd Khan: imagining that Prince would leave him in possession, and be content with receiving tribute from him; but found himself deceived. The time of Obeyd Khan's death is not mentioned. Teixeira and D'Herbelot, after Mirkond, place it in 1540, allowing only six years to his reign: but this must be a great mistake. According to Abu'lghâzi Khan, he must have reigned above fifty years, and died about 1584, or 1585.

5. Obeyd Khan seems to have been succeeded by Iskander Khan, son of Janibek, son of Khojah Mahamet, son of Abu'lgayir Khan, who reigned in Kipjâk. There is nothing remarkable mentioned, relating to this Prince, who was not right in his senses. On the death of his predecessor, Nûr Mahamet went and recovered his four towns out of the hands of the Bukhârian Uzbeks. Shah Abbâs I. also willing to profit by that event, went and took Marû from him. We find nothing to give light into the beginning, end, or length of his reign.

6. Abdallah Khan, son of Iskander Khan: when he began his reign is likewise uncertain; only we find, that some years after the death of Ali Soltan, which happened in 1571, Abdallah invaded Karazm, but retired on the approach of Hajim, or Azim Khan. Some time after, the sons of this latter having stripped a Turkish ambassador at Urjenz, who was on his return from Great Bukhâria, Abdallah Khan enters Karazm a second time, with a great army; and having conquered it chiefly by fraud, carried ten Princes of the Khan's family into Bukhâria, where he put them all to death.

Meantime Hajim Khan retired into Persia to Shah Abbâs in the year of the Serpent. Two years after, Abdallah Khan invading Khorasân, Hajim Khan took the opportunity, while Shah Abbâs marched against that invader, to surprise Urjenz and Khayuk; but they were soon recovered again by the troops of Abdallah Khan, who in person besieged Hazarasb, and subdued it. After this he returned into Great Bukhâria, where he died the last day of the year 1597, called Tauk, or the Hen. According to Teixeira, and D'Herbelot, this active Prince died in the year 1540, and reigned but six months.

7. Abdolmomîn Khan, son of Abdallah Khan, by a daughter of Mahamet Khan of Karazm, succeeded his father. Being at that time in Khorasân, he set forward to return home, but on his way, at Zamin, on the river Amû, was slain by his own people.

8. Iman Kuli Khan, son of Yar Mahamet Soltan, succeeded Abdolmomîn Khan. In the year 1620, Arab Mahamet Khan, of Karazm, having been defeated by his two rebellious sons, Abu'lghâzi Soltan, who had joined his father, fled, after the battle, into Great Bukhâria, and was received kindly by the Khan. In 1622, Isfandiar Soltan having

ing recovered Karazm, and put his two rebellious brothers to death, Abu'lghâzi returned to Urjenz: but his ſubjects leaving the country on the appearance of a comet, a year or two after, he retired to Turkeſtân, where he ſtaid two years at the court of Turſum Khan, and then went into Great Bukhâria to Imâm Kuli Khan; who receiving him but coldly, becauſe he had firſt taken refuge with his enemy, he returned again to Karazm on the invitation of the Turkmâns. Imâm Kuli Khan died about the time that Abu'lghâzi Soltan was proclaimed Khan of Karazm.

9. He was ſucceeded by his brother Nadir Mahamet Khan. In 1644, the Turkmâns about Khayuk and Hazaraſb, in Karazm, refuſing to ſubmit to Abu'lghâzi, upon his being proclaimed Khan, put themſelves under the protection of Nadir Mahamet Khan, who conferred the government of thoſe two places on his grandſon, Khiſſeran Soltan: but ſoon after recalling him, he ſent Yakub, one of his lords, to command in his room. In the mean time he was dethroned in 1646, by his vaſſal lords, for his harſh treatment of them.

10. He had for his ſucceſſor his ſon Abdalâzîz Khan. This Prince having formed a deſign to conquer the country of Bâlk, Subban Kuli Khan, its ſovereign, ſent to intreat aid of Abu'lghâzi Khan; who laying hold of ſo fair an opportunity to revenge the injuries done to his family by Abdallah Khan, entered Great Bukhâria for ſeveral years ſucceſſively, deſtroyed ſeveral towns, and committed great ravages. At length, in 1658, a peace was concluded between them, as hath been already related more at large. Since that time we have no regular hiſtory of the Khans of this country.

The Perſian hiſtorians, according to Teixeira and D'Herbelot, make Abdallatîf, the ſon of Kuſhanji, to ſucceed Abdallah Khan, in 1540. The firſt ſays he died the next year, and that in him ended the ſovereignty of the ſucceſſors of Jenghîz Khan in Mawara'lnahr. But this is probably ſome miſtake committed by Teixeira, ſince D'Herbelot ſays, from the authority of the Lebtarîkh, that Abdallatîf was living in the year 1541, when that book was written. However that be, the reader finds a wide difference between the account given by Abu'lghâzi Khan, and the Perſian hiſtorians; though he can be at no loſs to determine which he ought to rely on.

THE

# *VOYAGES AND TRAVELS OF MR. ANTHONY JENKINSON,*

## FROM RUSSIA TO BOGHAR, OR BOKHARA, IN 1557.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

SOME INFORMATIONS OF OTHERS, CONCERNING THE ROAD THENCE TO KATAY, OR CHINA [1].

### INTRODUCTION.

MR. JENKINSON, a very intelligent merchant, was ſent by the Muſcovy Company, by way of Ruſſia, to diſcover the road to Boghâr, or Bokhâra, in Great Bukhâria, and ſettle a trade, if advantageous and convenient, in that country. He left Graveſend the 12th of May 1557, chief captain of a fleet of four tall ſhips, accompanied in the Primroſe by Oſep Nepea Gregoriwich, the Emperor of Ruſſia's ambaſſador, and his retinue, whom he had orders to convey home. Sailing round Norway, they arrived at St. Nicholas in Ruſſia the 12th of July, from whence they travelled to Moſkow. There having obtained the Emperor's letters to ſeveral Princes, through whoſe dominions he was to paſs, he proceeded for Boghâr, with three ſervants, Richard Johnſon, Robert Johnſon, and a Tartar Tolmach, with ſeveral ſorts of merchandizes.

This gentleman was the firſt who led the way to the Uzbek Tartars; but, indeed, was not ſeconded till of late by the Ruſſians, hitherto without ſucceſs. He afterwards made three other voyages to Ruſſia; one of them in quality of ambaſſador from Queen Elizabeth. Theſe voyages and remarks, written by way of letters to the Muſcovy Company, and others, are inſerted both by Hakluyt and Purchas, in their collections. They contain a great many curious obſervations, and are particularly valuable for the latitudes, which the author took of the principal places he was at. We ſhall begin our journey at Moſkow, or more properly at Aſtrakhân [2]; reſerving what relates to Ruſſia till we come to treat of that country. And as his ſervant Johnſon procured certain informations, while at Boghâr, concerning the road thence to Katay, we ſhall add them as a proper appendix, together with thoſe given by Haji Mehemet, a Perſian merchant, to Ramuſio.

### SECT. I. — *The Author's Voyage over the Caſpian Sea, and Journey to Urjenz.*

*They leave Moſkow: — come to Aſtrakhân: — that City deſcribed: — the Trade poor: — enter the Caſpian Sea: — ſail North-eaſt. — The Blue Sea. — Iſland Bauleata. — River Jaïk. — Serachik. — Boarded by Pirates: — lucky Eſcape. — The River Yem. — Port of Manguſlave: — ill Treatment there. — Duties levied on the Road. — Author's good Luck. — Come to a Gulf. — Courſe of the Oxus. — Sellizure, or Shayzure. — City of Urjenz. — Land of Turkman. — The Khan's Authority.*

THE 20th of April 1558, they left Moſkow by water; and the 29th came to the city of Kazan, on the river Wolga, conquered nine years before from the Tartars: from thence to the Caſpian Sea, there is no place of trade. They departed the 13th of June. Fifteen leagues lower the Kama falls into it. The country between, on the left (or eaſt ſide) is called Vachen; the inhabitants Pagans. On the right hand, oppoſite the Kama, are the Cheremizes, half Gentiles, half Tartars: and all the land on the left, from thence to Aſtrakhân, and ſo along the Caſpian ſhores to the Turkmen,

[1] Green, Vol. iv. p. 630.

[2] The voyage between thoſe two places being but briefly touched on, by way of introduction.

is

is named the country of Mangat [1], or Nogay; whoſe inhabitants, while the author was at Aſtrakhân in 1558, were all deſtroyed by civil wars, famine, and peſtilence, to the number of an hundred thouſand, and great ſatisfaction of the Ruſſians.

All the country on the right ſide of the Wolga, from the Kama to Aſtrakhân, is called Krîm [2]. They are Mohammedans, and live like the Nogays; are always at war with the Ruſſians, and ſupported by the Great Turk. The 28th of June they came to the ruins of a caſtle of the Krîms, on a hill, in the latitude of fifty-one degrees forty-ſeven minutes, half way from Kazan to Aſtrakhân, which are about two hundred leagues diſtant. The 14th of July paſſing by an old caſtle, which was old Aſtrakhân, on the right, they arrived at New Aſtrakhân, which the Emperor conquered in 1552; being the laſt place he hath taken from the Tartars towards the Caſpian Sea [3].

This city is ſituate in an iſland on the ſide of a hill. It has a caſtle within it, fenced with earth and timber; neither fair nor ſtrong; but a good garriſon is kept on foot. The town is alſo walled with earth: the buildings and houſes, except thoſe of the governor's and a few others, very mean and poor. Fiſh, eſpecially ſturgeon, is the only food; fleſh and bread being very ſcarce. Theſe they hang up in their ſtreets and houſes to dry; which makes this place, more than any other, ſwarm with flies, and occaſions the air to be ſo bad. In the plague and famine before mentioned, the Nogay Tartars came to ſeek relief from their enemies the Ruſſians; who beſtowed their charity ſo ill, that they died in heaps over the iſland; the reſt the Ruſſians ſold, or drove from thence. That was a proper time to have converted them, if the Ruſſians themſelves had been good Chriſtians. The author could have bought thouſands of pretty boys and girls of their parents, for a ſixpenny loaf a-piece; but had more need of victuals at that juncture. The trade is very trifling, although there is a good reſort of merchants.

The chief Ruſſian commodities are red hides, red ſheep-ſkins, wooden veſſels, bridles and ſaddles, knives and other trifles, with corn, bacon, and other victuals. The Tartars bring divers kinds of ſilks and cotton-cloths: the Perſians from Shamakki, coarſe ſewing-ſilk, ſilk-girdles, kraſſo, coats of mail, bows, ſwords, and the like: ſometimes alſo corn, and walnuts; but all in ſuch ſmall quantities, that there is no hopes of trade in thoſe parts worth following. The foreſaid iſland of Aſtrakhân, which is deſtitute of wood and paſture, and will bear no corn, is in length twelve leagues, and in breadth three; lying eaſt and weſt, in the latitude of forty-ſeven degrees nine minutes [4].

The 6th of Auguſt they embarked with their goods on the Wolga, in company with certain Tartars and Perſians, Jenkinſon having the whole care of the navigation down the river, which is very crooked, and full of flats toward the mouth. The 10th they entered the Caſpian Sea, on the eaſtern ſide of the river, which has ſeventy mouths, being twenty leagues from Aſtrakhân, in the latitude of forty-ſix degrees twenty-ſeven minutes [5].

The wind being briſk, they kept the north-eaſt ſhore; and the 11th, having ſailed ſeven leagues eaſt-north-eaſt, came to an iſland with a high hill on it, called Akhurgar, a good mark at ſea. From thence eaſt ten leagues, they fell in with the iſland Bawhiata, much higher than the former. Within theſe two iſlands to the north, is a great bay, called the Blue Sea. From thence ſailing eaſt by north ten leagues, the wind contrary, they came to an anchor in a fathom water, and ſo rid till the 15th, having a great ſtorm at ſouth-eaſt; then the wind coming north, they ran ſouth-eaſt that day eight leagues.

[1] Or the Mankats, the ſame with the Karakalpaks. [2] In Purchas, Crimme.
[3] Purchas Pilgr. vol. iii. p. 232. [4] Olearius puts it in four. [5] Purchas Pilgr. p. 233.

Thus proceeding forwards, the 17th they loſt ſight of land, and ſailed thirty leagues, next day twenty, winding eaſt, and fell in with a land, called Baughleata, ſeventy-four leagues from the mouth of the Wolga, in the latitude of forty-ſix degrees fifty-four minutes [1], the coaſt lying neareſt eaſt-by-ſouth, and weſt-by-north. At the point of this iſland is the tomb of a Tartar ſaint, where the Mohammedans pay their devotions [2].

The 19th, winding eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, they ſailed ten leagues, and paſſed by a river, called Jaïk, which riſes in Siberia, near the foreſaid river Kama, and runs through the land of Nogay. One day's journey up it, is a town called Serachik [3], ſubject to Murſa Smille, the greateſt Prince in all Nogay, which is now in friendſhip with the Ruſſians. There is no trade in this country, the natives having no money, but cattle, and living by robbery.

On the 20th, as the bark lay at an anchor before this river, all the men being aſhore except Jenkinſon, who was ſick, and five Tartars (whereof one, called Azi, was reputed a holy man, becauſe he had been at Mekka) there came a boat with thirty men well-armed, who beginning to enter the bark, Azi aſked them what they would have, and ſaid a prayer. Upon this the rovers deſiſted, declaring that they were gentlemen baniſhed from their country, and came to ſee if there were in the veſſel any Ruſſians, or other Kafrs [4], ſo they call Chriſtians: but the good pilgrim ſwearing ſtoutly, that there were none, they departed. Thus the author obſerves, that by the fidelity of that Tartar he, with all his company and goods were preſerved. Soon after, leaving this place, they ſailed that day ſixteen leagues, winding eaſt and ſouth-eaſt.

The 21ſt they croſſed a bay ſix leagues, and fell with a cape, having two iſlands over to the ſouth-eaſt. Doubling the cape, the land trended north-eaſt, and made another bay, into which falls the great river Yem, riſing in the land of Kolmak [5]. Three days they lay at anchor. The 25th the wind proving fair, they ſailed twenty leagues, and paſſed by a low iſland, about which are many flats and ſands: to the north of it there runs in a great bay. Hence they ran ten leagues, winding ſouth to come into deep water: then eaſt-ſouth-eaſt twenty leagues, and fell with the main land, full of copped hills. They paſſed along the coaſt twenty leagues, the land growing higher the further they ſailed.

The 27th they croſſed over a bay, whoſe ſouth ſhore was the higher land, and fell with a high point, where there aroſe a violent ſtorm at eaſt, which continued three days. From this cape they paſſed to a port called Manguſlave. The place where they ſhould have arrived, at the ſouthermoſt part of the Caſpian [6] Sea, is twelve leagues within a bay: but they were driven by the ſtorm to the other ſide of the bay, oppoſite to Manguſlave, to a place where never bark nor boat had before arrived.

From this haven they ſent ſome of their men aſhore, to know of the governor, if they might ſafely land with their goods, and get camels to carry them to Sellizure, twenty-five days' journey diſtant. The meſſengers returning with very fair promiſes, the 3d of September they landed, and at firſt were civilly entertained: but at laſt they ſhewed their evil diſpoſitions, for they were always fighting with them, ſtealing, or begging from them. They raiſed the price of horſes, camels, and victuals, double what it uſed to be, and forced them to buy the water they drank: ſo that for every

[1] Only fifteen minutes more ſouth than the mouth of the Wolga. [2] Purchas, as before, p. 234.
[3] In Purchas, Serachicke. [4] In the original, Caphars, Kafr is an Arabic word, ſignifying infidels.
[5] Rather the country of the Kalmûks. [6] From this circumſtance, as well as the courſe and diſtance from the river Yem, Manguſlave ſhould be more to the ſouth, than the latitude, viz. forty-five degrees, given by our author, places it; but for which we ſhould judge it to be the ſame with Minkiſhlak, often mentioned by Abu'lghâzi Khan.

camel's lading, being but four hundred weight Engliſh, they agreed to give three hides of Ruſſia, and four wooden diſhes; and to the Prince or governor of the people, one ninth, and two ſeventhſ; namely, nine ſeveral things, and twice ſeven ſeveral things; for they uſe no money.

The 14th they departed, being a karavan of a thouſand camels, and in five days came to the dominions of Timûr Sôltan, another Prince, governor of the country of Mangu-ſlave, where they intended to have carried their bark, but for the ſtorm. In the way they were met by ſome of his Tartars; who, in his name, opened their bales, and took a ninth of ſuch things as they thought beſt, without money [1].

Jenkinſon having wrangled with them in vain, rode to the ſame Prince, requeſting his favour, and paſſport to travel through his country, that he might not be robbed by his people: the Soltan received him very kindly, granted him his requeſt, and ordered him to be well feaſted with fleſh and mares'-milk: for they uſe no bread, nor other drink, except water. In lieu of the goods, worth fifteen rubles [2], he gave him a horſe worth ſeven, and his letter. Jenkinſon was glad to get away ſo well; for he was reckoned a mere tyrant, and had given orders to rob and deſtroy the author, in caſe he had not gone to him.

This Soltan lived in the fields, without caſtle or town. Jenkinſon found him ſitting in a little round houſe made of reeds, covered with felt, and hung with carpets; accompanied by the great metropolitan of that wild country, reverenced like the Pope, and other chief men. They aſked him many queſtions, concerning his country, laws, and religion; as alſo the cauſe of his coming into thoſe parts.

Proceeding on their journey, they travelled twenty days in the wilderneſs from the ſea-ſide, without ſeeing town or habitation. Their proviſions failing, they were forced to feed on their cattle. Jenkinſon killed a camel and a horſe. All their drink was very brackiſh water, drawn out of deep wells, two or three days diſtant; for rivers there are none. The 5th [3] of October they came again to a gulf of the ſea, where they found the water very freſh. Here they were met by the officers of the King of Turkmân; who, for cuſtom, took one out of every twenty-five, and ſeven-ninths for the ſaid King, and his brethren. Here they ſtaid a day to refreſh themſelves.

Formerly the great river Oxus [4] fell into this gulf, but at preſent runs into the Ardok [5]; which ſhaping its courſe northward about a thouſand miles, loſes itſelf in the ground, and after a ſubterraneous paſſage of above five hundred miles, iſſueth out again, and falls into the Lake of Kitay [6].

They left the foreſaid gulf the 4th [7] of October, and the 7th arrived at Sellizure [8], a ſorry caſtle, ſituate on a hill, where reſided Azim Kan [9], with three of his brethren. The 9th, Jenkinſon being ordered to appear before him, delivered the Emperor of Ruſſia's letters, and gave him a preſent of a ninth. That King received him kindly, and treated him with the fleſh of a wild horſe, and mares'-milk, without bread. Next day he ſent for him again, and aſked many queſtions, relating to the affairs both of Ruſſia and England. At his departure he gave him his letters of ſafe conduct.

The 14th, leaving the caſtle of Sellizure, they arrived the 16th at a city called Urjenz, where they paid cuſtom for themſelves, their camels and horſes. Here they ſtaid a month, before they could proceed: in which time Ali Soltan, the Khan's brother,

[1] Purchas Pilgr. p. 235. [2] A Ruſſian coin. [3] It ſhould be the fourth. [4] The Jihûn, or Amû. [5] This we take to be the ſtream of the Kheſel, that runs by Tuk, or Dok, as in Ardok. [6] The author was in this miſinformed; for it falls into the lake of Aral, about ſixty miles north of Tûk. [7] It ſhould be the fifth. [8] In the margin both of Hakluyt and Purchas, we find Sellizure, or Shayzure, as the names of this place. Perhaps Sellizure may be Saliſaray, a pleaſure-houſe. [9] In the tranſlation of Abu'lghâzi Khan's hiſtory, written Hadſim, or Hajim Khan, p. 270.; but he reſided at Wazir.

and

and King of that country, being returned from a town called Koraſan, in the borders of Perſia, which he had lately conquered, ſent for Jenkinſon; who preſented him the Emperor's letters, was kindly entertained, and after anſwering ſeveral queſtions, obtained his letters of ſafe conduct. The chief commodities here come from Perſia, and Boghâr; but are not worth ſpeaking of.

All the country, from the Caſpian Sea hither, is called the land of Turkmân. The people dwell in tents, roving in great companies, with their camels, horſes, and ſheep; which laſt are large, and have tails weighing ſixty or eighty pounds. They are ſubject to the Khan, and his five brothers, who pay him but little ſubmiſſion; nor is he obeyed much, except in his own dominions: for each is King in his own territory, and ſeeks to deſtroy the reſt; being born of different mothers, and commonly the children of ſlaves. They have at leaſt four or five wives, beſides maidens and boys, who live moſt viciouſly. When theſe brothers are at war, which is commonly the caſe, he who is vanquiſhed flies to the deſart, and there robs paſſengers and the karawans, till he can gather ſtrength to take the field again [1]. Many of their ſheep are wild as well as their horſes, which they take with hawks.

## SECT. II. — *The Author's Travels from Urjenz to Boghâr, and Return.*

*Paſs the Ardok: — travel through the Deſart. — Blade-bone Divination. — Attacked by Robbers: — come to a Parley, and Compoſition: — come to the Oxus: — more Danger from Thieves. — Boghâr, or Bokhâra City: — the Country. — Jenkinſon's Audience: — his kind Reception. — Trade of Boghâr. — Informations concerning Katay. — Reaſons for returning: — he leaves Boghâr: — comes to Urjenz, and to their Bark. — Dangerous Tempeſt. — Caſpian Sea deſcribed. — Large Rivers: — ſmall Trade. — Return to Moſkow: — preſents the Ambaſſadors: — comes to Kolmogro.*

THE 26th of November they left Urjenz, and having travelled by the Oxus an hundred miles, paſſed over the Ardok, a great river, mentioned before. There they paid a ſmall duty. The 7th of December they arrived at Kait [2], a caſtle ſubject to Saramet [3] Soltan; who intended to have robbed all the Chriſtians, but for fear of his brother the King of Urjenz, as they were informed by one of his chief counſellors, who adviſed them to ſend him a preſent; which they did. They paid here for every camel a red hide of Ruſſia, beſides trifling gifts to his officers.

Thus proceeding on their journey, the 10th at night there came four horſemen, whom they ſeized, and ſent bound to the Soltan of Kait. The Soltan immediately ſet forward with three hundred men; and meeting the ſuſpected perſons on the road, by threats learned from them, that they belonged to a baniſhed Prince, who three days' journey on the way lay in wait to deſtroy the karawan. The Soltan hereupon left them fourſcore ſoldiers for their convoy; who, the 15th in the morning, riding before to ſcour the deſart, in four hours returned on a hard gallop, ſaying, they had ſeen the track of horſes, and aſked what the company would give them to ſtay longer. No agreement being made, they went back to their Soltan; who, the others judged, was in the plot.

As ſoon as they were gone, ſome reputed holy men, for having been at Mekka, killed ſome ſheep, and after boiling the blade-bones, burnt them; then mixing their aſhes with the blood, wrote certain characters, with a great many ceremonies and words: by which they diſcovered, that they ſhould meet with robbers; but ſhould

[1] Purchas Pilgr. p. 236, et ſeq.
[2] In the original, Kaite; the ſame with Kat.
[3] Perhaps, Sariahmed.

vanquiſh them. Jenkinſon and his people gave no credit to this prediction, but they found it true: for within three hours they perceived thirty-nine horſemen well-armed, making towards them, with the baniſhed Prince at their head. Theſe called to them to yield, threatening otherwiſe to deſtroy them. The travellers put them to defiance; whereon the fight began, which continued from morning till two hours in the night. Many on both ſides were killed and wounded, men, horſes and camels. Had it not been for four muſkets, which Jenkinſon and his ſervants had, they muſt have been overcome: for the thieves were better armed, as well as better archers: but as the guns had brought down ſeveral of them, they durſt not venture near. This made them propoſe a truce till next day. Mean time the karawans encamped on a hill, fencing themſelves and cattle, with their packs of goods. The enemy encamped alſo a bow-ſhot diſtant, but were between them and the water; which proved a great affliction, as neither they, nor their camels, had drank for two days before.

Thus keeping good watch, at midnight the roving Prince ſent a meſſenger half way to ſpeak to the Karawan Baſha; who ſaid he would not go meet him, but would ſend one to talk to him, provided his Prince and followers would ſwear by their law to keep the truce: this being done ſo loud that they could all hear it, they ſent a holy man to the meſſenger; who told him, "That his Prince had ſent to them, who were Buſſarmans [1], to deliver up all the Kafrs, or unbelievers (meaning the Chriſtians) with their goods; that in ſuch caſe he would ſuffer them to depart quietly, but otherwiſe would treat them with equal ſeverity if he overcame them, as he made no doubt of doing." The Karawan Baſha anſwered, that he had no Chriſtians in his company, nor any ſtrangers, except two Turks: but that in caſe he had, he would rather die than deliver them; and as for his threatening, they were not afraid of them, as they ſhould ſee ſo ſoon as it was day.

The thieves, contrary to their oaths, carried the holy man with them, crying in token of victory, Ollo! Ollo [2]! This diſmayed the Engliſhmen, fearing he would diſcover them: but although he was roughly treated, they could get nothing out of him; not ſo much as how many men were ſlain and wounded. Next morning the robbers ſeeing them prepared for defence, propoſed an agreement, but made a great demand. However, moſt of the company being unwilling to renew the fight, as having but little to loſe, the reſt were compelled to give them twenty ninths, or twenty times nine, ſeveral things, with a camel to carry them away: which the rovers having received, they departed, and the karawan went forward [3].

That night they came to the Oxus, where they ſtaid all next day, making merry with their ſlain horſes and camels: then departing, they for fear of meeting with the ſame, or other thieves again, left the high road along the river, and paſſed through a deſart of ſand. They travelled four days in the ſame, and then came to a well of very brackiſh water, being forced to kill their horſes and camels for food.

In this wilderneſs alſo, they had almoſt fallen into the hands of thieves: for one dark night being at reſt, there came certain ſcouts, and carried away ſome of their company, who lay a little ſeparated from the karawan; which cauſed a great outcry: the reſt immediately laded their camels, and departed, putting on very hard, till they came again to the Oxus; for then they feared nothing, as being fenced by the river. Thus having eſcaped this new danger, on the twenty-third they arrived at the city of Boghâr, in Baktria.

[1] Or, Moſlemans, properly Moſlems.
[2] Rather, Allah! Allah! that is God.
[3] Purchas Pilgr. p. 238.

Boghar

Boghar [1] is a city of great extent, inclosed with a high wall of earth. The caſtle, where the Khan reſides, takes up one-third of the town. This, and ſome other buildings, are of ſtone; the reſt of earth. The water of the little river that runs through the city, breeds worms in the legs. Strong liquors are prohibited. This ſtrictneſs is owing to the Metropolitan, who is more obeyed than the King, whom he depoſes at pleaſure; as he did one when Jenkinſon was there, ſlaying him in the night. The King has no great power, or riches. He exacts a tenth of all things ſold; and when he wants money, ſends his officers to take goods upon credit by force. Thus he acted to pay for nineteen pieces of kerſey, had of the author.

The country of Boghâr was formerly ſubject to the Perſians, whoſe language is there ſpoken: but the Tartars are continually in war with them, on account of ſome religious difference, and becauſe they will not ſhave the upper lip. They have no gold coin at Boghâr, and but one piece of ſilver, worth twelvepence; which the King raiſes and falls every other month, and ſometimes twice a month. Hence it is not ſo current as the copper money, called pooles, whereof an hundred go to the ſilver piece.

The twenty-ſixth of December he was ordered to appear before the King, to whom he preſented the Emperor of Ruſſia's letters. That Prince received the Engliſh very kindly, made them eat in his preſence, and often ſent for them in private; where he diſcourſed with them familiarly concerning the power of the Emperor and the Great Turk. He alſo enquired into the laws, religion, and ſtrength of England: made them ſhoot with their muſquets before him, and practiſed himſelf. But after all, the author ſays, he ſhewed himſelf a very Tartar; for that he went to the wars without paying what he owed him. He owns, indeed, that he left orders for the payment; but ſays, he was forced to abate part, and take goods for the reſt. Yet he muſt needs praiſe him, for that on their arrival at Boghâr, he ſent an hundred ſoldiers in queſt of the robbers, who had attacked the karawan. Theſe meeting with them, killed part, and brought back four priſoners; of whom two had been wounded by the Engliſh fire-arms. The King firſt ſent for Jenkinſon to ſee them, and then ordered them to be hanged at his palace gate, for an example to others, becauſe they were gentlemen: part alſo of the goods that were recovered were reſtored to him [2].

As to the trade of Boghâr, there is great reſort from Kathay, India, Perſia, Balgh [3], Ruſſia, and other countries: but the merchants are ſo poor, and bring ſo few wares, that there is no hope of any trade there worth following. While Jenkinſon was there, karawans arrived out of all the above-mentioned countries, except Kathay, with which the trade had been obſtructed for three years, by the wars betwixt two great countries and cities, called Taſkent and Kaſkar, that lie in the way, and certain neighbouring people. Thoſe at war with Taſkent, are Mohammedans, called Koſſaks: they in arms againſt Kaſkar, are called Kings, Gentiles, and Idolaters: which two nations are of great force, living in the fields, and have almoſt conquered thoſe cities.

Here the author got informations concerning Kathay [4], which was nine months' journey diſtant: but the ſeaſon for the departure of the karawans being come, and the town in danger of being beſieged, on a report that the King was defeated in battle, he was adviſed by the Metropolitan to depart. His intention was to have gone to Perſia, to pry into the trade thereof; although he had learned enough at Aſtrakhân and Boghâr, to perceive, that it was not much better than that among the Tartars, it lying chiefly in Syria and the Mediterranean Sea. But when he was ready to ſet forward, he was prevented by ſeveral conſiderations: for firſt, by the wars newly broken out between the

[1] Or, Bokhâra. [2] Purchas, as before, p. 239, et ſeq. [3] Balkh, or Balk.
[4] Among which thoſe of Johnſon, that follow in Green's work, doubtleſs make a part.

Sofi

Sofi and Tartar Kings, the roads were become unſafe, About ten days' journey from Boghâr, a karawan from India and Perſia was plundered by robbers, and many ſlain. Then the Metropolitan took from him the Emperor of Ruſſia's letters; for want of which he ſhould be made a ſlave where ever he came. Beſides, the goods he was obliged to take in payment of the King and his nobles were not vendible in Perſia. Theſe reaſons determined him to return to Ruſſia by the way he came [1].

The eighth of March 1559, the Engliſh left Boghâr, in company with a karawan of ſix hundred camels. And it was well they did, ſince, had they ſtaid, they had been in danger to have loſt both life and goods: for ten days after, the King of Samarkand came and beſieged the city, while the King was abſent, in the wars againſt another Prince, his kinſman, as happens frequently in thoſe parts: for it is a wonder if a King reign there above three or four years; which frequent revolutions prove very detrimental both to the country and merchants.

The twenty-fifth they arrived at Urjenz. In the way they eſcaped four hundred rovers, who lay in wait for them. Moſt of theſe were the kindred of thoſe they met with before, as they found by four ſpies who were taken. The author had in his charge two ambaſſadors, one ſent by the King of Boghâr, the other by him of Balk [2], to the Emperor of Ruſſia. Having ſtaid at this place and Sellizure eight days, for aſſembling their caravan, the ſecond of April they departed, with four more ambaſſadors, for the Ruſſian court, ſent from the King of Urjenz, and other Soltans, his brethren, with anſwer to the letters brought them by the author; who took an oath on the Goſpel, that they ſhould be well-uſed in Ruſſia and ſuffered to return in ſafety, conformable to what the Emperor had written in his letters: for they were in ſome doubt, becauſe none had been ſent for a long time before.

The twenty-third of April they got to the Caſpian Sea, where they found their bark, but neither anchor, cable, cock, nor ſail. However, as they brought hemp with them, they ſpun a cable, and other tackling, made a cotton ſail-cloth, and rigged the veſſel out as well as they could; but had neither boat nor anchor. While they were contriving to make an anchor of a cart wheel, there arrived a bark from Aſtrakân, which had two; whereof Jenkinſon procured one. Being thus equipped, he hoiſted the red flag of St. George, and departed. There were on board, beſides himſelf, and the two Johnſons, who ſerved for maſter and mariners. the ſix ambaſſadors, and twenty-five Ruſſians, who had been ſlaves a long time in Tartary, and ſerved to row, when requiſite.

Sailing ſometimes along the coaſt, ſometimes out of ſight of land, the thirteenth of May they came to an anchor, three leagues from ſhore: there in a ſtorm, which continued forty-four hours, their cable breaking, they loſt their anchor. As they were off a lee ſhore, and had no boat to help them, they hoiſted ſail, and bore clear of it, expecting every moment to be caſt away. At length they run into a creek full of ooze, and ſo ſaved themſelves, with their bark; for had that periſhed, they muſt have been deſtroyed, or made ſlaves of by the wild inhabitants. When the ſtorm was over, they put to ſea again; and having by their compaſs, and other marks, fixed the place where they loſt their anchor, returned, and found it, to the great ſurprize of the Tartars. Two days after, there aroſe another great ſtorm, at north-eaſt; by which being driven far to ſea, they had much-ado to keep their bark from ſinking. At length the weather

[1] Purchas Pilgr. p. 240.

[2] Before written Balgh.

 permitting

permitting them to take the latitude, and knowing how the land lay, they fell in with the river Yaik[1]. In ſhort, the twenty-eighth of May they arrived at Aſtrakân.

This Caſpian Sea is in length about two hundred leagues, one hundred and fifty broad: on the eaſt lies the great deſart land of the Turkmâns: on the weſt, the countries of the Chirkaſſes[2], and mountains of Caucaſus; the Euxine Sea is a hundred leagues diſtant. On the north is the river Wolga, and the land of Nogay; and to the ſouth, the countries of Media and Perſia. This ſea is freſh in many places, and in other places as ſalt as the ocean.

Although ſeveral large rivers fall into it, yet it has no way of diſcharging its waters, except under ground. Thoſe rivers are the Wolga, called by the Tartars, Edel[3]. It iſſues from a lake, not far from Novogrod in Ruſſia, and runs above two thouſand Engliſh miles[4]. Next are the Yâik and Yem, which riſe in Siberia: alſo the Cyrus[5] and Araſh[6], whoſe ſprings are in Caucaſus. But the few ſhips upon this ſea, the want of marts and port towns, the poverty of the people, and the ice, renders the trade good for nothing. Jenkinſon offering to exchange his wares with ſome merchants of Shamaki, they refuſed, ſaying they had them elſewhere as cheap as he could ſell them.

The tenth of June he left Aſtrakân, with the ambaſſadors, having an hundred gunners to eſcort them and him. The 28th of July they reached the city of Kazan[7], all the way through a country where they met with no habitations, or freſh proviſions. The ſeventh of Auguſt leaving Kazan, they tranſported their goods by water, as far as the city of Morum; and then by land to Moſkow, where they arrived the ſecond of September.

The fourth, Jenkinſon appeared before the Emperor, and having kiſſed his hand, preſented him with a white cow's tail of Katay, and a Tartarian drum. After this he produced the ambaſſadors, and the Ruſſian ſlaves. He dined that day in preſence of the Emperor, who ſent him meat from his table by a Duke, and aſked him ſeveral queſtions touching the countries where he had been. The ſeventeenth of February departing from Moſkow, with the Emperor's leave, he came the twenty-firſt to the factory at Vologda[8]: there he ſtaid till the twenty-fifth of March, when having ſeen the company's goods put on board their boats, he departed, and arrived the ninth of May, 1560, at Kolmogro[9]; where his journals break off.

The latitudes of the principal places:

| | Degrees. | Minutes. |
|---|---|---|
| Akrakhân - - - - | 47 | 09 |
| Entrance into the Caſpian Sea - | 46 | 27 |
| Manguſlave in Turkmân - - | 45 | 00 |
| Urjenz twenty ſtages diſtant - | 42 | 18 |
| Boghâr twenty days farther - | 39 | 10 |

[1] Before written Jaik: it may be pronounced both ways. [2] Cherkas, as commonly written. [3] Adil, or Atel. [4] Purchas Pilgr. p. 241. [5] Or. Kûr. [6] or Arras. [7] In fifty-five degrees, thirty-three minutes latitude. [8] Or, Wologda, as others write it. [9] Purchas, as before, p. 242.

GASPARO

# *GASPARO BALBI'S VOYAGE TO PEGU,*

AND

## OBSERVATIONS THERE GATHERED FROM HIS OWN ITALIAN RELATION*.

ANNO 1579, on the 13th of December, Gaſparo Balbi, a jeweller of Venice, travelled with the caravan from Aleppo towards Bagdet and the Eaſt Indies: the firſt day came to Bebbe, the ſecond to Saguir, the third to Bir, or Albir, on the bank of the Euphrates on the left hand, and there embarked their goods for Felugia. They ſtaid till the 11th of January in cold and ſnow to expect five other barks. Theſe barks of Albir are double keeled or bottomed, to prevent harm. On the 12th they came, to Tellevini, much afflicted with wind, ſnow, and cold. Thence to Matao Lantache on the right hand: and ſo on to Calatelnegiur, an uninhabited caſtle, to Zoxeniafir, to Miſerafi, to Blis (many dangerous ſhelves and trunks of trees are in that day's way) to Meliolzura, to Chalagiabar, to Elaman, to Sureich, to Raccha, to Elamora, to Aman, to Avagia Abulena, to Caſabi, to Celibi, the ruinous caſtle Zelebe, and the ſame day half an hour together under mountainous, beetle-browed overlookers threatening to fall on them, many ſtones whereof lying fallen in the water made it more dreadful, (the mountain is called Eltoreftrouil,) and the next day came to two falls or precipices, cauſed by the ſtones carried thither from that overhanging hill's ruins, ſo heightening the water, that the fall was ten cubits, every one there making his prayer for a good voyage. At night they came to Elder on the right hand of the river, anciently called Port of the Chaine, in which was a Turkiſh Saniak and Cadi, goodly men, and fairer women than in the reſt of thoſe ports. Thence to Muacheſir, to Elpiſara, the river Cabur falling into Euphrates (coming from Merdin) of a reddiſh colour, to Rahabi, to Zoxoſuldan, to Siara, to Gorur, and then under a mountain hollowed by the courſe of the water, callad Carteron, menacing a downfall upon us, made the more fearful by a threefold fiſſure, and manifold ruins of ſtones; which paſſed, in a quarter of an hour they came to Sora, a caſtle near to a great ruined city uninhabited, on the left hand, ſeeming to them greater than Cairo; the mariners affirmed that they had heard their progenitors tell that there had been in it 366 gates; it is called Eleſi; and rowing down the ſtream with four oars from morning to noon, we hardly paſſed beyond one ſide thereof. Thence to Ankarg another ruined city, with many mills, whereby it appeareth that Euphrates hath now a larger channel than in thoſe times. Next was Chaime, and near it an engine to throw into a channel to water the fields: to Sema, to Carpilchelbi, to Fochelcurmi, to Edir, to Rechtâlmel, to Zafara, beyond which are ſtraight paſſages, and a ſepulchre which they held in veneration, and each mariner threw in a biſcuit ſuperſtitiouſly to prevent ſhipwreck: to Eleuzi, to Elmeſtana, to Caſtle Anna, near to which in Diana, Arboriſe an Arabian lord liveth; to the iſle Anatelbes; after dangerous paſſages to Beggian, another iſle full of date trees, to Cabin, to Sberie, to Zouia, to Giera, Germa, Benexi, Duletgidit, then to two iſlands nameleſs, being newly made by the river, to Zibida, Vraſa, Fuſchelbera, Abuſabur, Aditi, in which an Arabic Saniak keepeth; to Zezirnabus, to Giubau, (reſidence of a Saniak), to Nauſa, to Eit, near to which is a boiling fountain of pitch, wherewith the inhabitants build their houſes, daubing it on boughs cut from trees, ſo that they may ſeem rather of pitch than wood, every one taking what pleaſeth him freely; and if the overflowing Euphrates ſhould not carry away the pitch thrown into the field where it ariſeth, they

* Purchas ii. 1722.



ſay

ſay there would be hills raiſed by it. Againſt the forcible ſtream of the river is no rowing, or ſo difficult that a boat in Bir coſting five and twenty ducats in Eit or Felugia is not worth above five. Following their voyage they came to Caraguol, the inhabitants whereof ſpeak Arabic, Turkiſh, and Perſian. To water their fields they uſe abundance of ſkin bottles (faſtened to a chain with cords) drawn up by oxen in a mill as in the water houſe at London) which empty themſelves into water paſſages. Theſe men's religion is reputed a gallimaufrey or hereſy. On the 21ſt of February they arrived at Felugia. On the 24th at ſun-riſe they paſſed a bridge over a ſtream which runneth when the water is high from Euphrates to Tigris, and came at noon to the ruins of a city called Sendia, and then half an hour after to the beginning of Old Babylon, and going along by the ſame, at night came to Nareiſa, midway from Felugia to Bagdet; a place perilous for robbers and lions. Before ſun-riſe next day we travelled again along thoſe ruins, leaving them on the left hand, ſeeing pieces of great walls ruined, and one piece of the great tower of Babylon, till coming to Maſcadon they ſaw the towers of Bagdet or New Babylon. From Felugia thither the ſoil ſeems good, yet neither is there tree or green graſs, houſe, or caſtle: but muſh-rooms ſo good that the Moors eat them raw. They were forty-nine days from Bir to Bagdet by reaſon of the winter.

The 13th of March 1580, they departed from Bagdet towards Balſara, embarked in the Tigris, a river ſeeming like Nilus, not ſo endangered with ſhelves and bodies of trees as Euphrates. At Elmaca the river divided into two, one running after into Euphrates, the other to Balſara. The inhabitants on the right hand are Arabs, on the left Gurgi. On the 18th they came to Cher. There are many lions and Arab thieves. There are alſo many keepers of oxen, ſheep, and goats. Thence to Encaſerami, where each mariner caſt in a biſcuit for devotion to a holy man there buried. Hitherto both in Euphrates and Tigris they had good air; but there they began to have an ill ſcent of the river, very noiſome, and they were in the night endangered with a kind of whirlpool, and were fain to call to their conſorts which towed them out. The next day they came to Caſale, a Saniak's reſidence, where the Perſian river Maroan diſembogueth. Here the tide was firſt encountered from the Perſian Gulf. A little beyond at Calaetel they faſten their barks when the tide riſeth which otherwiſe could force them back. The champaigns are well inhabited. They entered Corns, and a little beyond encountered a piece of Euphrates joining with Tigris, where abide many ſoldiers with a Saniak to prevent thieves, which by hundreds in a company uſed to rob. Here the river (which in ſome places had been like Brent) was as large as Nilus, and well inhabited. At certain times it is here ſo hot that many die thereof: and in this voyage four perſons wearied with heat and travel ſat down to refreſh themſelves awhile, and were overcome by a hot wind which ſtrangled all four. On the 21ſt they arrived at Balſara.

The author's voyage from Balſara to Ormus, Diu, Goa, Cochin, Cananor, Seilan, Negapatan, I omit, and will firſt welcome him to St. Thome.

On the 29th of May 1582, in the name of Chriſt we ſet ſail, directing our prow towards the north to avoid certain ſhelves which are very perilous; we ſaw many fiſhers, which took great ſtore of fiſh, which they eat with rice. All that night we ſailed with a ſouth wind northerly. About three o'clock the next morning we came to a place called the Seven Pagods, upon which are eight pleaſant hillocks, not very high, which are ſeven leagues from St. Thomas, right over againſt it, where we arrived about noon the 30th of May, ſaluting it with three pieces of ordnance. The city of St. Thomas is ſo called of the reliques of that ſaint, which are kept here with great veneration: it

is ſituated in thirteen degrees,and a third part. The front is towards the weſt, very ſtrong by reaſon of the block-houſes, which are upon the port, along towards the ſea; this port is ſo low that elephants cannot enter in at it, for the horſes enter with not a little trouble. There are three churches: one very fair of St. Thomas, which is well ſerved with prieſts; the chief of them is a vicar (for ſo they call him) who was ſent thither by the archbiſhop of Goa. There is another of St. Francis, very well ſerved with capuchins, and another of St. John the Baptiſt, where the fathers of St. Paul of the company of Jeſus are in continual prayer: to build this they had not ſo many tranſomes as were ſufficient, when miraculouſly a great piece of timber was caſt up by the ſea, which ſeemed to be made by the line and meaſure of that church. I was here when this piece of timber was caſt up; for one day going to maſs to the church of our Lady I ſaw a great concourſe of people running to the ſea-ſide, and I went alſo to ſee what was the matter, and ſaw this piece of timber caſt upon the ſhore. Then the church of St. John the Baptiſt was finiſhed, but becauſe they wanted tranſomes to make the roof they covered it with ſtraw. This was held for a great miracle, that ſo great a piece of timber ſhould be caſt up by the ſea; the point lay towards the quire of the church. Moreover when they ſawed this piece of wood, they perceived in the outſide of it, as alſo within it, a ſtink of caſe, ſo that they could not come near it: whereupon they judged that it was cauſed by the abundance of water wherewith it was involved in the ſea, and that it came from ſome far country. But after a while they ſet it on end; and now it is ſo hard that the Portugueze make uſe of it. The aforeſaid Fathers of St. Paul have another church in the city dedicated to our Lady, where they baptize the Gentiles, and exhort and inſtruct them in matters of faith. There is another church called our Lady of Light which is ſerved by St. Thomas's prieſts; but it is three miles out of the town. There is alſo another called our Lady of the Mount, and another of the Croſs; here is alſo the church of mercy: out of the town there is one of St Lazarus, and many others well ſerved. St. Thomas is as fair a city as any I ſaw in that country, and the houſes join one to the other ſo as to be able to ſuccour one another. Without the city of St. Thomas is another city environed with walls made of earth, and inhabited with Gentile ſoldiers, whoſe chieftain is called Adicario, who hath power to execute juſtice. They obſerve the cuſtom to burn their dead in this city, as at Negapatan; but near to this is a city called La Caſta de gli Orefici, Goldſmith's Row; they have a cuſtom when the huſband is dead, to make a pit in the earth, and there to place the dead corpſe croſſed legged; and on the other ſide ſet his living wife in the ſame manner, and their kindred caſt earth upon her, preſſing her down that ſhe may die alſo; and when they wive they marry with their compeers, as a carpenter takes the daughter of a carpenter, and ſo of others. The aforeſaid inhabitants worſhip ſometimes the figure of a cow, and at other times of a ſerpent called Bittia di Capelli, whoſe bite is deadly, and it hath one part of the fleſh from the middle inverted towards the head.

The Bramins are wont to burn cow's excrements, and with the aſhes for devotion meeting with the Gentiles, to daub their forehead and noſe; who ſo painted, waſh not that day for devotion of the cow. The men which are devoted to the pagod or ſtatue, after they have lived a whole year after their will in carnal pleaſures, are wont to take a bow and arrow and ſhoot their own fleſh aloft in the air, which they ſlaſh off in morſels, and when they can continue no longer in this manner, they cut their own throats, thus ſacrificing their body to the pagod. There are ſome alſo which are called Amocchi, who are a kind of people called Chiavi, and are not of thoſe Gentiles of St. Thomas, but of the coaſt of Chiava, who being weary of living, ſet themſelves in the way with a weapon in their hands, which they call a creaſe, and kill as many as they meet

meet with, till ſomebody killeth them; and this they do for the leaſt anger they conceive, as deſperate men. Theſe Gentiles are very different in their adoration, for ſome worſhip the image of a man, ſome of a cow, others of ſerpents; others the ſun or moon; ſome a tree, or the water, and other things. They are accuſtomed to celebrate many feaſts; but in the month of September I ſaw one: the people planted a tree in the ground like the maſt of a ſhip, with the main yard acroſs, upon which main yard were two hooks faſtened; and there are many which deſire to free themſelves from trouble or miſery, who make a vow to the pagod, to hook or ganch themſelves; and for this there are ſome appointed that ſtand there, who ſeeing any one that will ganch themſelves for devotion, they firſt make an offering, and then they looſen a cord and let down the hooks, and with them they faſten the ſhoulders of him that will hook himſelf, and then they hoiſt him up aloft, making him turn his face to the pagod and ſalute it three times with his hands in a ſuppliant manner before his breaſt, and make him play with a weapon which he carrieth in his hands while he is drawing up: and after awhile they let him down and colour the tree with his blood, ſaying they do it in reverence to the pagod; and then they let him down and put a rope through the holes which the hooks had made, and faſtening that cord to the pagod they draw him by little and little to the ſtatue by that cord; then the women of the pagod conduct him to the ſtatue to reverence it, and after this they take care to heal him if they can. And this they do by a vow or promiſe to the pagod to obtain any thing, or in ſickneſs to recover health. They have another feaſt by night which laſteth eight nights, in a long ſtreet of the city full of lights on both ſides, and three or four perſons take one another by the hands, who have on their arms certain baſkets of viands made of rice and milk, and then they run and caſt that meat behind them, which they ſay the devil eats who runs behind them, and while they are in this motion they never look behind them, for they ſay if they do, they ſhall ſuddenly die: and this is ſufficient reſpecting the mad cuſtoms of this country.

On the 13th of September 1583, in the name of Jeſus Chriſt, after we had laded our merchandize and paid our cuſtoms, we went aſhipboard; and having ſailed until the 23d of this month, we found ourſelves near to Maccareo: it is very ſtrange what is reported of the ebbings and flowings of the water, and certainly he who hath not ſeen them will ſcarcely believe them: certain pilots go from Martovan, as ſwift as an arrow in the increaſing of the water, as long as the flood laſteth, and the tide being at the height they turn out of the channel and there ride; when the water is fallen on dry land; and the bore or tide comes as ſome great tree: and in ſuch a time they oppoſe the prow againſt, and ſo expect the fury of the water, which reſembleth the noiſe of a great earthquake; ſo that maugre their ſtrength and ſkill the bark is waſhed from head to ſtern, and with that violence is carried ſwiftly into the channel. After that the wind blew from the the ſouth-weſt, and we ſailed to the north-weſt till the morning, when we found ourſelves at Bara, right over Negrais, (they call ſo in their language the haven which goeth into Pegu,) where we diſcovered on the left ſide of the river a pagod, or varella, all gilded over, which is ſeen afar off by the veſſels that come from the main, and eſpecially when the ſun ſhines, which makes it gliſter round about as far as it is ſeen. And becauſe the rain waſheth it often and conſumeth the gold, the men of that place often regild it, that the ſhips by the ſplendor thereof may have this benefit to know the haven: and they do it for devotion and reverence to the place. We then all rejoiced at that time and made merry; becauſed we conſidered, that if we had arrived there four or five days later we could not have entered the haven by reaſon of the continual winds which blow there with great fury. Then caſting anchor to expect the flood, ſo as to ſhun ſome rocks which are under the water;

water; we ſaw a place very curiouſly adorned with bowers and a church (where the talipois reſide, which are there as the friars with us,) where the people of this country aſſemble to pray. It is reported, that in this place there are abundance of tigers which devour the men and beaſts of the country. On the 24th of September there came a little bark near us, called a ſalangara, whereby the captain of our ſhip ſent a Portugueze with a preſent to the King, to give him notice of our arrival, and the evening following we drew near to the Iſland of Flies, ſo called of the multitudes of them, there cauſed from the abundance of fiſh there ſalted, wherewith alſo we furniſhed our ſhip. In the mean time the ſhip went to Coſmi, the lord of the country, who ſent twenty boats with eight oars a-piece, and a royal almadie, which is a certain long bark rowed with many oars and it began to put forth, and two days after the lord of Coſmi came together with the ſhip, who preſented our Mooriſh captain with great fair hens of a very good taſte, and many oranges, which grow in great quantity in the country. The ſaid lord was rowed in a bark made very fantaſtically; it was of the length of a foiſt, but ſo narrow that in the middle it ſeemed not to be above one pace over; at the head and ſtern it was as narrow as our gondolos; but it was very high, and there were more than a hundred rowers, which row at the ſide with a hundred oars like ſticks, and they did obſerve in their rowing to draw the water towards them all together by reaſon of four trumpeters which found when they ſhould row, and ſit in the middle of the bark; the Signior was in a high cabin made in the middle of the boat, covered after the manner of the middle part of a gondolo, but greater, with a part before to ſhut and open as he pleaſeth.

Now the 5th of October we came to Coſmi, whoſe territories on both ſides are woody and frequented with parrots, tigers, wild boars, apes, and ſuch like creatures. Coſmi is ſeated in ſixteen degrees and a third part, and hath the houſes made of great Indian canes, and covered with ſtraw, fronted towards the north-eaſt, ſituate in a very fine place, but ſubject to the ravening of tigers, which often enter into the town and catch men and beaſts, and devour them; but this they do in the night, for they abide in the woods all day.

We departed from Coſmi the 26th of October, with a little paro, that is to ſay, a voyage bark, having committed our merchandize to the guardian of the great paro, and ſailing down the river, at evening we arrived at a village on the left hand of the river called Pain Perlon; and about three o'clock the next morning at Marma Mala, and about the evening before a great city on the left hand of the river called Jaccubel; and an hour after at another on the right ſide called Tegiatden. The morning following we came to a place called Balatin, where they make pots and jars of excellent fine earth, and a little after we ſaw Dian, a fertile country, plentiful in timber both for houſes, ſhips, and barks, where they have certain veſſels like galeaſſes, which have on both ſides from head to ſtern cabins with divers merchandizes, and in the middle, inſtead of the maſt, there is a houſe like ours, ſo that within them they traffic for ſtore of muſk, benjamin, and divers jewels. On the twenty-ninth day we ſaw the land of Bedogiamana, Lagapala, and Purdabui, and the evening we came to a great country called Gungiebui, where we tarried with great fear of being aſſaulted by thieves, who under the ſhew of friendſhip betray diſperſed paſſengers; and in like manner we avoided the danger of the multitude of tigers, which in theſe parts attack men, and deſtroy as many as they can get. For this cauſe we ſtrengthened ourſelves in the middle of the river; yet they report that the fierceneſs of this creature is ſuch that he will prey in the water. The day following we went in a narrow river like our Brent by Padua, which is ſhaded with palm-trees that grow in great abundance on both ſides of the river: there is the great city of Coilan, which is a league long on each ſide, which being a perfect ſquare make

twelve of our miles. After that we came by another city, called Tuvaguedan, where are many pagods and ſtatues; and at evening we arrived at Leungou, a very fair city, ſeated in a pleaſant territory, repleniſhed with palm-trees: parting from thence after we had ſeen many buildings on both ſides of the river, about morning we came to a great populous city called Silvanſedi, and at evening before another called Moggio, where were infinite ſtore of great and ſmall veſſels, all covered from head to ſtern with ſtraw, within which are the families of one houſe, ſo that they ſerve for convenient habitations; they uſe to drink in them hot waters made of rice as ſtrong as our aqua vitæ; theſe barks ſell freſh fiſh and ſalted, and dreſſed in divers faſhions, and other ſorts of proviſion; ſo that along that river to the mouth of the ſea, which is freſh water, they may ſail without carrying any victuals, but only money to ſpend. The 2d of November we came to the city of Dala, where, beſides other things, are ten large rooms full of elephants, which are kept there by divers ſervants of the King of Pegu. The day following we came to the fair city of Dogon; it is finely ſeated, and fronted towards the ſouth-weſt, and where they land are twenty long ſteps, as from the pillar of St. Mark to the Straw-bridge, the matter of them is ſtrong and great pieces of timber, and there are great currents of water both at ebb and flood, becauſe it is a place near Maccareo, which entereth and goeth out of the mouth of the Sirian, which is a ſea-port; and always when the water increaſeth they go upon the ſtairs; when it is ebb it diſcovers all around, and makes it a great way dry land. On both ſides of the river, at the end of the bank, or at the ſtairs is a wooden tiger, very great, and painted after the natural colour of a tiger; and there are two others in the midſt of the ſtairs, ſo far one from another that they ſeem to ſhare the ſtairs equally. They ſtand with open mouth, ſhewing their teeth and tongue, with their claws lifted up and ſtretched forth, prepared to aſſail him that looks on them. Concerning theſe they told me a fooliſh belief which they have, that they ſtand there to guard, for if any ſhould be ſo bold as to diſpleaſe the pagod, thoſe tigers ſhould defend him, for he would give them life. After we were landed we began to go on the right hand in a large ſtreet about fifty paces broad, in which we ſaw wooden houſes gilded, and adorned with delicate gardens after their cuſtom, wherein their talapois, which are friars, dwell, and look to the pagod, or varella of Dogon. The left ſide is furniſhed with portals and ſhops, very like the new Procuratia at Venice; and by this ſtreet they go towards the varella, for the ſpace of a good mile ſtraight forwards, either under penthouſes or in the open ſtreet, which is free to walk in. When we came to the varella, we found a pair of ſtairs of ninety ſteps, as long in my judgment as the channel of the Rialto at Venice. At the foot of the firſt ſtair are two tigers, one at the right hand and the other at the left; theſe are of ſtone, and ſtand in the ſame faſhion they do on the ſhore ſide. The ſtairs are divided into three; the firſt is forty ſteps, the ſecond thirty, and the third twenty, and at the top of each of them is a plain ſpacious place. On the laſt ſtep are angels of ſtone, each with three crowns one upon the other; but ſo, that that which is the greateſt, and that which is next leſſer, yet greater than the uppermoſt, which is the leaſt. They have the right hand lifted up, ready to give the benediction, with two fingers ſtretched out. The other hand of the one is laid upon the head of a child, and of the other upon the head of an ape; theſe ſtatutes are all of ſtone. At the right hand is a varella, gilded in a round form, made of ſtone, and as much in compaſs as the ſtreet before the Venetian palace, if it were round; and the height may equal St. Mark's bell-tower, not the top of it, but the little pinnacles. At the left hand is a fair hall carved and gilded within and without; and this is the place of devotion, whither the people go to hear the talapois preach: the ſtreet is greater than St. Mark's, at leaſt larger; and this is

a place

hand, when a governor or other officer returns from his command, which he never does but by expreſs order of the court, he waits without at the gate of the palace, and gives notice by ſome of his friends of his arrival, and that he begs to throw himſelf at His Imperial Majeſty's feet; whereupon orders are uſually given for his admittance; but ſometimes, if the perſon has miſbehaved in his poſt, inſtead of an anſwer in the ordinary ſtyle, orders are iſſued to take off his head.

6. The Perſians are naturally a brave people, but the ſloth and inactivity of their Princes had of late rendered them not ſo formidable as they uſed to be. In the laſt century, under Abbas the Great, they made conſiderable conqueſts on the ſide of Turkey, as well as India, though their troops were always much inferior in number to the armies either of the Grand Signior or Great Mogul; but they ſunk in our time ſo much below what they were in that reign, that every little Tartar and Arabian Prince inſulted their frontiers, and robbed them of ſome part of their territories, before the late Shah Nadir aſſumed the government.

The forces of Perſia are divided into the troops of the ſtate and the Shah's. The troops of the ſtate are entertained by the governors of the reſpective provinces, and paid out of certain lands appropriated for that purpoſe, and are divided into militia and regular troops. The regular troops are called courtchis; they were originally of Tartary, a ſtout hardy race of people who lived in tents. Theſe are the ſoldiers which are properly called Cooſelbaſhes, or Red-heads, ſo ſtyled when they came to the aſſiſtance of Cheic Sefi, the founder of the late Imperial family; for which ſervice he allowed them the honour of wearing red caps or turbans, of a particular form, like that he wore himſelf. Theſe cooſelbaſhes remained in their tents, as well in time of peace as war; and employed themſelves in feeding, buying and ſelling of cattle, from whence they were called courtchis, or ſhepherds.

The ſervice they did to Cheic Sefi, and their zeal for the religion of the Imans, procured them great reſpect, and they poſſeſſed the chief poſts both in the court and army; and from theſe the Perſian ſoldiery, and afterwards all the Perſians in general, obtained the appellation of cooſelbaſhes, a name formidable to the Indians, Turks, and Tartars in the laſt age; and it was by this generation that the Turkiſh language was introduced into the court of Perſia, and the northern parts of that kingdom, where they ſpeak it much more than the Perſian. The cooſelbaſhes held the firſt rank in the kingdom till the reign of Abbas the Great, who endeavoured to ſuppreſs them upon account of the unreaſonable influence he obſerved they had in all affairs of ſtate, depoſing and ſetting up what princes they thought fit, like the Turkiſh janizaries. He was ſo jealous of his own ſon, on account of the reſpect he had obſerved they paid him, that he cauſed him to be put to death, and diſperſed the cooſelbaſhes in ſmall detachments through all the the provinces of the empire. Theſe troops ſerve on horſeback, carrying a bow and arrows, a ſword, poniard, and lance, with a hatchet at the ſaddle-ſkirts; and for defenſive arms have a ſhield and helmet; they are commanded always by their own officers, and their general is called Courchibathi, or commander of the courtchis.

Both the courtchis and militia have their pay out of the lands of the ſtate of the reſpective provinces, and enjoy it as their inheritance, from father to ſon, if they do not refuſe to bear arms: they are obliged to march to the place of rendezvous on twelve hours' notice, and every year paſs in review before a commiſſary ſent from court, or before the governor of the province.

7. The troops of the Shah are two bodies, which Abbas the Great inſtituted. One conſiſts of twelve thouſand men, and are called the muſketeers, becauſe inſtead of bows and arrows they carry muſkets, and though they march on horſeback, yet like our

dragoons they fight on foot. Shah Abbas uſed to oppoſe them to the Turkiſh janizaries, of whom he had obſerved the enemy made great advantage in their engagements with him. Before this time neither foot-ſoldier or fire-arms were ever heard of in Perſia, and their neighbours the Tartars have no foot among them to this day. The other body conſiſted of ten thouſand horſe; theſe were called coulars, and carried fire-arms alſo inſtead of bows. They were called coulars or ſlaves, to ſignify their devotion to their ſovereign; or as ſome ſay, becauſe they come from thoſe countries from whence the Perſians had their ſlaves, as Georgia, Circaſſia, &c. Part of them are ſent as preſents to the Shah when they are young; and the reſt are deſcended from the people of thoſe countries, who are ſettled in Perſia. They almoſt all profeſs the Mahometan religion, though deſcended from Chriſtian parents. Abbas the Great had a particular affection for this body, and uſed to call them his horſe janizaries. They are tall and well-made fellows, in whoſe courage and fidelity the Shah has a particular confidence; for as they ſcarce know the country or relations from whence they ſprang, and can have no other views, than to recommend themſelves to their maſter by their ſervices, they are entirely devoted to the Crown, and obey every order without heſitation; and from among theſe, the court uſually prefers men to the higheſt poſts; ſo that conſidering the number of Georgian women which are married into Perſia, and the poſts the men who derive themſelves from thence poſſeſs, the Perſian court may, one half of them, probably be of Georgian extraction.

It is obſerved, that in Perſia, as well as India, the word ſlave is an honourable title, and preferable to that of ſubject: nay, a certain French author tells us, that the word Koulam Shah, or King's ſlave, is equal to that of Marquis in France; becauſe all that have that denomination are ſure to be preferred to ſome poſt if they behave well. Beſides theſe there are two other ſmall bodies, the one called Sophis or Sephis, inſtituted for a guard to the King's perſon by Cheik Sefi; theſe are not above two hundred men, and wear the Sophi's cap on their heads, and for their arms have a ſabre, a poniard, and an axe, which they carry on their ſhoulders. The ſecond, called the Ziezari, or the ſix hundred, who are all of the ſize of grenadiers, ſtout young fellows, inſtituted by Abbas the Second for a guard to his perſon, anno 1654. The monarchs of Perſia before that time had no guards in the palace, or when they went abroad, for the ſephis only ſerved to make a ſhow at feſtivals and on public occaſions; they wear long red caps of the form of a ſugar-loaf, and their arms are a muſket, ſabre, and poniard, which are adorned with ſilver, and exceeding fine; they are under the command of the general of the muſketeers, and a ſmall party of them do duty at the palace gates.

All the the troops of Perſia are comprehended under theſe two names of courtchis and coulars, that is, ſhepherds or ſlaves, by which they underſtand the ſoldiers of the old or new eſtabliſhment. The Shah finds all the troops with horſes, arms, and accoutrements; but every man provides himſelf with clothes according to his fancy, the ſoldiers having no particular livery, any more than the ſervants of the King's houſehold, or of any great man. There was in the reign of Abbas the Great a body of twelve thouſand men, that belonged to the artillery, but they were diſcharged in the reign of Abbas the Second, and the Perſians had no artillery, unleſs ſome uſeleſs guns in the front of the palace at Iſpahan, and in ſome other great towns, which are more for ſhow than ſervice, till they were new diſciplined of late years by Shah Nadir.

8. Their armies were never large, conſidering the extent of the empire: Abbas the Great, who made ſuch conſiderable conqueſts, had never more than a hundred and twenty thouſand men in his ſervice in all the provinces; and the ſoldiers have been ſo

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ill paid in the late reigns, that they have deſerted, and gone into foreign ſervice, or applied themſelves to other employments, which the courtiers winked at, putting their pay in their pockets, and never filling up their places. The Perſian troops not being troubled with artillery or baggage, make prodigious ſwift marches, and fall upon an enemy frequently in his camp or quarters, with incredible fury, when he leaſt ſuſpects ſuch a viſit. At other times they cut off his proviſions, and turn the waters from their uſual courſe; and having ſufficiently haraſſed him in a long march through a deſert country, when he is fatigued and diſpirited, fall upon him. When an enemy makes head againſt them they will fly till they have drawn him into ſome diſadvantageous ground, and then return to the charge again.

In their retreat, as has been obſerved, they ſhoot more arrows than when they advance; as hiſtory acquaints us was the practice of the ancient Parthians. The Perſians never throw up any intrenchments about their camps, their fortification is ſome mountain or difficult paſs; but in ſieges they intrench, and uſually take a place by undermining it; and, it is thought, that no people underſtand mining and ſubterraneous works better than the Perſians. It was thus they took Erivan, the capital of Armenia, from the Turks the laſt time. This city, in a very ſhort ſpace, found almoſt every part of it undermined; but as the Perſians do not trouble themſelves with artillery, ſo neither have they any bread-waggons or ſutlers amongſt them, and yet their camp is generally as well ſupplied as a camp need to be, the country people continually following them with proviſions. Indeed, as rice and fruit is almoſt all they want, it can be no difficult matter to ſupply ſuch ſmall bodies as take the field in Perſia, eſpecially as they are perpetually in motion, and ſeldom ſtay long in a camp.

When they are apprehenſive of an invaſion, their conſtant method is to withdraw all the people on the frontiers, and deſtroy the country in ſuch a manner as the enemy may find nothing to ſubſiſt on, not leaving ſo much as a ſpire of graſs, or a tree upon the ground; but they give the huſbandmen time to ſecure their grain, fruits, and forage, by burying them, with moſt part of their utenſils, in deep pits, which they will do in ſuch a manner that it is almoſt impoſſible to diſcover them; and as the earth is very dry, they receive no manner of damage. The army having thus deſtroyed the country for eight days' journey together, they encamp near it in ſeparate bodies, and as they ſee occaſion, fall upon the enemy and diſtreſs him in his march; ſometimes they fall upon one quarter of his camp and ſometimes on another, in the night-time; and if they cannot by this means put a ſtop to his march, they retire farther into the country, driving the people ſtill before them, and deſtroying every thing as before; and by theſe means they have defeated the greateſt Turkiſh armies.

When the enemy are retired every man returns to his lands again. As for the houſes, thoſe of the common people are no great loſs, they are ſoon run up with clay or ſuch materials as they find upon the place. The Perſians are ſaid to found their conduct upon this dilemma; either the enemy will invade us with great numbers, or but few; if he brings great numbers, conſidering the extent of deſert ground he muſt march over, it is impoſſible he ſhould ſubſiſt; if their numbers are but ſmall, we ſhall haraſs them in their march till they come to nothing, without running the hazard of a battle.

9. The Perſians are excellent markſmen, as well with their fire-arms, as their bows and arrows. Their colours are made of rich ſilks, in much the ſame manner as our horſe ſtandards; for a device they write ſome paſſage of the Alcoran, or part of their confeſſion of faith, and ſometimes have a lion, with the ſun riſing over his back, wrought in them. The great ſtandard-bearer, whom they call Alemdar Baſſa, is one of their

principal military officers. The management of the ſoldiers' pay is much commended, becauſe they do not ſuffer it to paſs through their officers' hands, but every man receives it of the farmers of ſuch lands as are appropriated for that purpoſe; the officer's pay is very good; the general of the muſketeers, and the general of the coulars, have each of them above three thouſand pounds a year; and as the lands aſſigned for the payment of it are valued mighty low, it is thought to amount to four times as much.

In time of peace they uſually keep a body of ſix or ſeven thouſand men in Chaldea towards Babylon, to prevent the incurſions of the roving Arabs. The governor of Armenia has about five thouſand men under his command, and the governor of Georgia a like number. In Choraſan they have uſually eight thouſand men to bridle the Uſbeck Tartars, and ſuch another body in the province of Candahar, towards India, and theſe troops being the out-guards of the empire, and almoſt in conſtant action, were eſteemed pretty good; but as for the reſt, who are cantoned in the inland country, they enjoyed ſo long a peace, that even travellers obſerve, they had not the air of ſoldiers.

In thoſe parts of the country where they have ſea for a boundary, they keep ſcarce any troops, inſomuch, that in Gilan and Mazanderan, which lie on the Caſpian Sea, the Coſſacs have landed ſmall parties. and plundered the country for ſeveral days together; and here the Muſcovites very lately fixed themſelves with very little oppoſition, though it be one of the richeſt and moſt fertile countries in the empire. The Perſian generals are perplexed with nothing ſo much as the ſtupid conduct of the court, in attending to the predictions of their aſtrologers. Theſe men are ever averſe to war, becauſe they are obliged to take the field with the Prince, and therefore ſeldom fail to pronounce it unlucky to enter into one on any conſideration whatever; and if ever they are brought to approve of a war, they muſt prognoſticate the lucky minute when to encamp, and when to march, &c. So that the generals loſe the great advantages which might be made ſometimes, by waiting till they conſult the ſtars. The favourite women, and the eunuchs are no leſs averſe to war than the aſtrologers; for in loſing their Prince they loſe their all, and, therefore, they conſtanly fall in with the aſtrologers, to divert their lord from every enterprize which carries a face of danger.

All this muſt be underſtood of the old line of which Thamas the ſon of Huſſein, depoſed by Mer-Weys, and afterwards reſtored, depoſed again, and at laſt put to death by Thamas Kuli Kan, or with his privity, who thereupon aſſumed the title of Shah Nadir, was the laſt. It is a thing ſurpriſing that, conſidering the great extent of coaſt which they have upon the Perſian Gulph and the ocean on the ſouth, and the number of their provinces bordering upon the Caſpian Sea, they ſhould never think in earneſt, or to ſpeak with the greater propriety, ſhould never think at all of raiſing a naval force, which if they had done, would have rendered them ſecure at home and reſpected abroad.

The only reaſon that can be aſſigned for this is, their neglect of trade, which defect in their conſtitution, if the ingenious reader will attentively conſider, he will without difficulty diſcover, that it is the ſole ſource of the frequent troubles, rebellions, and revolutions, which have ſo often brought the Perſian government to the brink of ruin. This will be the more obvious to the reader, when we come to ſtate the nature of property among the Perſians, from whence it will appear, that the landed intereſt in that country is tolerably ſecured; but as the like proviſion is not made for the monied intereſt, people do not turn themſelves ſufficiently to thoſe methods of ſubſiſtence that would make the government eaſy, and themſelves happy.

10. The lands of Perſia are either ſuch as are cultivated, or ſuch as are uncultivated, and uninhabited, of which the latter are ten to one more than the former. The lands in occupation

occupation are of four kinds; the lands of the ſtate, the Shah's demeſne lands, the lands of the church, and laſtly, thoſe belonging to private men. The lands of the ſtate contain much the greater part of what is cultivated, and are in the poſſeſſion of the governors of the reſpective provinces, who out of them take their own revenue, and aſſign the reſt for the payment of their officers, and the troops they are obliged to maintain; for every ſoldier has his pay aſſigned him upon ſome village or farm, in the ſame manner as in Sweden. The demeſne lands are the Shah's particular eſtate, out of which are paid the officers of the houſhold, and the troops he maintains over and above thoſe which are maintained at the charge of the reſpective provinces, and the reſidue are given among the courtiers and favourites; or managed by the viziers and intendants, who remit the produce of them into the treaſury.

The lands which belong to the church, are the donation of Princes or private men, and are accounted ſacred, ſo that they are never taxed or confiſcated for any crime whatever; and after one year's poſſeſſion, the title of them cannot be called in queſtion, on any account whatever. The lands of private men are held of the crown for the term of ninety-nine years, paying an inconſiderable quit-rent; and at the expiration of the term of ninety-nine years, they are allowed to renew their leaſe for the ſame number of years, on advancing one year's income. As to the cultivated lands, if any perſon deſires to build upon them, or to convert any part of them into ploughed fields or gardens, the King's officers procure him a grant for ninety-nine years, under a ſmall rent, which terms are renewed as other private eſtates; ſo that all ranks of men derive their eſtates immediately from the crown, and by this method have a perpetuity, on payment of their fines and accuſtomed rents.

The officers of the Shah, as well as private owners, let out their lands to huſbandmen, upon condition of receiving a third part of the produce uſually, but the rent is more or leſs according to the particular agreements of the parties; and the grain in Perſia being ſubject to be deſtroyed by hail, drought, locuſts, and other inſects, the tenants never fail to inſiſt on an abatement in theſe caſes. When the deſtruction is very great, the huſbandmen take the withered branches of trees, and the damaged ears of corn, and reſort to the Shah's officers, complaining of the ſeaſon, and their inability to pay their uſual rent, if they have received never ſo little hurt; their complaints are very loud, and they frequently make an advantage of the misfortune.

Private landlords are leſs ſubject to be impoſed upon in theſe caſes, having the lands under their inſpection; but then their tenants are not ſo much oppreſſed, and ſubject to ſuch hardſhips as the tenants of the crown. The Shah's officers frequently pretend they have no authority to make abatements; and thereupon whole villages go up to court, and deliver their petitions to the Shah in perſon, inſomuch that there is ſeldom leſs than ſeven or eight thouſand people attending at Iſpahan on theſe occaſions. The court uſually ſends orders hereupon to the provinces to make ſuch allowance as the nature of the caſe requires, or depute commiſſaries to enquire into the truth of the complaint, but in either caſe the crown is uſually defrauded; for the countrymen ſo well underſtand the force of bribes, that they commonly ſhake a purſe, and procure a favourable repreſentation of the caſe from the officers ſent to check them.

The Shah and private owners have the like profits of the huſbandmen's cattle, as they have of their corn, as the third fleece, and the third part of the breed; and of fruit, the crown has ſtill a greater ſhare, there being not that charge of manuring and cultivating fruit-trees as there is of the grounds which produce grain.

The governors of provinces receive the ſame profits out of the lands of the ſtate, towards the payment of the officers, and troops of the province, as the Shah does out

of his own lands, and every province beſides makes large preſents from time to time to the court, of the beſt the country affords, whether ſilk, grain, fruits, cattle, or whatever is in eſteem among them; and theſe are ſent up in ſuch quantities, as are ſufficient to ſupply the Shah's houſhold, and therefore may be accounted a conſiderable part of the revenue. The Shah has alſo the ſeventh fleece, and the ſeventh of the breed of the cattle, in thoſe lands which are not appropriated to his uſe; and this is a great addition to his revenue, for the ſhepherds of Perſia, like the ancient patriarchs, poſſeſs vaſt flocks and herds, on which they continually attend, living in tents, and removing from one place to another, as they can meet with paſture for them; for thoſe lands which are not the property of particular perſons, are at liberty for all men to graze upon, though the the Shah's; and this payment of the ſeventh beaſt ſeems to be an acknowledgment of his property in them. Theſe wealthy ſhepherds the people of the eaſt call Saranetchin, from whence we have the word Saracen, that is to ſay, an inhabitant of the fields; for they live in tents, far from towns, two or three hundred together, and ſometimes you ſee a thouſand or two encamped in one place; they perfectly cover the plains with their flocks and herds, that ſometimes you may be two or three hours in paſſing through them; and the Shah has an officer called Ichomban Baſhi, or chief of the ſhepherds, reſiding in every province, who takes the ſeventh of the cattle for the Shah's uſe, viz. of ſheep, aſſes, mules, camels, and goats; as to horſes, it ſeems the Shah is entitled to every third colt; of ſilk and cotton alſo, it is ſaid the Shah has a third part over the whole kingdom.

Minerals and precious ſtones belong to the Shah only, and he has two per cent. of all money. The money that is raiſed by the waters is another conſiderable part of the revenue, for every perſon pays for their being let into his fields or gardens; nothing will grow in that parched country without it. A tribute is alſo paid to the crown by all people who are not of the religion of the country, whether natives or foreigners, and this amounts to a ducat a head; and there is a tax of ten-pence on every ſhop of the handicraft trades, and twenty pence on the reſt. The cuſtoms and port duties are another branch of the revenue, but theſe do not amount to much here, for they have no conſiderable port except Gambron. As for the merchandize carried into Perſia or out of it by land, they only pay a ſmall ſum for a camel's load, and proportionably for every mule or ox, without examining what the packs contain. But that part of the revenue which is merely caſual, exceeds all the reſt, viz. what ariſes by the confiſcated eſtates, and the preſents which are made by the great lords, governors of provinces, &c. and particularly thoſe which are made on New-year's Day. They preſent the Shah with wrought ſilks, horſes, aſſes, beautiful boys and girls, gold, ſilver, precious ſtones, perfumes, and every thing which is rich and curious, and may ſerve for uſe, ornament, or the pleaſures of life; and as there are ſeveral handicraft trades which pay no duties to the crown, as carpenters, maſons, and ſome others, theſe are obliged to work for the Shah when he requires it, without pay; whatever buildings or palaces the Shah erects or repairs, he has only the materials to find, the warden or chief of the trade is obliged to ſend a certain number of workmen, which ſaves the treaſury a great deal of money, and therefore the labour of thoſe people may well be eſteemed part of the revenue. The maintenance of ambaſſadors, and the providing them with carriages, is done alſo at the charge of the country, and coſts the Shah nothing. When he has a mind to reward any perſon for any ſignal piece of ſervice, this is done alſo at the expence of another; he ſends him perhaps to one of the chans or great courtiers, with the calaat or royal veſt, for which the chan makes the meſſenger a preſent uſually of ten times the value or more, according to the poſt he is in. The Shah ſometimes expreſſes the

very ſum he expects ſhould be paid, which is commonly exceeded out of reſpect, and as a proof the perſon values the Prince's favour. But notwithſtanding the impoſitions above-mentioned, the people do not ſeem to be oppreſſed or impoveriſhed; even the tradeſmen and huſbandmen appear to be in eaſy circumſtances, and few of them but have rings on their fingers and arms. One great advantage to the ſubject is, that ſcarce any of the duties are farmed, and in times of ſcarcity the court is very indulgent and ready to make abatement of their rents and taxes in proportion to the occaſion. As to poll or perſonal taxes there are none in Perſia, unleſs that which is levied upon thoſe of a different religion; nor are neceſſary proviſions of any kind taxed.

What the revenue of the crown may amount to in the whole is very uncertain, depending ſo much as it does upon caſualties; thoſe who have attempted to compute it ſay, that one year with another the revenue amounts to four millions of our money; which, conſidering their troops are moſt of them paid out of the lands of the ſtate, that are not reckoned into this account, is very conſiderable; but as the ſplendour and magnificence of the Perſian court is much beyond any thing we have in Europe, poſſibly very little of it may remain in the treaſury at the year's end. The court, whether it remains at Iſpahan, Meſched, or any other capital, or removes from one province to another, as it uſed to do during the ſummer, if we conſider the women, the eunuchs, and other officers and ſervants, ſeldom conſiſt of leſs than ten thouſand perſons which belong to the houſehold, not including the troops, or the great men and their dependents, which it muſt require an immenſe ſum to maintain. The officers of the revenue ſend every year up to court the ſtate of their province, and what every town and village produces, examined and atteſted by the principal inhabitants of the reſpective places, which are looked upon as ſo many debentures; and theſe given in payment to thoſe who are entitled to penſions or ſalaries from the crown. In like manner every governor pays all the officers and ſoldiers of his province, with aſſignations on the lands belonging to the province; there is very little money diſburſed on thoſe occaſions, and where the pay is ſmall, as that of the common ſoldiers and inferior ſervants, one man is deputed from the troop or company to receive the wages of the reſt, and the reſidue, after all demands are ſatisfied, is remitted into the imperial treaſury.

It may not be amiſs to add a few words concerning the ſeals under which acts of ſtate are paſſed in Perſia; they have five ſeals, which are uſed in five ſeveral branches of buſineſs, one in all ſuch affairs as concern the demeſne lands. A ſecond for commiſſions, letters patent, &c. The third only in military affairs. The fourth about the revenue; and the fifth in things relating to the houſehold. There are no arms engraven upon them, but on one there are the names of the twelve imans or patriarchs; on the others, a ſcrap of the Alcoran, or ſome pious expreſſion, ſhewing their dependence on God, and his prophet Mahomet. The form of one of the ſeals is round, two others are ſquare, and the other two are of an irregular form. The largeſt are about the bigneſs of a crown-piece, and the others about half that bigneſs. They are made of turquoiſes, rubies, emeralds, or ſome other precious ſtones. The principal ſeal the Shah always wears about his neck, and on every Friday all inſtruments which require theſe ſeals are carried to the palace, and ſealed in the Shah's preſence. The impreſſion is made on the paper with a kind of thick ink, and not on wax as with us; the ſame uſage prevails in moſt of the eaſtern courts

11. The generality of the world will agree, from this view of the Perſian policy, that there is no reaſon, ſo long as their government continues in a ſettled condition, to look upon the whole nation as ſlaves and beaſts of burthen. It is very certain that there are great errors in this, as well as in all the conſtitutions founded in the Khoran, and

and it muſt be ſo, for that book itſelf is a mere ſyſtem of tyranny; and which is worſt of all, it is pretended that this ſyſtem came from God. It is upon this principle that the abſolute power of their princes is built: for as to all the qualifications beſides, they are brought in from the remains of the old Perſian government, which by their apparent wiſdom, and natural rectitude, have continued in uſe through all invaſions, and in ſpite of all changes of government. Thus the governors, treaſurers, and ſecretaries of of provinces are preciſely mentioned, both by ſacred writers, and by the Greek hiſtorians, as well as modern travellers. The profound reſpect borne to the Shah is the remains of that reverence paid to their emperors of old, of which the heathen writers are full, which Alexander would have transferred to himſelf, and for which chiefly the Romans looked upon the Parthians as a barbarous nation.

But above all, the new-years gifts are the ſtrongeſt teſtimonies of the difficulty there is in extirpating ancient cuſtoms among any ſet of people. This was the practice in the moſt early times, and the Perſian emperors with all their pride were then very humble to and familiar with their people. They ate and drank with them in public; they gave audience to all who deſired it, and as they received preſents even from the meaneſt, ſo they received every man's petition, and granted almoſt every man his requeſt.

There are many other things in which the modern Perſians reſemble very much their remoteſt anceſtors, but in nothing more than in their natural inclination to and wonderful genius for poetry. This is ſo univerſal, that every chan, and indeed every rich and powerful man, keeps a poet in his houſe, to whom occaſionally they give themes, and it is wonderful how well and how ſuddenly they execute them. Theſe ſort of people alſo frequent coffee-houſes, and other public places, where, for the amuſement of idle people, they repeat their performances with infinite ſpirit, and with inimitable grace. It is certain that the Perſians are very nice in their rhime, but ſomewhat looſe in their numbers, that is to ſay, they regard cadence more than quantity. Yet no nation in the world has more of that enthuſiaſm, which is the eſſence of poetry, the very ſound of their verſes ſufficiently diſtinguiſhes the ſubject, even to the ears of thoſe who are little acquainted with their language; ſo that foreigners are never at a loſs to know whether their poems are merry or melancholy, humourous or grave, intended to inſtruct, or calculated only to divert.

In ſhort, almoſt all their learning conſiſts in poetry, for their proverbs are in rhime, ſo are their fables, and they have hiſtories in verſe of a great length, which, though ſufficiently crowded with fable, are ſeldom or never without a ground of truth. It is true that their modern writers, many of them, make uſe of proſe, but even this is intermixed with verſe, and they are alſo very apt to quote verſes in converſation, which they are obſerved to do with great propriety. But it is worth our notice, that no kind of writing is here ſo much in faſhion as ſatyr, which is moſtly national, and falls, generally ſpeaking, upon their neighbours. As for example, they repreſent the Turks as brutes and barbarians; and whenever they have a mind to repreſent a blockhead, they are ſure to paint him in a Turkiſh dreſs. The great indolence, effeminacy and luxury of the Indians, are likewiſe common topics of raillery, and ſo are the faults and follies of the Tartars; the pride and ſelf-ſufficiency of the Georgians; the cunning and ſelf-intereſtedneſs of the Ruſſians, and the covetouſneſs of the Europeans are frequently expoſed by their wits.

They are far from being ignorant of muſic as a ſcience; they learn by rule, and they play by note, though in a manner ſo different from ours, that it is a long time before it becomes pleaſant to a ſtranger's ear. There is no ſuch thing as ſinging in parts, but

huſband dieth, his wife is burned with him, if ſhe be alive; if ſhe will not, her head is ſhaven, and there is never any account made of her after. They ſay if they ſhould be buried it were a great ſin, for of their bodies would come many worms and other vermin, and when their bodies were conſumed, thoſe worms would lack ſuſtenance, which were a ſin, therefore they will be burned. In Cambaia they will kill nothing, nor have any thing killed: in the town they have hoſpitals to keep lame dogs and cats, and for birds. They will give meat to the ants.

Goa is the moſt principal city which the Portugueze have in India, wherein the Viceroy remaineth with his court. It ſtandeth in an iſland, which may be five-and-twenty or thirty miles about. It is a fine city, and for an Indian town very fair. The iſland is very fair, full of orchards and gardens, and many palmer-trees, and hath ſome villages. Here are many merchants of all nations. And the fleet which cometh every year from Portugal, which are four, five, or ſix great ſhips, cometh firſt hither: and they come for the moſt part in September, and remain there forty or fifty days, and then go to Cochin, where they load their pepper for Portugal. Oftentimes they load one in Goa, the reſt go to Cochin, which is from Goa a hundred leagues ſouthward. Goa ſtandeth in the country of Hidalcan, which lieth in the country ſix or ſeven days' journey. Its chief city is called Biſapor. At our coming we were caſt into priſon, and examined before the juſtice and demanded for letter, and were charged to be ſpies; but they could prove nothing by us. We continued in priſon until the twenty-ſecond of December, and then we were ſet at liberty, putting in ſureties for two thouſand ducats not to depart the town; which ſureties Father Stephens, an Engliſh jeſuit which we found there, and another religious man a friend of his, procured for us. Our ſurety's name was Andreas Taborer, to whom we paid two thouſand one hundred and fifty ducats, and ſtill he demanded more: whereupon we made ſuit to the viceroy and juſtice to have our money again, conſidering that they had had it in their hands near five months, and could prove nothing againſt us. The viceroy made us a very ſharp anſwer, and ſaid we ſhould be better ſifted before it were long, and that they had further matter againſt us.

Whereupon we preſently determined rather to ſeek our liberty than to be in danger for ever to be ſlaves in the country, for it was told us we ſhould have the ſtrapado. The fifth day of April 1585 in the morning we ran from thence: and being ſet over the river we went two days on foot not without fear, not knowing the way nor having any guide, for we durſt truſt none. One of the firſt towns which we came to is called Bellargan, where there is a great market kept of diamonds, rubies, ſaphires, and many other ſoft ſtones. From Bellargan we went to Biſapor, which is a very great town where the King doth keep his court. He hath many Gentiles in his court, and they are great idolaters. They have their idols ſtanding in the woods which they call pagods. Some are like a cow, ſome like a monkey, ſome like buffaloes, ſome like peacocks, and ſome like the devil. Here are very many elephants which they go to war with. Here they have good ſtore of gold and ſilver. Their houſes are of ſtone, very fair and high. From hence we went for Gulconda, the King whereof is called Cutup de laſhach. Here, and in the kingdom of Itidalcan, and in the country of the King of Decan, are the diamonds found of the old water. It is a very fair town, pleaſant, with fair houſes of brick and timber; it aboundeth with great ſtore of fruits and freſh water. Here the men and women go with a cloth bound about their middles, without any more apparel. We found it here very hot.

The winter beginneth here about the laſt of May. In theſe parts is a port or haven called Maſulipatan, which ſtandeth eight days' journey from hence towards the gulf

of Bengala, whither come many ſhips out of India, Pegu, and Sumatra, very richly laden with pepper, ſpices, and other commodities. The country is very good and fruitful. From thence I went to Servidore, which is a fine country, and the King is called, The King of Bread. The houſes here are all thatched and made of loam. Here are many Moors and Gentiles, but there is little religion amongſt them. From thence I went to Bellapore, and ſo to Barrampore, which is in the country of Zelabdim Echebar. In this place their money is made of a kind of ſilver round and thick to the value of twenty-pence, which is very good ſilver. It is marvellous great and a populous country. In their winter, which is in June, July, and Auguſt, there is no paſſing in the ſtreets but with horſes, the waters are ſo high. The houſes are made of loam and thatched. Here is great ſtore of cotton cloth made, and painted cloths of cotton wool: alſo groweth great plenty of corn and rice. We found a great number of marriages both in towns and villages in many places we paſſed through, of boys of eight or ten years, and girls of five or ſix years old. They both ride upon one horſe very trimly decked, and are carried through the town with great piping and playing, and ſo return home and eat of a banquet made of rice and fruits, and there they dance the greateſt part of the night, and ſo make an end of the marriage. They lye not together until they are ten years old. They ſay they marry their children ſo young, becauſe it is an order that when the man dieth, the woman muſt be burned with him: ſo that if the father die, yet they may have a father-in-law to help to bring up the children which are married; and alſo that they will not leave their ſons without wives, nor their daughters without huſbands.

From thence we went to Mandoway, which is a very ſtrong town. It was beſieged twelve years by Zelabdim Echebar, before he could win it. It ſtandeth upon a very high rock, as the greateſt number of their caſtles do, and was of a very great circuit. From hence we went to Ugini and Serringe, where we overtook the ambaſſador of Zelabdim Echebar, with a prodigious great company of men, elephants and camels. Here is a great trade of cotton, and cloth made of cotton, and great plenty of drugs. From thence we went to Agra, paſſing many rivers, which by reaſon of the rain were ſo ſwollen, that we waded and ſwam oftentimes for our lives. Agra is a very great and populous city, built with ſtone, having fair and large ſtreets, with a river running by it, which falleth into the gulf of Bengala. It hath a fair and ſtrong caſtle with a very fair ditch. Here are many Moors and Gentiles: the King is called Zelabdim Echebar; the people for the moſt part call him the Great Mogor. From thence we went to Fatepore, which is the place where the King kept his court. The town is greater than Agra, but the houſes and ſtreets are not ſo fair. Here dwell many people, both Moors and Gentiles. The King hath in Agra and Fatepore, as they do credibly report, one thouſand elephants, thirty thouſand horſes, one thouſand and four hundred tame deer, eight hundred concubines: ſuch ſtore of ounces, tigers, buffaloes, cocks and hawks, that is very ſtrange to ſee. He keepeth a great court, which they call Dericcan. Agra and Fatepore are two very great cities, either of them much greater than London, and very populous. Between Agra and Fatepore are twelve miles, and all the way is a market of victuals and other things, as full as though a man were ſtill in a town, and ſo many people as if a man were in a market. They have many fine carts, and many of them carved and gilded with gold, with two wheels, which are drawn by two little bulls about the bigneſs of our great dogs in England, and they will run with any horſe, and carry two or three men in one of theſe carts: they are covered with ſilk or very fine cloth, and are uſed here as our coaches are in England. Hither is great reſort of merchants from Perſia, and out of India,

and very much merchandize of ſilk and cloth, and of precious ſtones, both rubies, diamonds, and pearls. The King is apparelled in a white cabie made like a ſhirt, tied with ſtrings on the one ſide, and a little cloth on his head, coloured oftentimes with red or yellow. None come into his houſe but his eunuchs who keep his women.

Here in Fatepore we ſtayed all three till the twenty-eighth of September 1585; and then Mr. John Newberie took his journey toward the city of Lahore, determining from thence to go to Perſia and then for Aleppo or Conſtantinople, whither he could get quickeſt paſſage to; and directed me to go for Bengala and for Pegu, and promiſed me, if it pleaſed God, to meet me in Bengala within two years with a ſhip out of England. I left William Leades, the jeweller, in the ſervice of the King Zelabdim Echebar in Fatepore, who entertained him very well, and gave him a houſe and five ſlaves, a horſe, and every day ſix S. S. in money.

I went from Agra to Satagam in Bengala, in the company of one hundred and four ſcore boats, laden with ſalt, opium, hinge, lead, carpets, and various other commodities, down the river Jemena. The chief merchants are Moors and Gentiles. In theſe countries they have many ſtrange ceremonies. The Bramens, which are their prieſts, come to the water, and have a ſtring about their necks made with great ceremonies, and lade up water with both their hands, and turn the ſtring firſt with both their hands within, and then one arm after the other out. Though it be never ſo cold they will waſh themſelves in cold water or in warm. Theſe Gentiles will eat no fleſh, nor kill any thing. They live on rice, butter, milk, and fruits. They pray in the water naked, and dreſs their meat and eat it naked, and for their penance they lye flat upon the earth, and riſe up and turn themſelves about thirty or forty times, and uſe to heave up their hands to the ſun, and to kiſs the earth, with their arms and legs ſtretched out, and their right leg always before the left. Every time they lye down, they make a ſcore on the ground with their finger, to know when their ſtint is finiſhed. The Bramens mark themſelves in the forehead, ears, and throat, with a kind of yellow gear which they grind, and every morning they do it. They have ſome old men who go in the ſtreets with a box of yellow powder, and mark men on their heads and necks as they meet them. And their wives come by ten, twenty, and thirty together, to the water ſide ſinging, and there waſh themſelves, and then uſe their ceremonies, and mark themſelves in their foreheads and faces, and carry ſome with them, and ſo depart ſinging. Their daughters are married at or before the age of ten years. The men may have ſeven wives. They are a kind of crafty people, worſe than the Jews. When they ſalute one another they heave up their hands to their heads and ſay, "Rame, Rame."

From Agra I came to Prague, where the river Jemena entereth into the mighty river Ganges, and Jemena loſeth its name. Ganges cometh out of the north-weſt, and runneth eaſt into the gulf of Bengala. In thoſe parts there are many tigers, and partridges and turtle-doves, and much other fowl. There are many beggars in theſe countries who go naked, and the people make great account of them: they call them Scheſche. Here I ſaw one who was a monſter among the reſt. He would have nothing upon him, his beard was very long, and with the hair of his head he covered his privities. The nails of ſome of his fingers were two inches long, for he would cut nothing from him, neither would he ſpeak. He was accompanied with eight or ten, and they ſpake for him. When any man ſpoke to him, he would lay his hand upon his breaſt and bow himſelf, but would not ſpeak. He would not ſpeak to the King. We went from Prague down the Ganges, which is here very broad. Here is great ſtore of fiſh of ſundry ſorts, and of wild fowl, as of ſwans, geeſe, cranes, and many

other things. The country is very fruitful and populous. The men for the moſt part have their faces ſhaven, and their heads very long, except ſome which are all ſhaven ſave the crown; and ſome of them are as though a man ſhould ſet a diſh on their heads, and ſhave them round all but the crown. In this river of Ganges are many iſlands. Its water is very ſweet and pleaſant, and the country adjoining very fruitful.

From thence we went to Bannaras, which is a great town, and great ſtore of cloth is made there of cotton, and ſhaſhes for the Moors. In this place they are all Gentiles, and the greateſt idolators that ever I ſaw. To this town come the Gentiles out of far countries. Here along the water ſide are very many fair houſes, and in all of them or for the moſt part they have their images ſtanding, which are ill-favoured, made of ſtone and wood; ſome like lions, leopards, and monkies, ſome like men, and women, and peacocks, and ſome like the devil with four arms and four hands. They ſit croſs-legged, ſome with one thing in their hands, and ſome another, and by break of day and before there are men and women who come out of the town and waſh themſelves in the Ganges. And there are divers old men, which upon places of earth made for the purpoſe, ſit praying, and they give the people three or four ſtraws, which they take and hold between their fingers when they waſh themſelves: and ſome ſit to mark them in the foreheads, and they have in a cloth a little rice, barley, or money, which when they have waſhed themſelves, they give to the old men who ſit there praying Afterwards they go to divers of their images, and give them of their ſacrifices. And when they give, the old men ſay certain prayers, and then all is holy. In divers places there ſtandeth a kind of image which in their language they call Ada: and they have divers great ſtones carved, whereon they pour water, and throw thereupon ſome rice, wheat, barley, and ſome other things. This Ada hath four hands with claws. Moreover they have a great place made of ſtone, like to a well with ſteps to go down, wherein the water ſtandeth very foul and ſtinketh; for the great quantity of flowers which they continually throw into it, make it ſtink. There are always many people in it: for they ſay when they waſh themſelves in it that their ſins are forgiven them, becauſe God, as they ſay, waſhed himſelf in this place. They gather up the ſand in the bottom of it, and ſay it is holy.

They never pray but in the water, and they waſh themſelves overhead, and lade up water with both their hands, and turn themſelves about, and then they drink a little of the water three times, and ſo go to their gods which ſtand in thoſe houſes. Some of them will waſh a place which is their length, and then will pray upon the earth with their arms and legs at length out, and will riſe up and lie down, and kiſs the ground twenty or thirty times, but they will not ſtir their right foot. And ſome of them will make their ceremonies with fifteen or ſixteen pots, little and great, and ring a little bell when they make their mixtures ten or twelve times: and they make a great circle of water round about their pots and pray, and divers ſit by them, and one who reacheth them their pots: and they ſay divers things over their pots many times, and when they have done they go to their gods, and ſtrew their ſacrifices, which they think are very holy, and mark many of them which ſit by in the foreheads, which they take as a great gift. There come fifty and ſometimes a hundred together to waſh in this well, and to offer to theſe idols They have in ſome of theſe houſes their idols ſtanding, and one ſitteth by them in warm weather with a fan to blow wind upon them: and when they ſee any company coming they ring a little bell which hangeth by them, and many give alms, but eſpecially thoſe who come out of the country. Many of them are black, and have claws of braſs with long nails, and ſome ride upon peacocks and other fowls, which are evil-favoured, with long hawks' bills, and ſome like one thing and ſome another, but none with a good face. Among the reſt there is one which they make great account of: for they ſay he giveth them

them all things, both food and apparel, and one ſitteth always by him with a fan to make wind towards him.

Here ſome are burnt to aſhes, ſome ſcorched in the fire and thrown into the water, and dogs and foxes preſently eat them. The wives here burn with their huſbands when they die; if they will not their heads are ſhaven, and no account is made of them afterwards. The people go all naked, ſave a little cloth bound about their middle. Their women have their necks, arms, and ears decked with rings of ſilver, copper, tin, and with round hoops made of ivory, adorned with amber ſtones and with many agates, and they are marked with a great ſpot of red in their foreheads, and a ſtroke of red up to the crown, and ſo it runneth three manner of ways. In the winter, which is our May, the men wear quilted gowns of cotton like to our mattraſſes, and quilted caps like to our great grocers' mortars, with a ſlit to look out at, and ſo tied down beneath their ears. If a man or a woman be ſick and like to die, they will lay him before their idols all night, and that ſhall help him or make an end of him. And if he do mend that night, his friends will come and ſit with him a little and cry, and afterwards will carry him to the water ſide, and ſet him upon a little raft made of reeds, and ſo let him go down the river. When they are married the man and the woman come to the water ſide, and there is an old man which they call a Bramane, that is, a prieſt, a cow and a calf, and a cow with calf. Then the man and the woman, the cow and calf, and the old man go into the water together, and they give the old man a cloth of four yards long, and a baſket croſs-bound with divers things in it: the cloth he layeth upon the back of the cow, and then he taketh the cow by the end of the tail, and ſayeth certain words: and ſhe hath a copper or braſs pot full of water, and the man doth hold his hand by the old man's hand, and the wife's hand by her huſband's, and all have the cow by the tail, and they pour water out of the pot upon the cow's tail, and it runneth through all their hands, and they lade up water with their hands, and then the old man doth tie him and her together by their clothes. Which done, they go round about the cow and calf, and then they give ſomewhat to the poor which are always there, and to the Bramane, or prieſt, they give one cow and calf, and afterwards go to divers of their idols and offer money, and lye down flat upon the ground, and kiſs it divers times, and then go their way. Their chief idols are black and ill-favoured, their mouths monſtrous, their ears gilded and full of jewels, their teeth and eyes of gold, ſilver, and glaſs, ſome having one thing in their hands and ſome another. You may not come into the houſes where they ſtand with your ſhoes on. They have continually lamps burning before them.

From Bannaras I went to Patenaw down the river Ganges; where in the way we paſſed many fair towns and a country very fruitful: and many very great rivers enter into the Ganges, and ſome of them as great as itſelf, which cauſe it to be of a great breadth, and ſo broad that in the time of rain you cannot ſee from one ſide to the other. Theſe Indians when they are ſcorched and thrown into the water, the men ſwim with their faces downwards, the women with their faces upwards: I thought they tied ſomething to them to cauſe them to do ſo, but they ſay no. There are very many thieves in this country, which are like to the Arabians; for they have no certain abode, but are ſometimes in one place and ſometimes in another. Here the women are ſo decked with ſilver and copper, that it is ſtrange to ſee: they uſe no ſhoes by reaſon of the rings of ſilver and copper which they wear on their toes. Here at Patanaw they find gold in this manner: they dig deep pits in the earth, and waſh the earth in great bowls, and therein they find the gold, and they make the pits round about with brick that the earth fall not in. Patanaw is a very long and great town. In times paſt it was a kingdom,

dom, but now it is under Zelabdim Echebar the great Mogor. The men are tall and ſlender, and have many old folks among them: the houſes are ſimple, made of earth and covered with ſtraw; the ſtreets are very large. In this town there is a trade of cotton, and cloths of cotton; much ſugar, which they carry from hence to Bengala and India; very much opium and other commodities. He that is chief here under the King is called Tipperdas, and is of great account among the people. Here in Patanaw I ſaw a diſſembling prophet who ſat upon a horſe in the market place, and made as though he ſlept, and many of the people came and touched his feet with their hands, and then kiſſed their hands. They took him for a great man, but ſure he was a lazy lubber. I left him there ſleeping. The people of theſe countries are much given to ſuch prating and diſſembling hypocrites.

From Patanaw I went to Tanda, which is in the land of Gowren. It hath in times paſt been a kingdom, but is now ſubdued by Zelabdim Echebar. Great trade and traffic is here of cotton and of cloth of cotton. The people go naked, with a little cloth bound about their waiſt. It ſtandeth in the country of Bengala. Here are many tigers, wild buffaloes, and great ſtore of wild fowl. They are very great idolaters. Tanda ſtandeth from the river Ganges a league, becauſe in times paſt the river flowing over the banks in time of rain drowned the country and many villages, and ſo they remain. And the old way which the river Ganges was wont to run remaineth dry, which is the occaſion that the city ſtandeth ſo far from the water. From Agia down the river Jemena and down the river Ganges, I was five months coming to Bengala, but it may be ſailed in much ſhorter time.

I went from Bengala into the country of Couché, which lieth twenty-five days' journey northwards from Tanda. The King is a Gentile, his name is Suckel Counſe, his country is great and lieth not far from Cauchin China; for they ſay they have pepper from thence. The port is called Cacchegate. All the country is ſet with bamboo or canes made ſharp at both the ends, and driven into the earth, and they can let in the water and drown the ground above knee deep, ſo that men nor horſes can paſs. They poiſon all the waters if any wars be. Here they have much ſilk and muſk, and cloth made of cotton. The people have ears which be marvellous great, of a ſpan long, which they draw out in length by devices when they are young. Here they are all Gentiles, and they will kill nothing. They have hoſpitals for ſheep, goats, dogs, cats, birds, and all other living creatures. When they be old and lame they keep them until they die. If a man catch or buy any quick thing in other places, and bring it thither, they will give him money for it, or other victuals, and keep it in their hoſpitals, or let it go. They will give meat to the ants. Their ſmall money is almonds, which often times they uſe to eat.

From thence I returned to Hugeli, which is the place where the Portugals keep in the country of Bengala, which ſtandeth in 23 degrees of north latitude, and ſtandeth a league from Satagan: they call it Ponto Piqueno. We went through the wilderneſs, becauſe the right way was full of thieves, where we paſſed the country of Gowren, where we found but few villages, but almoſt all wilderneſs, and ſaw many buffaloes, ſwine, and deer, graſs longer than a man, and very many tigers. Not far from Porto Piqueno ſouth-weſtward ſtandeth an haven which is called Angeli, in the country of Orixa. It was a kingdom of itſelf, and the King was a great friend to ſtrangers. Afterwards it was taken by the King of Patan, which was their neighbour, but he did not enjoy it long, but was taken by Zelabdim Echebar, which is King of Agra, Delli, and Cambaia. Orixa ſtandeth ſix days' journey ſouth-weſt from Satagan. In this place is very much rice, and cloth made of cotton, and great ſtore of cloth which is made

of graſs, which they call yerua; it is like a ſilk. They make good cloth of it, which they ſend for India, and divers other places. To this haven of Angeli come every year many ſhips out of India, Negapatan, Sumatra, Malacca, and divers other places; and lade from thence great ſtore of rice, and much cloth of cotton wool, much ſugar, and long pepper, great ſtore of butter, and other victuals for India. Satagam is a fair city for a city of the Moors, and very plentiful of all things. Here, in Bengala, they have every day in one place or other, a great market, which they call Chandeau, and they have many great boats which they call Pericoſe, wherewith they go from place to place and buy rice, and many other things; theſe boats have four and twenty, or ſix and twenty oars to row them, they be of great burthen, but have no coverture. Here the Gentiles have the water of Ganges in great eſtimation, for having good water near them, yet they will fetch the water of Ganges a great way off, and if they have not ſufficient to drink, they will ſprinkle a little on them, and then they think themſelves well. From Satagam I travelled by the country of the King of Tippara, or Porto Grande, with whom the Mogous or Mogen have almoſt continual wars. The Mogen which be of the kingdom of Ruon (Arracan) and Rame, be ſtronger than the King of Tippara, ſo that Chategan or Porto Grande is oftentimes under the King of Ruon.

There is a country four days' journey from Couche before-mentioned which is called Bottanter, and the city Bottia; the King is called Dermain: the people whereof are very tall and ſtrong, and there are merchants which come out of China, and they ſay out of Muſcovia, or Tartarie. And they come to buy muſk, cambals, agats, ſilk, pepper, and ſaffron like the ſaffron of Perſia. The country is very great, three months' journey. There are very high mountains in this country, and one of them ſo ſteep, that when a man is ſix days' journey off it he may ſee it perfectly. Upon theſe mountains are people which have ears of a ſpan long: if their ears be not long they call them apes. They ſay that when they be upon the mountains, they ſee ſhips in the ſea ſailing to and fro; but they know not from whence they come, nor whither they go. There are merchants which come out of the eaſt, they ſay, from under the ſun, which is from China, which have no beards, and they ſay it is there ſomething warm. But thoſe which come from the other ſide of the mountains, which is from the north, ſay there it is very cold. Theſe northern merchants are apparelled with woollen cloth and hats white hoſen cloſe, and boots which be of Muſcovia, or Tartarie. They report that in their country they have very good horſes, but they be little; ſome men have four, five, or ſix hundred horſes and kine: they live with milk and fleſh. They cut the tails of their kine, and ſell them very dear, for they be in great requeſt, and much eſteemed in thoſe parts. The hair of them is a yard long: the rump is about a ſpan long: they uſe to hang them for bravery upon the heads of their elephants: they be much uſed in Pegu and China. They buy and ſell by ſcores upon the ground. The people be very ſwift on foot.

From Chatigan in Bengala, I came to Bacola; the King whereof is a Gentile, a man very well diſpoſed, and delighteth much to ſhoot in a gun. His country is very great and fruitful, and ſtore of rice, and much cotton cloth, and cloth of ſilk. The houſes be very fair and high built, the ſtreets large, the people naked, except a little cloth about their waiſt. The women wear great ſtore of ſilver hoops about their necks and arms, and their legs are ringed with ſilver and copper, and rings made of elephants' teeth.

From Bacola I went to Serrepore, which ſtandeth upon the river of Ganges: the King is called Choudery. They be all hereabout rebels againſt the King Zelabdim Echebar: for here are ſo many rivers and iſlands that they flee from one to another, whereby

whereby his horſemen cannot prevail againſt them. Great ſtore of cotton cloth is made here.

Sinnergan is a town ſix leagues from Serrapore, where there is the beſt and fineſt cloth made of cotton that is in all India. The chief King of all theſe countrie is called Iſacan, and he is chief of all the other Kings, and is a great friend to all Chriſtians. The houſes here as they be in moſt part of India, are very little, and covered with ſtraw, and have a few mats round about the walls, and the door to keep out the tigers and foxes. Many of the people are very rich. Here they will eat no fleſh, nor kill no beaſt. They live of rice, milk, and fruits. They go with a little cloth before them, and all the reſt of their body is naked. Great ſtore of cotton cloth goeth from hence, and much rice, wherein they ſerve all India, Ceilon, Pegu, Mallacca, Sumatra, and many other places.

I went from Serrepore, the eight and twentieth day of November 1586, for Pegu, in a ſmall ſhip or foiſt of one Albert Carravellos, and ſo paſſing down Ganges, and paſſing by the iſland of Sundiva, Porto Grande, or the country of Tippera, the kingdom of Recan and Mogen, leaving them on our left ſide, with a fair wind at northweſt: our courſe was ſouth by eaſt, which brought us to the bar of Negrais to Pegu. If any contrary wind had come, we had thrown many of our things overboard; for we were ſo peſtered with people and goods, that there were ſcant place to lie in. From Bengala to Pegu is ninety leagues. We entered the bar of Negrais, which is a brave bar, and hath four fathoms water when it hath leaſt. Three days after we came to Coſmin, which is a very pretty town, and ſtandeth very pleaſantly, very well furniſhed with all things. The people be very tall and well diſpoſed, the women white, round faced with little eyes: the houſes are high built, ſet upon very great high poſts, and they go up to them with long ladders for fear of the tigers which be very many. The country is very full of all things; here are very great figs, oranges, cocoas, and other fruits. The land is very high that we fall withall; but after we entered the bar, it is very low and full of rivers, for they go all to and fro in boats, which they call paroes, and keep their houſes with wife and children in them.

From the bar of Nigrais to the city of Pegu is ten days' journey by the rivers; we went from Coſmin to Pegu, in paroes or boats, and paſſing up the rivers, we came to Medon, which is a pretty town, where there be a wonderful number of paroes, for they keep their houſes and markets in them all upon the water. They row to and fro, and have all their merchandizes in their boats with a great ſombrero or ſhadow over their heads to keep the ſun from them, which is as broad as a great cart wheel, made of the leaves of the cocoa trees and fig trees, and is very light.

From Medon we went to Dela, which is a very fair town, and hath a fair port into the ſea, from whence go many ſhips to Malacca, Mecca, and many other places. Here are eighteen or twenty very great and long houſes, where they tame and keep many elephants of the King's; for thereabout in the wilderneſs they catch the wild elephants. It is a very fruitful country. From Dela we went to Cirion, which is a good town, and hath a fair port into the ſea, whither come many ſhips from Mecca, Malacca, and Sumatra, and from divers other places. And there the ſhips ſtay and diſcharge, and ſend up their goods in paroes to Pegu.

From Cirion we went to Macao, which is a pretty town, where we left our boats, and in the morning taking delingeges, which are a kind of coaches made of cords and cloth quilted, and carried upon a ſtang, between three or four men; we came to Pegu the ſame day. Pegu is a city very great, ſtrong, and very fair, with walls of ſtone, and great ditches round about it. There are two towns, the old town and the new. In the

old town are all the merchants ſtrangers, and very many merchants of the country. All the goods are ſold in the old town, which is very great and hath many ſuburbs round about it, and all the houſes are made of canes, which they call bambos, and be covered with ſtraw. In your houſe you have a warehouſe which they call godon, which is made of brick, to put your goods in, for oftentimes they take fire and burn in an hour four or five hundred houſes: ſo that if the godon were not, you ſhould be in danger to have all burned, if any wind ſhould riſe, in a trice. In the new town is the King, and all his nobility and gentry. It is a city very great and populous, and is made ſquare, and with fair walls, and a great ditch round about it full of water, with many crocodiles in it: it hath twenty gates, and they be made of ſtone; for every ſquare five gates. There are alſo many turrets for centinels to watch, made of wood and gilded with gold very fair. The ſtreets are the faireſt that ever I ſaw, as ſtraight as a line from one gate to another, and ſo broad that ten or twenty men may ride afront through them. On both ſides them at every man's door is ſet a palm-tree, which is the nut-tree, which makes a very fair ſhew and a very commodious ſhadow, ſo that a man may walk in the ſhade all day. The houſes be made of wood, and covered with tiles.

The King's houſe is in the middle of the city, and is walled and ditched round about, and the buildings within are made of wood very ſumptuouſly gilded, and great workmanſhip is upon the forefront, which is likewiſe very coſtly gilded. And the houſe wherein his pagode or idol ſtandeth is covered with tiles of ſilver, and all the walls are gilded with gold. Within the firſt gate of the King's houſe is a great large room, on both ſides whereof are houſes made for the King's elephants, which be marvellous great and fair, and are brought up to wars and in ſervice of the King, and among the reſt he hath four white elephants, which are very ſtrange and rare, for there is none other King which hath them but he: if any other King hath one, he will ſend unto him for it. When any of theſe white elephants are brought unto the King, all the merchants in the city are commanded to ſee them, and to give him a preſent of half a ducat, which doth come to a great ſum, for that there are many merchants in the city. After that you have given your preſent you may come and ſee them at your pleaſure, although they ſtand in the King's houſe. This King in his title is called the "King of the white elephants." If any other King hath one and will not ſend it him, he will make war with him for it: for he had rather loſe a great part of his kingdom than not to conquer him. They do very great ſervice unto theſe white elephants: every one of them ſtandeth in a houſe gilded with gold, and they do feed in veſſels of ſilver and gilt. One of them when he doth go to the river to be waſhed, as every day they do, goeth under a canopy of cloth of gold or of ſilk, carried over him by ſix or eight men, and eight or ten men go before him playing on drums, ſhawms, or other inſtruments: and when he is waſhed and cometh out of the river, there is a gentleman which doth waſh his feet in a ſilver baſin; which is his office given him by the King. There is no ſuch account made of any black elephant, be he never ſo great; and ſurely there be wonderful fair and great, and ſome be nine cubits in height; and they do report that the King hath above five thouſand elephants of war, beſides many other which be not taught to fight.

This King hath a very large place wherein he taketh the wild elephants. It ſtandeth about a mile from Pegu, builded with a fair court within, and is in a great grove or wood: and there be many huntſmen who go into the wilderneſs with ſhe elephants; for without the ſhe they are not to be taken, and they be taught for that purpoſe: and every hunter hath five or ſix of them. And they ſay that they anoint the ſhe elephants with a certain ointment, which when the wild elephant doth ſmell, he will not leave her. When they have brought the wild elephant near unto the place, they ſend word to the

town, and many horſemen and footmen come out and cauſe the ſhe elephant to enter into a ſtraight way which leads to the palace, and the ſhe and he doth remain: for it is like a wood, and when they be in the gate doth ſhut. Afterward they get out the female, and when the male ſeeth that he is left alone, he weepeth and crieth, and runneth againſt the walls, which be made of ſuch ſtrong trees that ſome of them doth break their teeth with running againſt them. They prick him with ſharp canes, and cauſe him to go into a ſtraight houſe, and there they put a rope about his middle and about his feet, and let him ſtand there three or four days without eating or drinking, and then they bring a female to him, with meat and drink, and within few days he becometh tame. The chief force of the King is in theſe elephants; and when they go into the wars they ſet a frame of wood upon their backs, bound with great cords, wherein ſit four or ſix men, which fight with guns, bows and arrows, darts, and other weapons. And they ſay that their ſkins are ſo thick that a pellet of an arquebuſs will ſcarce pierce them, except it be in ſome tender place. Their weapons be very bad: they have guns, but ſhoot very badly in them; darts and ſwords ſhort, without points.

The King keepeth a very great ſtate: when he ſitteth abroad, as he doth every day twice, all his noblemen, which they call Shemines, ſit on each ſide, a good diſtance off, and a great guard without them. The court yard is very great. If any man will ſpeak with the King, he is to kneel down, to keep up his hands to his head, and to put his head to the ground three times, when he entereth in the middle way, and when he cometh near to the King; and then he ſitteth down, and talketh with the King. If the King like well of it, he ſitteth near him, within three or four paces; if he think not well of him, he ſitteth further off. When he goeth to war, he goeth very ſtrong. At my being there he went to Odia, in the country of Siam, with three hundred thouſand men, and five thouſand elephants. Thirty thouſand men were his guard. The people do eat roots, herbs, leaves, dogs, cats, rats, ſerpents, and ſnakes; they refuſe almoſt nothing. When the King rideth abroad he rideth with a great guard, and many noblemen, oftentimes upon an elephant, with a fine caſtle upon him very fairly gilded with gold, and ſometimes upon a great frame like a horſe litter, which hath a little houſe upon it covered overhead, but open on the ſides, which is all gilded with gold, and ſet with many rubies and ſaphires, whereof he hath infinite ſtore in his country, and is carried upon ſixteen or eighteen men's ſhoulders. This coach, in their language, is called ſerrion. Very great feaſting and triumphing is many times before the King, both of men and women. This King hath little force by ſea, becauſe he hath but very few ſhips.

He hath houſes full of gold and ſilver, and bringeth in often, but ſpendeth very little, and hath the mines of rubies and ſaphires and ſpinelles. Near unto the palace of the King, there is a treaſure wonderful rich; the which becauſe it is ſo near, he doth not account of it: and it ſtandeth open for all men to ſee, in a great walled court with two gates, which be always open. There are four houſes gilded very richly, and covered with lead; in every one of them are pagodes or images of huge ſtature and great value. In the firſt is the picture of a king in gold, with a crown of gold on his head, full of great rubies and ſaphires, and about him there ſtand four children of gold. In the ſecond houſe is the picture of a man in ſilver, wonderful great, as high as a houſe; his foot is as long as a man, and he is made ſitting, with a crown on his head very rich with ſtones. In the third houſe is the picture of a man, greater than the other, made of braſs, with a crown alſo on his head very rich with ſtones. In another court not far from this, ſtand four other pagodes or idols, marvellous great, of copper, made in the ſame place where they do ſtand, for they be ſo great that they be not to be removed:

moved: they ſtand in four houſes gilded very fair, and are themſelves gilded all over ſave their heads, and they ſhew like a black Morian. Their expences in gilding of their images are wonderful. The King hath one wife, and above three hundred concubines, by which they ſay he hath fourſcore or fourſcore and ten children. He ſitteth in judgment almoſt every day. They uſe no ſpeech, but give up their ſupplications written in the leaves of a tree with the point of an iron bigger than a bodkin; theſe leaves are an ell long, and about two inches broad; they are alſo double. He which giveth in his ſupplication doth ſtand in a place a little diſtance off, with a preſent. If his matter be liked of, the King accepteth of his preſent, and granteth his requeſt: if his ſuit be not liked of, he returneth with his preſent, for the King will not take it.

In India there are few commodities which ſerve for Pegu, except opium of Cambaia, painted cloth of Saint Thome or of Maſulipatan, and white cloth of Bengala, which is ſpent there in great quantity. They bring thither alſo much cotton, yarn red coloured with a root which they call ſaia, which will never loſe its colour: it is very well ſold here, and very much of it cometh yearly to Pegu. By your money you loſe much. The ſhips which come from Bengala, Saint Thome, and Maſulipatan, come to the bar of Nigrais, and to Coſmin. To Martavan, a port of the ſea in the kingdom of Pegu, come many ſhips from Malacca laden with ſandal, porcelains, and other wares of China, and with camphora of Borneo, and pepper from Achin in Sumatra. To Cirion, a port of Pegu, come ſhips from Mecca with woollen cloth, ſcarlets, velvets, opium, and ſuch like. There are in Pegu eight brokers, whom they call Tareghe, which are bound to ſell your goods at the price which they be worth, and you give them for their labour two in the hundred, and they be bound to make your debt good, becauſe you ſell your merchandizes upon their word. If the broker pay you not at his day, you may take him home, and keep him in your houſe; which is a great ſhame for him. And if he pay you not preſently, you may take his wife and children, and his ſlaves, and bind them at your door, and ſet them in the ſun; for this is the law of the country. Their current money in theſe parts is a kind of braſs which they call ganza, wherewith you may buy gold, ſilver, rubies, muſk, and all other things. The gold and ſilver is merchandize, and is worth ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs, as other wares be. This brazen money doth go by a weight which they call a biza; and commonly this biza, after our account, is worth about half-a-crown or ſomewhat leſs. The merchandize which be in Pegu, are gold, ſilver, rubies, ſaphires, ſpinells, muſk, benjamin or frankincenſe, long pepper, tin, lead, copper, lacker whereof they make hard wax, rice and wine made of rice, and ſome ſugar.

The elephants do eat the ſugar canes, or elſe they would make very much. And they conſume many canes likewiſe in making of their varellaes or idol temples, which are in great number, both great and ſmall. They be made round like a ſugar loaf, ſome are as high as a church, very broad beneath, ſome a quarter of a mile in compaſs: within they be all earth done about with ſtone. They conſume in theſe varellaes great quantity of gold: for that they be all gilded aloft; and many of them from the top to the bottom; and every ten or twelve years they muſt be new gilded, becauſe the rain conſumeth off the gold; for they ſtand open abroad. If they did not conſume their gold in theſe vanities, it would be very plentiful, and good and cheap in Pegu. About two days' journey from Pegu there is a varelle or pagode, which is the pilgrimage of the Pegues: it is called Dogonne, and is of a wonderful bigneſs, and all gilded from the foot to the top. And there is an houſe by it, wherein the tallipoies, which are their prieſts, do preach. This houſe is fifty-five paces in length, and hath three pawnes or

walks in it, and forty great pillars, gilded, which ſtand between the walks; and it is open on all ſides, with a number of ſmall pillars, which be likewiſe gilded. It is gilded with gold within and without. There are houſes very fair round about for the pilgrims to lie in, and many goodly houſes for the tallipoies to preach in, which are full of images both of men and women, which are all gilded over with gold. It is the faireſt place, as I ſuppoſe, that is in the world: it ſtandeth very high, and there are four ways to it, which all along are ſet with trees of fruits, in ſuch wiſe that a man may go in the ſhade about two miles in length. And when their feaſt day is, a man can hardly paſs by water or by land for the great preſs of people: for they come from all places of the kingdom of Pegu thither at their feaſt.

In Pegu they have many tallipoies or prieſts, which preach againſt all abuſes. Many men reſort unto them. When they enter into there kiack, that is to ſay, their holy place or temple, at the door there is a great jar of water with a cock or ladle in it, and there they waſh their feet, and then they enter in, and lift up their hands to their heads, firſt to their preacher, and then to the ſun, and ſo ſit down. The tallipoies go very ſtrangely apparelled, with one gamboline, or thin cloth next to their body, of a brown colour, another of yellow, doubled many times upon their ſhoulder: and thoſe two be girded to them with a broad girdle, and they have a ſkin of leather hanging on a ſtring about their necks, whereupon they ſit bareheaded and barefooted, for none of them weareth ſhoes; with their right arms bare, and a great broad ſombrero or ſhadow in their hands, to defend them in the ſummer from the ſun, and in the winter from the rain. When the tallipoies or prieſts take their orders, firſt they go to ſchool until they be twenty years old or more, and then they come before a tallipoie, appointed for that purpoſe, whom they call Rowli: he is of the chiefeſt and moſt learned, and he oppoſeth them, and afterward examineth them many times, whether they will leave their friends and the company of all women, and take upon them the habit of a tallipoie. If any be content, then he rideth upon a horſe about the ſtreets, very richly apparelled, with drums and pipes, to ſhew that he leaveth the riches of the world to be a tallipoie. In a few days after he is carried upon a thing like a horſe-litter, which they call a ſerion, upon ten or twelve men's ſhoulders, in the apparel of a tallipoie, with pipes and drums, and many tallipoies with him and all his friends, and ſo they go with him to his houſe, which ſtandeth upon the town, and there they leave him. Every one of them hath his houſe, which is very little, ſet upon ſix or eight poſts, and they go up to them with a ladder of twelve or fourteen ſtaves. Their houſes be for the moſt part by the highway's ſide, and among the trees, and in the woods. And they go with a great pot made of wood or fine earth, and covered, tied with a broad girdle upon their ſhoulder, which cometh under their arm, wherewith they go to beg their victuals which they eat, which is rice, fiſh, and herbs. They demand nothing, but come to the door, and the people preſently do give them, ſome one thing and ſome another; and they put all together in their pot; for they ſay, they muſt eat of their alms, and therewith content themſelves. They keep their feaſts by the moon, and when it is new moon they keep their greateſt feaſt, and then the people ſend rice and other things to that kiack or church of which they be. And there all the tallipoies do meet which be of that church, and eat the victuals which are ſent them. When the tallipoies do preach, many of the people carry them gifts into the pulpit where they ſit and preach: and there is one which ſitteth by them to take that which the people bring. It is divided among them. They have none other ceremonies nor ſervice that I could ſee, but only preaching.

I went from Pegu to Tamakey, which is in the country of the Langeiannes, whom we call Tangomes: it is five and twenty days' journey north-eaſt from Pegu. In which journey I paſſed many fruitful and pleaſant countries. The country is very low, and hath many fair rivers. The houſes are very bad, made of canes and covered with ſtraw. Here are many wild buffes and elephants. Tamakey is a very fair and great town, with fair houſes of ſtone, well peopled, the ſtreets are very large, the men very well ſet and ſtrong, with a cloth about them, bare headed and bare footed: for in all theſe countries they wear no ſhoes. The women be much fairer than thoſe of Pegu. Here in all theſe countries they have no wheat. They make ſome cakes of rice. Hither to Tamakey come many merchants out of China, and bring great ſtore of muſk, gold, ſilver, and many other things of China work. Here is great ſtore of victuals; they have ſuch plenty, that they will not milk the buffes, as they do in all other places. Here is great ſtore of copper and benjamin. In theſe countries when the people be ſick they make a vow to offer meat unto the devil, if they eſcape: and when they be recovered they make a banquet with many pipes and drums and other inſtruments, and dancing all the night, and their friends come and bring gifts, cocoes, figs, arrecaes, and other fruits, and with great dancing and rejoicing they offer to the devil, and ſay, they give the devil to eat, and drive him out. When they be dancing and playing they will cry and hollow very loud: and in this ſort they ſay they drive him away. And when they be ſick a tallipoie or two every night doth ſit by them and ſing, to pleaſe the devil that he ſhould not hurt them. And if any die he is carried upon a great frame made like a tower, with a covering all gilded with gold made of canes, carried with fourteen or ſixteen men, with drums and pipes and other inſtruments playing before him to a place out of the town, and there is burned. He is accompanied with all his friends and neighbours, all men: and they give to the tallipoies or prieſts many mats and cloth: and then they return to the houſe, and there make a feaſt for two days: and then the wife with all the neighbours' wives and her friends, go to the place where he was burned, and then they ſit a certain time and cry, and gather the pieces of bones which be left unburned, and bury them, and then return to their houſes and make an end of all mourning. And the men and women which be near of kin do ſhave their heads, which they do not uſe except it be for the death of a friend; for they much eſteem of their hair.

Caplan is the place where they find the rubies, ſaphires, and the ſpinelles: it ſtandeth ſix days' journey from Ava in the kingdom of Pegu. There are many great high hills out of which they dig them. None may go to the pits but only thoſe which dig them.

In Pegu, and all the countries of Ava, Langeiannes, Siam, and the Bramas, the men wear bunches or little round balls in the privy members; ſome of them wear two and ſome three. They cut the ſkin and ſo put them on one into one ſide, and another into the other ſide: which they do when they be five and twenty or thirty years old, and at their pleaſure they take one or more of them out as they think good. When they be married the huſband is for every child that his wife hath, to put in one until he come to three, and then no more: for they ſay the women do deſire them. They were invented becauſe they ſhould not abuſe the male ſex: for in times paſt all thoſe countries were ſo given to that villainy, that they were very ſcarce of people. It was alſo ordained that the women ſhould not have paſt three cubits of cloth in their nether clothes, which they bind about them, which are ſo ſtraight that when they go in the ſtreets, they ſhew one ſide of the leg bare above the knee. The bunches aforeſaid be of divers ſorts; the leaſt be as big as a little walnut, and very

very round; the greateſt are as big as a little hen's egg. Some are of braſs and ſome of ſilver; but thoſe of ſilver be for the King and his noblemen. Theſe are gilded and made with great cunning, and ring like a little bell. There are ſome made of lead, which they call ſelwy, becauſe they ring but little: and theſe be of leſſer price for the poorer ſort. The King ſometimes taketh his out, and giveth them to his noblemen as a great gift: and becauſe he hath uſed them, they eſteem them greatly. They will put one in, and heal up the place in ſeven or eight days.

The Bramas which be of the King's country (for the King is a Brama), have their legs or bellies, or ſome part of their body, as they think good themſelves, made black with certain things which they have; they uſe to prick the ſkin, and put on it a kind of anile or blacking, which doth continue always. And this is counted an honour among them; but none may have it but the Bramas which are of the King's kindred.

Theſe people wear no beards: they pull out the hair on their faces with little pincers made for that purpoſe. Some of them will let ſixteen or twenty hairs grow together, ſome in one place of his face and ſome in another, and pulleth out all the reſt: for he carrieth his pincers always with him to pull the hairs out as ſoon as they appear. If they ſee a man with a beard they wonder at him. They have their teeth blacked, both men and women; for they ſay a dog hath his teeth white, therefore they will black theirs.

The Pegues, if they have a ſuit in the law which is ſo doubtful that they cannot well determine it, put two long canes into the water where it is very deep, and both the parties go into the water by the poles, and there ſit men to judge, and they both do dive under the water, and he which remaineth longeſt under the water doth win the ſuit.

The 10th of January I went from Pegu to Malacca, paſſing by many of the ports of Pegu, as Martavan, the iſland of Tavi, from whence cometh great ſtore of tin which ſerveth all India, the iſlands of Tenaſeri, Tunſalaon, and many others; and ſo came to Malacca the 8th of February, where the Portugals have a caſtle which ſtandeth near the ſea. And the country faſt without the town belongeth to the Malayos, which is a kind of proud people. They go naked, with a cloth about their middle, and a little roll of cloth about their heads. Hither come many ſhips from China, and from the Malueos, Banda, Timor, and many other iſlands of the Javas, which bring great ſtore of ſpices and drugs, and diamonds and other jewels. The voyages into many of theſe iſlands belong unto the captain of Malacca: ſo that none may go thither without his licence, which yield him great ſums of money every year. The Portugals here have oftentimes wars with the King of Achem, which ſtandeth in the iſland of Sumatra: from whence cometh great ſtore of pepper and other ſpices every year to Pegu and Mecca, within the Red Sea, and other places.

When the Portugals go from Macao in China to Japan, they carry much white ſilk, gold, muſk, and porcelanes; and they bring from thence nothing but ſilver. They have a great barrack which goeth thither every year, and ſhe bringeth from thence every year about ſix hundred thouſand cruſadoes. And all this ſilver of Japan, and two hundred thouſand cruſadoes more in ſilver which they bring yearly out of India, they employ to their great advantage in China: and they bring from thence gold, muſk, ſilver, copper, porcelanes, and many other things very coſtly and gilded. When the Portugals come to Canton, in China, to traffic, they muſt remain there but certain days; and when they come in at the gate of the city, they muſt enter their names in a book, and when they go out at night they muſt put out their names. They may not lie in the town all night, but muſt lie in their boats without the town. And their days being expired, if any man remain there, they are ill uſed and impriſoned. A man may keep as many

concubines as he will, but one wife only. All the Chineans, Japanians, and Cauchin Chineans do write right downwards, and they do write with a fine pencil made of dog's or cat's hair.

Laban is an iſland among the Javas from whence come the diamonds of the new water. And they find them in the rivers: for the King will not ſuffer them to dig the rock. Tamba is an iſland among the Javas alſo, from whence come diamonds. And the King hath a maſs of earth which is gold; it groweth in the middle of a river, and when the King doth lack gold, they cut part of the earth and melt it, whereof cometh gold. This maſs of earth doth appear but once in a year: which is when the water is low: and this is in the month of April.

Bima is another iſland among the Javas; where the women travel and labour as our men do in England, and the men keep houſe and go where they will.

The 29th of March 1588, I returned from Malacca to Martavan, and ſo to Pegu, where I remained the ſecond time until the 17th of September, and then I went to Coſmin, and there took ſhipping, and paſſing many dangers by reaſon of contrary winds, it pleaſed God that we arrived in Bengala in November following; where I ſtayed for want of paſſage until the 3d of February 1589, and then I ſhipped myſelf for Cochin. In which voyage we endured great extremity for lack of freſh water; for the weather was extremely hot, and we were many merchants and paſſengers, and we had very many calms and hot weather. Yet it pleaſed God that we arrived in Ceylon the 6th of March, where we ſtaid five days to water and to furniſh ourſelves with other neceſſary proviſion. This Ceylon is a brave iſland, very fruitful and fair, but by reaſon of continual wars with the King thereof, all things are very dear; for he will not ſuffer any thing to be brought to the caſtle where the Portugals be: wherefore oftentimes they have great want of victuals. Their proviſion of victuals cometh out of Bengala every year. The King is called Raja, and is of great force, for he cometh to Columbo, which is the place where the Portugals have their fort, with a hundred thouſand men, and many elephants. But they be naked people all of them: yet many of them be good with their pieces, which be muſkets. When the King talketh with any man, he ſtandeth upon one leg, and ſetteth the other foot upon his knee, with his ſword in his hand: it is not their order for the King to ſit, but to ſtand. His apparel is a fine painted cloth made of cotton-wool, about his middle; his hair is long and bound up with a little fine cloth about his head: all the reſt of his body is naked. His guard are a thouſand men, which ſtand round about him, and he in the middle; and when he marcheth many of them go before him, and the reſt come after him. They are of the race of the Chingalayes, which they ſay are the beſt kind of all the Malabars. Their ears are very large; for the greater they are, the more honourable they are accounted. Some of them are a ſpan long. The wood which they burn is cinnamon wood, and it ſmelleth very ſweet. There is great ſtore of rubies, ſaphires, and ſpinelles in this iſland: the beſt kind of all be here: but the King will not ſuffer the inhabitants to dig for them, leſt his enemies ſhould know of them, and make wars againſt him, and ſo drive him out of his country for them. They have no horſes in all the country. The elephants be not ſo great as thoſe of Pegu, which be monſtrous huge: but they ſay all other elephants do fear them, and none dare fight with them, though they be very ſmall. Their women have a cloth bound about them from their middle to their knee, and all the reſt is bare. All of them be black and but little, both men and women. Their houſes be very little, made of the branches of the palmer or coco-tree, and covered with the leaves of the ſame tree.

The

The 11th of March we ſailed from Ceylon, and ſo doubled the cape of Cormori. Not far from thence, between Ceylon and the main land of Negapatan, they fiſh for pearls. And there is fiſhed every year very much; which do ſerve all India, Cambaia and Bengala; it is not ſo orient as the pearl of Baharim in the gulph of Perſia. From Cape Cormori we paſſed by Coulam, which is a fort of the Portugals, from whence cometh great ſtore of pepper, which cometh for Portugal: for oftentimes there ladeth one of the caracks of Portugal. Thus paſſing the coaſt we arrived in Cochin the 22d of March, where we found the weather warm, but ſcarcity of victuals; for here groweth neither corn nor rice: and the greateſt part cometh from Bengala. They have here very bad water, for the river is far off. This bad water cauſeth many of the people to be like lepers, and many of them have their legs ſwollen as big as a man in the waiſt, and many of them are ſcant able to go. Theſe people here be Malabars, and of the race of the Naires of Calicut, and they differ much from the other Malabars. Theſe have their heads very full of hair, and bound up with a ſtring: and there doth appear a buſh without the band wherewith it is bound. The men be tall and ſtrong, and good archers with a long bow and a long arrow, which is their beſt weapon; yet their be ſome calivers among them, but they handle them badly.

Here groweth the pepper, and it ſpringeth up by a tree or a pole, and is like our ivy berry, but ſomething longer like the wheat-ear: and at the firſt the bunches are green, and as they wax ripe they cut them off and dry them. The leaf is much leſs than the ivy-leaf, and thinner. All the inhabitants here have very little houſes, covered with the leaves of the coco-trees. The men be of a reaſonable ſtature, the women little; all black, with a cloth bound about their middle hanging down to their hams: all the reſt of their bodies be naked: they have horrible great ears, with many rings ſet with pearls and ſtones in them. The King goeth incached, as they do all: he doth not remain in a place above five or ſix days: he hath many houſes, but they be but little: his guard is but ſmall; he removeth from one houſe to another according to their order. All the pepper of Calicut and coarſe cinnamon groweth here in this country. The beſt cinnamon doth come from Ceylon, and is peeled from fine young trees. Here are very many palmer or coco-trees, which is their chief food, for it is their meat and drink; and yieldeth many other neceſſary things, as I have declared before.

The Naires which be under the King or Samorin, which be Malabars, have always wars with the Portugals. The King hath always peace with them: but his people go to the ſea to rob and ſteal. Their chief captain is called Cogi Alli; he hath three caſtles under him. When the Portugals complain to the King, he ſaith he doth not ſend them out: but he conſenteth that they go. They range all the coaſt from Ceylon to Goa, and go by four or five prows or boats together, and have in every one of them fifty or threeſcore men, and board preſently. They do much harm on that coaſt, and take every year many foiſts and boats of the Portugals. Many of theſe people be Moors. This King's country beginneth twelve leagues from Cochin, and reacheth near unto Goa. I remained in Cochin until the 2d of November, which was eight months: for that there was no paſſage that went away in all that time: if I had come two days ſooner I had found a paſſage preſently. From Cochin I went to Goa, where I remained three days. From Cochin to Goa is a hundred leagues. From Goa I went to Chaul, which is threeſcore leagues, where I remained three-and-twenty days: and there making my proviſion of things neceſſary for the ſhip, from thence I departed to Ormus, where I ſtayed for a paſſage to Balſora fifty days. From Goa to Ormus is four hundred leagues.

Here

Here I thought good, before I make an end of this my book, to delare ſome things which India and the country farther eaſtward do bring forth.

The pepper groweth in many parts of India, eſpecially about Cochin, and much of it doth grow in the fields among the buſhes without any labour, and when it is ripe they go and gather it. The ſhrub is like unto our ivy-tree: and if it did not run about ſome tree or pole, it would fall down and rot. When they firſt gather it, it is green; and then they lay it in the ſun and it becometh black.

The ginger groweth like unto our garlic, and the root is the ginger: it is to be found in many parts of India.

The cloves do come from the iſles of the Moluccoes, which be divers iſlands: their tree is like to our bay-tree.

The nutmegs and mace grow together, and come from the iſles of Banda; the tree is like our walnut-tree, but ſomewhat leſs.

The white ſandoll is wood very ſweet, and in great requeſt among the Indians: for they grind it with a little water, and anoint their bodies therewith: it cometh from the iſle of Timur.

Camphora is a precious thing among the Indians, and is ſold dearer than gold. I think none of it cometh for Chriſtendom. That which is compounded cometh from China, but that which groweth in canes and is the beſt, cometh from the great iſle of Borneo.

Lignum aloes cometh from Cauchin China.

The benjamin cometh out of the countries of Siam and Jangomes.

The long pepper groweth in Bengala, in Pegu, and in the iſlands of the Javas.

The muſk cometh out of Tartarie, and is made after this order, by the report of the merchants who bring it to Pegu to ſell. In Tartarie there is a little beaſt like unto a young roe, which they take in ſnares, and beat him to death with the blood: after that they cut out the bones, and beat the fleſh with the blood very ſmall, and fill the ſkin with it, and hereof cometh the muſk.

Of the amber they hold divers opinions: but moſt men ſay it cometh out of the ſea, and that they find it upon the ſhore's ſide.

The rubies, ſaphires and ſpinelles are found in Pegu. The diamonds are found in divers places, as in Biſnagar, in Agra, in Delli, and in the iſlands of the Javas.

The beſt pearls come from the iſland of Baharim in the Perſian ſea, and the worſer from the Piſcaria, near the iſle of Ceylon, and from Aynam, a great iſland on the ſouthermoſt coaſt of China.

Spodium, and many other kinds of drugs, come from Cambaia.

Now to return to my voyage: from Ormus I went to Balſora, or Baſora, and from Baſora to Babilon; and we paſſed the moſt part of the way by the ſtrength of men, by hauling the boat up the river with a long cord. From Babilon I came by land to Moſul which ſtandeth near to Nineve, which is all ruinated and deſtroyed: it ſtandeth faſt by the river of Tigris. From Moſul I went to Merdin, which is in the country of the Armenians: but now there dwell in that place a people which they call Cordies, or Curdi. From Merdin I went to Orfa, which is a very fair town, and it hath a goodly fountain full of fiſh: where the Moors hold many great ceremonies and opinions concerning Abraham; for they ſay he did once dwell there. From thence I went to Bir, and ſo paſſed the river Euphrates. From Bir I went to Aleppo, where I ſtayed certain months for company, and then I went to Tripolis; where finding Engliſh ſhipping, I came with a proſperous voyage to London, where by God's aſſiſtance I ſafely arrived the 29th of April 1591, having been eight years out of my native country.

# *EMBASSY TO AVA;*

## SENT BY THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA IN THE YEAR 1795.

*BY MICHAEL SYMES, ESQ.*

LIEUTENANT COLONEL IN HIS MAJESTY'S 76TH REGIMENT*.

CHAP. I. — *Conſent to go to Pegue before the Return of Mr. Wood. — Suſpicions of the Birmans awakened by deſigning Perſons. — Hoſpitable Reception experienced by foreign Merchants at Rangoon. — Characters of Men in Office: — Arts uſed to counteract the Engliſh Deputation. — Mr. Wood departs from Rangoon: — Politeneſs of the Raywoon. — Embark for Pegue: — bring-to during the Ebb of Tide: — Appearance of the Country: — find the Remains of two Deer, half devoured by Tigers. — Rich Soil: — Country deſtitute of Population, and infeſted by wild Beaſts.*

AT the earneſt ſolicitation of Baba-Sheen, I conſented to embark for Pegue on the 31ſt of March, and not wait the return of Mr. Wood, as I had at firſt intended. The annual feſtival at the great temple of Pegue was about to be celebrated with ſumptuous magnificence; and the Viceroy had expreſſed a particular deſire that the Engliſh gentlemen ſhould witneſs the rejoicings. I told Baba-Sheen that I would relinquiſh my original dermination on this point, as a mark of my confidence in him, and perfect conviction of the friendly inclinations of the Viceroy.

Previous to this amicable termination of a diſagreement which at firſt bore an inauſpicious appearance, I had conjectured what were the real motives of their diſtruſt, and my concluſions afterwards proved to be rightly founded. Pride, the natural characteriſtic of the Birmans, was inflamed by the arts of deſigning men, and ſuſpicion was awakened by miſrepreſentation. The Birmans, ſenſible of the advantages of commerce, but inexpert in the practice, deſirous to improve, but unacquainted with the principles of trade, had of late years given toleration to all ſects, and invited ſtrangers of every nation to reſort to their ports; and being themſelves free from thoſe prejudices of caſt, which ſhackle their Indian neighbours, they permitted foreigners to intermarry and ſettle amongſt them. But their country had been ſo much haraſſed by wars with neighbouring nations, and torn by revolts and domeſtic diſſenſions, that trade was frequently interrupted, and ſometimes entirely ſtopped; property was rendered inſecure, and even the perſonal ſafety of ſettlers endangered. During the ſhort intervals of tranquillity, obſcure adventurers, and outcaſts from all countries of the eaſt, had flocked to Rangoon, where they were received with hoſpitality by a liberal nation: among theſe the induſtrious few ſoon acquired wealth by means of their ſuperior knowledge. The Parſees, the Armenians, and a ſmall proportion of Muſſulmen, engroſſed the largeſt ſhare of the trade of Rangoon; and individuals, from their number, were frequently ſelected by government to fill employments of truſt that related to trade and tranſactions with foreigners, the duties of which the Birmans ſuppoſed that ſuch per-

* London, 1800. Some chapters are omitted, and the others preſented in ſucceſſive order.

ſons

ſons could perform better than themſelves. Baba-Sheen, born in the Birman country, of Armenian parents, had obtained the high office he held by his ſkill in buſineſs and his general knowledge. The deſcendant of a Portugueſe family, named Jaunſee, whoſe origin was very low, and who in the early part of his life had been accuſed as acceſſary to the piratical ſeizure of an Engliſh veſſel, was inveſted with the important office of ſhawbunder, or intendant of the port, and receiver of the port cuſtoms. This man appeared to perform the duties of his ſtation with diligence. The town of Rangoon was indebted to his activity for the pavement of its ſtreets, for ſeveral well-built wooden bridges, and a wharf, which, extending into the river, and raiſed on poſts, enabled the ſhips to deliver and receive cargoes without the aſſiſtance of river craft: under his direction alſo, a ſpacious cuſtom-houſe had lately been erected. This is the only lay building in Rangoon, that is not conſtructed of wood; it is compoſed of brick and mortar, and the roof covered with tiles; within, there are a number of wooden ſtages for the reception of bale goods. Notwithſtanding the reſpect which the energy of Jaunſee's character had obtained, the Birmans were by no means inſenſible of the meanneſs of his extraction: his want of education was a matter of deriſion among them: although an inhabitant of the Birman country near forty years, and a great part of the time an officer of government, he could neither read nor write, and even ſpoke their language imperfectly. We were unfortunate in his happening to be at Ava at the time of our arrival, whither he had gone to render up his annual accounts: had he been on the ſpot, it is probable he would have obviated ſeveral of the inconvenient circumſtances attending our firſt introduction.

The character of Baba-Sheen was ſtrikingly contraſted with that of the ſhawbunder: he was a man of general knowledge, and deemed by the Birmans an accompliſhed ſcholar; he was better acquainted with the hiſtory, politics, and geography of Europe, than any Aſiatic I ever converſed with: his learning was univerſal, being ſlightly verſed in almoſt every ſcience; but his information, extenſive as it was, although it gained him employment, could not procure him confidence: he was ſaid to be deficient in other eſſential requiſites.

Several private merchants had alſo acquired influence in Rangoon. Bawangee, a Parſee of conſiderable credit, had intereſt to procure a partial mitigation of duties on his merchandize, in conſideration of ſupplying annually a certain number of firelocks for the royal arſenal. Jacob Aguizar, an Armenian, to whom I had letters of credit, dealt largely in foreign commodities. Theſe people naturally behold with a jealous eye, any advance of a commercial nature, that may tend to diminiſh their influence, and deprive them of that dictatorial power, which they aſſume and exerciſe over all merchants and mariners that reſort to Rangoon: but of none are they ſo apprehenſive as of the Engliſh; a connection with whom might teach the Birmans to tranſact foreign buſineſs without their aſſiſtance, and give them a more adequate ſenſe of their own intereſts. Under theſe fears they had long been diſſeminating the ſeeds of ſuſpicion, and warning the Birmans to be on their guard againſt Britiſh fraud, as well as Britiſh force; but no ſooner did they hear of the preſent deputation, than the alarm-bell was ſounded from all quarters. They repreſented (as I was credibly informed) our deſigns to be of the moſt miſchievous tendency; and even endeavoured to work on the ſuperſtition of the people, by the ſolemn promulgation of a prophecy, that in leſs than twelve months the Engliſh colours would fly on the Rangoon flag-ſtaff. Theſe artifices, were not now practiſed for the firſt time, although they could not deceive the Birmans, it is probable were not altogether void of effect; nor is it to be wondered at, that our reception, though reſpectful from the deputation that came down to meet

us, was not perfectly cordial. There is alſo reaſon to conclude, that the provincial officers of Rangoon knew not in what manner they ought to act, not having received preciſe inſtructions for the regulation of their conduct toward us in matters of ceremony.

Conformably to our recent arrangement, Mr. Wood left us on the preceding night, and, accompanied by Baba-Sheen, ſet out for Pegue in a commodious boat, well protected from the weather. This day the captains of the principal ſhips in the river dined with me on ſhore. The Raywoon, knowing that I was to have company, ſent a whole antelope, with Indian vegetables in abundance; and acquainted me, that boats would be in readineſs for us on the following day at noon, as I had promiſed to leave Rangoon by the evening's tide.

The morning of the following day was ſpent in preparation for our journey to Pegue. Having now come to a right underſtanding with perſons in power, I did not ſcruple to ſend on ſhore part of my heavy baggage, which was depoſited in the houſe, under charge of three ſoldiers, and ſome ſervants, whom we were obliged to leave behind on account of indiſpoſition. The preſents for His Majeſty were not taken out of the ſhip, as many of the articles were of a brittle nature, and liable to injury from removal. I likewiſe drew up a ſhort letter of inſtructions for Captain Thomas, leaving him in moſt caſes a latitude to act from the dictates of his own diſcretion, on which I knew I might with ſafety rely; at the ſame time I pointed out the propriety of uſing every means to conciliate the inhabitants, and cautioned him to repreſs, in his European crew, that thoughtleſs intemperance which is the characteriſtic of Britiſh ſeamen when they get on ſhore.

About noon, three boats were in readineſs at the creek near our dwelling. The one deſigned for my conveyance was comfortable, according to Birman notions of accommodation. It conſiſted of three ſmall compartments, partitioned by fine mats, neatly faſtened to ſlips of bamboo cane: the inner room was lined with Indian chintz; the roof, however, was ſo low as not to admit of a perſon ſtanding upright; an inconvenience ſcarcely to be endured by an European, but not at all regarded by Aſiatics. It was rowed by twelve Birman watermen, who uſed ſhort oars made in the Engliſh form, and who ſeemed to underſtand their buſineſs. A large heavy boat was provided for the ſoldiers and our domeſtics, and a ſmall cutter attended as a kitchen: the boat deſtined for Dr. Buchanan did not arrive until it was dark, and being a very indifferent one, we imagined it was kept out of ſight for that reaſon.

The mouth of the Syriam or Pegue river, where it joins with that of Rangoon, is about three miles below the town; we therefore waited till the ebb tide was nearly ſpent, in order to drop down, and take the firſt of the flood to aſcend the river of Pegue. At eight o'clock at night we embarked, accompanied by two war-boats, in one of which was the Nakhaan of Rangoon, and in the other an inferior officer. A black Portugueſe in the ſervice of the provincial government, who ſpoke the language of Hindoſtan, came as official interpreter: we had likewiſe another Portugueſe, named Pauntchoo, who engaged in my ſervice at the Andaman iſland, whither he had come from Baſſien, as a trader in tobacco and ſmall articles for the ſupply of the colony. This man was a valuable acquiſition to me during the miſſion; he ſpoke the Birman language fluently, and that of Hindoſtan intelligibly: the latter was the medium I commonly uſed in my converſations with Birmans, and I was ſeldom at a loſs to find ſome perſon that underſtood it. On arriving at the mouth of the Pegue river, we brought-to, and waited an hour for the turn of tide, which, during the ſprings, runs with conſiderable violence. On the firſt of the flood, we weighed, and uſed our oars: neap tides prevailing, the boats made but ſlow progreſs, about four miles an hour, continuing

tinuing at that rate for ſeven hours, when we again ſtopped and faſtened our boats to the bank.

Early in the morning Dr. Buchanan and myſelf walked out with our guns, accompanied with half a dozen attendants; the country round, as far as our view could reach, diſplayed a level plain, with clumps of trees at diſtant intervals; a thick reedy graſs had grown in ſome places very high; in others, where it had been burnt, there appeared good paſturage for cattle: we ſaw the embanked diviſions of a few rice plantations, and diſcovered the veſtiges of former culture and population; but during a walk of two hours the eye was not gratified with the ſight of a houſe, or an inhabitant: deſolated by the contentions of the Birmans and Peguers, the country had not yet recovered from the ravages of war. In our walk we obſerved many tracks of wild elephants, the ſpots where hogs had rooted, and deer lain, and found the remains of two antelopes that had recently been killed and half devoured by tigers. The Doctor and myſelf fired at deer without ſucceſs. The banks on each ſide the river are low, and the land ſeems adapted to produce excellent crops; but it is now quite deſerted, and become the undiſputed domain of the wild beaſts of the foreſt.

CHAP. II. — *Arrive at Pegue: — polite Reception: — invited to the Celebration of the annual Feſtival: — Proceſſion deſcribed. — Sports in Honour of the Day: — Pugiliſtic Exerciſes: — Birmans expert at Wreſtling. — Formal Introduction to the Maywoon, or Viceroy. — Companies from the different Diſtricts of the Province paſs in Review. — Grand Diſplay of Fireworks: — orderly and ſober Demeanour of the Populace. — Curioſity of the Birmans. — Attention of the Viceroy to our Accommodation. — Invited to a dramatic Repreſentation. — Siameſe Actors: — an extraordinary Performer: — Deſcription of the Play. — Birmans cloſe the Year with a purificatory Ceremonial, in which the Engliſh Gentlemen bear a Part.*

AT noon we got under way, and ſoon paſſed a village on the right, conſiſting of about twenty houſes; the river gradually diminiſhed in breadth, and at this place was not more than forty yards wide, the banks covered with coppice and long reeds: after paſſing another and larger village where there was a chokey or watch-houſe, we proceeded through a cultivated country, and numerous villages appeared on each ſide. At ſeven in the evening we were in ſight of Pegue, and judged the diſtance by water from Rangoon to be about ninety miles, moſt part of the way in a northward direction; but the windings of the river are ſo great, that the road in a ſtraight line muſt be much leſs. When we approached the landing-place, Mr. Wood came down to meet us, and the favourable account he gave of his reception, added not a little to the ſatisfaction of having finiſhed our journey: we alſo found Baba-Sheen on the bank waiting our arrival. This perſonage conducted us with great civility to our habitation, which we were pleaſed at finding far ſuperior to that we had left. It was ſituated on a plain, a few hundred yards without the principal gate of the preſent town, but within the fortified lines of the ancient city. Like Birman houſes in general, it was raiſed between three and four feet from the ground, compoſed wholly of bamboos and mats, and indifferently thatched: this is a defect that extends univerſally to their own dwellings, and affords matter of ſurpriſe in a country where the coarſe graſs uſed for thatching is ſo plentiful. We had each a ſmall apartment as a bed-chamber, with carpets ſpread over the mats, and a larger room to dine in and to receive viſitors: huts were alſo erected for our attendants; and a bamboo paliſade, incloſing a court ſufficiently ſpacious, ſurrounded the whole. On the whole, we had reaſon to be ſatisfied with our dwelling; it

was commodious, according to the ideas of the people themſelves, and we had no right to complain of that which was well-intended. Shortly after our arrival, two officers of government waited on me, with compliments of congratulation from the Maywoon; they ſtayed but a ſhort time, perceiving that we were buſy in arranging conveniences for the night.

Our ſervants were occupied during the greater part of the next day in bringing up our baggage from the boats to the houſe, a diſtance of nearly half a mile. In the afternoon an officer called Che-key, ſecond in rank to the Maywoon, and the Sere-dogee, or ſecretary of the provincial government, accompanied by Baba-Sheen, paid us a viſit to tea. They informed me, that the Maywoon, or Viceroy, who had been much engaged in directing the preparations for the enſuing feſtival, hoped that we would wave ceremony, and give him our company on the following morning at the great temple of Shoemadoo, to view the amuſements of the firſt day; an invitation that I gladly accepted, from motives of curioſity as well as of reſpect.

At eight o'clock in the morning Baba-Sheen arrived, in order to conduct us to the temple; and brought with him three ſmall horſes, equipped with ſaddles and bridles, reſembling thoſe uſed by the higher ranks of the inhabitants of Hindoſtan. After breakfaſt, Mr. Wood, Dr. Buchanan, and myſelf, mounted, and attended by Baba-Sheen, and an ackedoo, an officer belonging to the Maywoon's houſehold, alſo on horſeback, ſet out to view the ceremony. We entered the new town by the neareſt gate, and proceeded upwards of a quarter of a mile through the principal ſtreet, till we came to where it was croſſed at right angles by another, which led from the Maywoon's reſidence to the temple; here our progreſs was ſtopped by a great concourſe of people, and we perceived on each ſide of the way troops marching by ſingle files, in ſlow time, towards the temple. By the advice of Baba-Sheen we occupied a convenient ſpot to view the proceſſion. The troops that we ſaw were the Maywoon's guard: five or ſix hundred men paſſed us in this manner, wretchedly armed and equipped; many had muſkets that appeared in a very unſerviceable ſtate, with accoutrements not in a more reſpectable condition; ſome were provided with ſpears, others with ſabres; whilſt their dreſs was as motley as their weapons. Several were naked to the middle, having only a kummerband, or waiſtcloth, rolled round their waiſt, and paſſed between their legs; ſome were dreſſed in old velvet or cloth coats, which they put on regardleſs of ſize or faſhion, although it ſcarcely covered their nakedneſs, or trailed on the ground: it was finery, and finery in any ſhape was welcome. Some wore Dutch broad-brimmed hats bound with gold lace, others the crowns of hats without any brim at all: the officers of this martial band, who were for the moſt part Chriſtian deſcendants of Portugueſe anceſtors, exhibited a very groteſque appearance. The firſt perſonages of rank that paſſed by were three children of the Maywoon, borne aſtride upon men's ſhoulders; the eldeſt, a boy about eight years of age; the youngeſt, a girl not more than five; the latter only was legitimate, being the firſt-born of his preſent wife; the two elder were the offspring of concubines. The Maywoon followed at a ſhort diſtance, mounted on the neck of a very fine elephant, which he guided himſelf. His dreſs was handſome and becoming; he had on a dark velvet robe with long ſleeves, trimmed with broad gold lace, and on his head he wore a conical cap of the ſame material, richly embroidered; a number of parade elephants in tawdry houſings brought up the rear. As we had not been formally introduced, he paſſed by without honouring us with any notice. Proceeding to the foot of the ſteps that lead to the pagoda, his elephant knelt down to ſuffer him to alight. Whilſt he was in the performance of this act, the parade elephants knelt alſo, and the crowd that followed ſquatted on their heels. Having aſcended the flight of ſteps, he

put off his ſhoes, and walked once round the temple without his umbrella, which was laid aſide out of reverence to the ſanctity of the place. When he had finiſhed this ceremony, he proceeded to the ſcene of amuſement, a ſort of theatre erected at an angle of the area of the temple. Two ſaloons, or open halls, ſeparate from the great building, formed two ſides of the theatre, which was about fifty feet ſquare, covered by an awning of graſs, ſpread on a flat roof of ſlender canes, ſupported by bamboo poles. Beneath the projecting verge of the roof of one of the ſaloons, there was an elevated ſeat, with a handſome canopy of cloth, for the accommodation of the Maywoon and his three children; and on a bare bench beneath him ſat the principal officers of his court. On the left ſide of the theatre, a ſimilar canopy and chair were erected for the Maywoon of Martaban, who happened at this time to be paſſing by to take poſſeſſion of his government. Oppoſite to him, under the roof of the other ſaloon, ſeats were provided for the Engliſh gentlemen, covered with fine carpeting, but without any canopy. The diverſions of this day conſiſted entirely of boxing and wreſtling. In order to prevent injury to the champions, the ground had been prepared, and made ſoft with moiſtened ſand. At the latter exerciſe they ſeemed to be very expert: a ſhort ſtout man was particularly diſtinguiſhed for his ſuperior ſkill and ſtrength: we were told, that in former conteſts he had killed two of his antagoniſts. The firſt that encountered him on the preſent occaſion, though much ſuperior in ſize, was, after a ſhort ſtruggle, pitched on his head, and, as the byſtanders ſaid, ſeverely hurt. Many others diſplayed great activity and addreſs; but in the art of boxing they ſeemed very deficient, notwithſtanding they uſed fiſts, knees, and elbows. The battles were of ſhort duration; blood drawn on either ſide terminated the conteſt; and even without it, the Maywoon would not ſuffer them to contend long. At the end of an engagement both combatants approached the Maywoon's throne, and proſtrated themſelves before him, with their foreheads to the ground, whilſt an attendant ſpread on the ſhoulders of each two pieces of cotton cloth, as the reward of their exertions, which they carried away in a crouching poſition, until they mingled with the crowd. The places of thoſe who retired were immediately filled by freſh pugiliſts. This amuſement laſted for three hours, until we became quite weary of it; tea and ſweetmeats in great profuſion were afterwards ſerved to us, in the name of the Maywoon. We departed without ceremony, and got home about four o'clock, extremely oppreſſed by the intenſe heat of the weather.

In the morning an early meſſage came from the Maywoon, intimating that he hoped to ſee us that day at the government-houſe. Baba-Sheen alſo made a tender of his ſervices to introduce us to the praw, or lord; who being ready at the hour appointed, we ſet out on horſeback to pay our viſit of ceremony, preceded by the ſoldiers of the guard, and our perſonal attendants. Six Birmans alſo walked in front, bearing the articles intended as a preſent, which conſiſted of ſilks, ſatins, velvets, gold, flowered and plain muſlins, ſome broad cloth, and a handſome ſilver-mounted fowling piece. In this order we marched through the town, the objects of univerſal curioſity, till we reached the gate of an incloſure ſurrounding the Maywoon's dwelling. It was made of boards nailed to poſts twelve or thirteen feet high, and comprehended a ſpacious ſquare, in the centre of which ſtood the governor's reſidence. There were likewiſe ſome ſmaller houſes irregularly diſpoſed, appropriated, as we underſtood, to the ſeveral members of the Maywoon's family. We pulled off our ſhoes at the bottom of the ſtairs, and were uſhered into a ſaloon, from whence, turning to the right, we aſcended three ſteps into a hall, where a number of perſons ranged on each ſide, were ſitting with their legs inverted, waiting the entrance of the Maywoon. Inſtructed by Baba-Sheen, we took our ſeats on ſmall carpets ſpread in the middle of the room, in front of

of a narrow gallery elevated about two feet from the floor and railed in, with the preſents placed before us on trays. In a few minutes the Maywoon entered by a door at one end of the gallery. We made no obeiſance, as none was deſired, but his attendants crouched to the ground. He ſat down, and ſilence was kept for ſome time, which I firſt interrupted, by telling him, through Baba-Sheen, that the Governor-general of India, having received his friendly letter, and being well aſſured of the amicable diſpoſition of the Birman government towards the Engliſh nation, had charged me with the delivery of letters and preſents to His Majeſty at Ava, and had likewiſe requeſted his acceptance of a few articles which I had brought with me. I then roſe, and preſented the governor-general's letter; he laid it on the tray before him, talked of indifferent matters, and was extremely polite in his expreſſions and manner, but carefully avoided all diſcourſe that had the leaſt relation to buſineſs, or the objects of the embaſſy. After half an hour's converſation, chiefly on unintereſting topics, he invited us to a grand diſplay of fireworks, which was to take place on the following day, and ſoon after withdrew unceremoniouſly: tea and ſweatmeats were then ſerved up. Having taſted of what was ſet before us, we were conducted by Baba-Sheen to the outer balcony, to view the different companies paſs by that intended to exhibit fireworks on the following day.

It is the cuſtom, on this occaſion, for the ſeveral mious or diſtricts, whoſe ſituation is not too remote, to ſelect and ſend a number of men and women from their community to repreſent them at the general feſtival: theſe companies vie with each other in the magnificence of their fireworks, and on the eve of celebration paſs the government-houſe in review before the Maywoon and his family, each company diſtinct. A ſmall waggon drawn by four buffaloes, profuſely decorated with peacocks' feathers, and the tails of Thibet cows, led the proceſſion, on which were laid the fireworks of that particular company: next advanced the men belonging to it, dancing and ſhouting; the females, in a ſeparate troop, came laſt, ſinging in full chorus, and clapping their hands in accurately meaſured time. They, for the moſt part, appeared to be girls from ſixteen to twenty years of age, comely, and well made; but their features were without the delicacy of the damſels of Hindoſtan, or the bloom of the ſoft Circaſſian beauties. In every company of young women there were a few aged matrons, probably as a check on the vivacity of youth: the ſeniors, however, ſeemed to join in the feſtivity with juvenile ſprightlineſs. Refreſhments were again ſerved up to us, and we returned home about two o'clock.

At eight in the morning great crowds had aſſembled on the plain without the ſtockade of the preſent town, but within the walls of ancient Pegue; three temporary ſheds were erected on the middle of the green, apart from each other, one for the reception of the Maywoon and his family, another for the Martaban governor, and a third for our accommodation. Common ſpectators, to the number of many thouſands, were ſcattered in groups over the plain; each diviſion or company exhibited in turn its own fireworks: the diſplay of rockets was ſtrikingly grand, but nothing elſe merited attention. The cylinders of the rockets were trunks of trees hollowed, many of them ſeven or eight feet long, and from two to three feet in circumference; theſe were bound by ſtrong ligatures to thick bamboos, eighteen or twenty feet in length; they roſe to a great height, and in deſcending emitted various appearances of fire that were very beautiful. The time appointed for the amuſement conſiderably diminiſhed the effect; but it was choſen from a humane apprehenſion of injury to the people by the fall of extinguiſhed rockets, which muſt have rendered the diverſion, during the night, extremely dangerous. Notwithſtanding this precaution, a man was unfortunate enough

enough to be in the way of one that killed him on the ſpot. Each company, after contributing its ſhare towards the general entertainment, marched paſt the Maywoon, to the ſound of muſical inſtruments; after which they proceeded to our ſhed with ſongs and dances, "the pipe and the tabor," manifeſting every lively demonſtration of joy.

It was a ſpectacle not leſs pleaſing than novel to an European, to witneſs ſuch a concourſe of people of all claſſes, brought together for the purpoſes of hilarity and ſport, without their committing one act of intemperance, or being diſgraced by a ſingle inſtance of intoxication. What ſcenes of riot and debauchery would not a ſimilar feſtival in the vicinity of any capital town of Great Britain inevitably produce! The reflection is humiliating to an Engliſhman, however proud he may feel of the national character.

During the four following days we enjoyed a reſpite from public ſhows and ceremonials, and had leiſure for obſervation; though our hall, in a morning, was generally crowded, as every perſon of diſtinction in Pegue paid me the compliment of a viſit, except the Maywoon, who, within the precincts of his own government, where he repreſents the King, never returns a viſit. Numbers both of men and women, prompted by harmleſs curioſity, ſurrounded the paling of the incloſure from morning till night; thoſe of a better claſs uſually came in, ſome previouſly aſking permiſſion, but many entered without it. Perfectly free from reſtraint among themſelves, the Birmans ſcruple not to go into your houſe without ceremony, although you are an utter ſtranger. To do them juſtice, however, they are not at all diſpleaſed at your taking the ſame freedom with them. This intruſion is confined wholly to your public room; they do not attempt to open a door: and where a curtain dropped denotes privacy, they never offer to violate the barrier. On entering the room they immediately deſcend into the poſture of reſpect. Of all our cuſtoms none ſeemed to ſurpriſe them more than the preparations for dining: the variety of utenſils, and our manner of ſitting at a table excited their wonder: they never took any greater liberty than merely to come into the room, and ſit down on the floor; they meddled with nothing, and aſked for nothing, and when deſired to go away always obeyed with cheerfulneſs. Had untold gold been placed before them, I am confident not a piece would have been purloined. Among the men of rank that viſited us, an officer called Seree Dogee favoured us with his company more frequently than the reſt. He held, by commiſſion from the King, the place of chief provincial ſecretary, and junior judge of the criminal court: this gentleman often partook of our dinner, and ſeemed to reliſh our fare, but could not be prevailed on to taſte wine or ſtrong liquors: he was much pleaſed, however, with the Engliſh mode of making tea, of which he drank copiouſly; indeed it is a beverage highly palatable to all ranks of Birmans.

Although, from the eſtabliſhed forms of diplomatic etiquette, we had little perſonal intercourſe with the Maywoon, yet he was not deficient in attention: he ſent large ſupplies of rice, oil, gee, preſerved tamarinds, and ſpices, for our Indian attendants; preſents alſo of fruit and flowers were daily brought to me in his name. As their religion forbids the ſlaughter of any but wild animals for the purpoſes of food, he did not offer any thing for the uſe of the table; but our ſervants had liberty to purchaſe whatever they wanted. Fowls, kid, and veniſon, conſtituted our principal diſhes; the two firſt we procured in abundance, and of a good quality; the veniſon was meagre, but well taſted, and made excellent ſoup; it was chiefly the wild antelope, with which the country abounds. Having among my people two bakers, and a perſon who underſtood making butter, we were ſeldom without theſe eſſential articles, and of a tolerable quality.

lity. Whatever we had occaſion to kill was ſlain in the night, to avoid offending the prejudices of the people, who, ſo far from ſeeking cauſe of offence, were inclined to make every liberal allowance for the uſage of foreigners. The Maywoon politely ordered a pair of horſes of the Pegue breed, ſmall, but handſome and ſpirited, to be ſelected, and ſent to us, from his own ſtud, accompanied by two grooms, one to attend on each horſe; a temporary ſtable was erected for them within the paling of our court, where they continued while we remained at Pegue, and afforded us the means of exerciſe and pleaſing recreation. Being now commodiouſly ſettled, I invited Captain Thomas from Rangoon, to ſpend a few days with us; he accepted my invitation, and came up in a boat provided by the intendant of the port, having previouſly arranged the concerns of his ſhip, and the mode of ſupplying the crew during his abſence.

The ſolar year of the Birmans was now drawing to a cloſe, and the three laſt days are uſually ſpent by them in merriment and feaſting. We were invited by the Maywoon to be preſent on the evening of the 10th of April, at the exhibition of a dramatic repreſentation.

At a little before eight o'clock, the hour when the play was to commence, we proceeded to the houſe of the Maywoon, accompanied by Baba-Sheen, who, on all occaſions, acted as maſter of the ceremonies. The theatre was the open court, ſplendidly illuminated by lamps and torches: the Maywoon and his lady ſat in a projecting balcony of his houſe; we occupied ſeats below him, raiſed about two feet from the ground, and covered with carpets; a crowd of ſpectators were ſeated in a circle round the ſtage. The performance began immediately on our arrival, and far excelled any Indian drama that I had ever ſeen. The dialogue was ſpirited without rant, and the action animated without being extravagant: the dreſſes of the principal performers were ſhowy and becoming. I was told that the beſt actors were natives of Siam, a nation which, though unable to contend with the Birmans and Peguers in war, have cultivated with more ſucceſs the refined arts of peace. By way of interlude between the acts, a clowniſh buffoon entertained the audience with a recital of different paſſages; and by grimace, and frequent alterations of tone and countenance, extorted loud peals of laughter from the ſpectators. The Birmans ſeem to delight in mimickry, and are very expert in the practice, poſſeſſing uncommon verſatility of countenance. An eminent practitioner of this art amuſed us with a ſpecimen of his ſkill, at our own houſe, and, to our no ſmall aſtoniſhment, exhibited a maſterly diſplay of the paſſions, in pantomimic looks and geſtures: the tranſitions he made from pain to pleaſure, from joy to deſpair, from rage to mildneſs, from laughter to tears; his expreſſion of terror, and, above all, his look of idiotiſm, were performances of firſt rate merit in their line; and we agreed in opinion, that had his fates decreed him to have been a native of Great Britain, his genius would have rivalled that of any modern comedian of the Engliſh ſtage.

The plot of the drama performed this evening, I underſtood, was taken from the ſacred text of the Ramayan of Balmiec *, a work of high authority amongſt the Hindoos. It repreſented the battles of the holy Ram and the impious Rahwaan, chief of the Rakuſs, or demons, to revenge the rapeof Seeta, the wife of Ram, who was forcibly carried away by Rahwaan, and bound under the ſpells of enchantment. Viciſſitudes of fortune took place during the performance, that ſeemed highly intereſting to the audience. Ram was at length wounded by a poiſoned arrow; the ſages ſkilled in medicine conſulted on his cure; they diſcovered, that on the mountain Indragurry grew a certain tree that produced a gum, which was a ſovereign antidote againſt the deleterious effects of poiſon;

* Called by Sir William Jones, Valmiec.

but the diſtance was ſo great that none could be found to undertake the journey: at length Honymaan *, leader of the army of apes, offered to go in queſt of it. When he arrived at the place, being uncertain which was the tree, he took up half the mountain, and tranſported it with eaſe: thus was the cure of Ram happily effected, the enchantment was broken, and the piece ended with a dance, and ſongs of triumph.

On the 12th of April, the laſt day of the Birman year, we were invited by the Maywoon to bear a part ourſelves in a ſport that is univerſally practiſed throughout the Birman dominions on the concluding day of their annual cycle. To waſh away the impurities of the paſt, and commence the new year free from ſtain, women on this day are accuſtomed to throw water on every man they meet, which the men have the privilege of retorting; this licence gives riſe to a great deal of harmleſs merriment, particularly amongſt the young women, who, armed with large ſyringes and flaggons, endeavour to wet every man that goes along the ſtreet, and, in their turn, receive a wetting with perfect good humour; nor is the ſmalleſt indecency ever manifeſted in this or any other of their ſports. Dirty water is never caſt; a man is not allowed to lay hold of a woman, but may fling as much water over her as he pleaſes, provided ſhe has been the aggreſſor; but if a woman warns a man that ſhe does not mean to join in the diverſion, it is conſidered as an avowal of pregnancy, and ſhe paſſes without moleſtation.

About an hour before ſunſet we went to the Maywoon's, and found that his lady had provided plentifully to give us a wet reception. In the hall were placed three large china jars, full of water, with bowls and ladles to fling it. Each of us, on entering, had a bottle of roſe-water preſented to him, a little of which we in turn poured into the palm of the Maywoon's hand, who ſprinkled over his own veſt of fine flowered muſlin; the lady then made her appearance at the door, and gave us to underſtand that ſhe did not mean to join in the ſport herſelf, but made her eldeſt daughter, a pretty child in the nurſe's arms, pour from a golden cup ſome roſe-water mixed with ſandal-wood, firſt over her father, and then over each of the Engliſh gentlemen; this was a ſignal for the ſport to begin. We were prepared, being dreſſed in linen waiſtcoats. From ten to twenty women, young and middle aged, ruſhed into the hall from the inner apartments, who ſurrounded and deluged without mercy four men, ill able to maintain ſo unequal a conteſt. The Maywoon was ſoon driven from the field; but Mr. Wood having got poſſeſſion of one of the jars, we were enabled to preſerve our ground till the water was exhauſted; it ſeemed to afford them great diverſion, eſpecially if we appeared at all diſtreſſed by the quantity of water flung in our faces. All parties being tired, and completely drenched, we went home to change our cloaths, and in the way met many damſels who would willingly have renewed the ſport; they, however, were afraid to begin without receiving encouragement from us, not knowing how it might be taken by ſtrangers; but they aſſailed Baba-Sheen and his Birman attendants with little ceremony. No inconvenient conſequences were to be apprehended from the wetting; the weather was favourable, and we ran no riſk of taking cold. Having put on dry cloaths, we returned to the Maywoon's, and were entertained with a dance and puppet-ſhow that laſted till eleven.

* Honymaan is worſhipped by the Hindoos under the form of an ape, and is one of the moſt frequent objects of their adoration: almoſt every Hindoo pagoda has this figure delineated in ſome part of it. Honymaan is the term uſed by the Hindoos to denote a large ape.

CHAP. III. — *Public Rejoicings ceaſe. — Site of the ancient City of Pegue. — Fortifications. — Encouragement given to Settlers. — Deſcription of the new Town — Public Buildings. — Dread of Fire — Precautions uſed againſt it. — An Account of the Temple of Shoemadoo. — Viſit the Siredaw, the ſuperior Rhahaan, or High Prieſt of the Country. — Deſolated State of the Environs of Pegue — Monaſtic Retreats of the Rhahaans. — Manufactures at Pegue — Officers of the Provincial Government — Adminiſtration of Juſtice. — Monſoon threatens. — Prepare to depart — take leave of the Viceroy.*

SPORTS and feſtivities ceaſed with the departed year, a circumſtance that gave us great pleaſure, as from attending them we were frequently expoſed to the influence of a burning ſun, which at this ſeaſon is moſt powerful; but though the heat from noon till five in the evening was intenſe, yet the night was cool, and the mornings pleaſant and refreſhing. I generally took advantage of two temperate hours, from the dawn of day till the ſun became inconvenient, to walk or ride through the city and its environs; and in all my excurſions I never once experienced inſult or moleſtation: curioſity and aſtoniſhment were often expreſſed, but unaccompanied by perſonal incivility, or by the ſlighteſt indication of contempt.

The fate that befel this once flouriſhing city has already been recounted in the preceding pages. The extent of ancient Pegue may ſtill be accurately traced by the ruins of the ditch and wall that ſurrounded it; from this it appears to have been a quadrangle, each ſide meaſuring nearly a mile and a half; in ſeveral places the ditch is choked up by rubbiſh that has been caſt into it, and the falling of its own banks; ſufficient, however, ſtill remains to ſhew that it was once no contemptible defence: the breadth I judged to be about ſixty yards, and the depth ten or twelve feet: in ſome part of it there is water, but in no conſiderable quantity. I was informed, that when the ditch was in repair, the water ſeldom, in the hotteſt ſeaſon, ſunk below the depth of four feet. An injudicious fauſſebray, thirty feet wide, did not add to the ſecurity of the fortreſs.

The fragments of the wall likewiſe evince that this was a work of magnitude and labour; it is not eaſy to aſcertain preciſely what was its height, but when we conjectured it at leaſt thirty feet, and in breadth, at the baſe, not leſs than forty. It is compoſed of brick, badly cemented with clay mortar. Small equidiſtant baſtions about 300 yards aſunder, are ſtill diſcoverable, and there had been a parapet of maſonry; but the whole is in a ſtate ſo ruinous, and ſo covered with weeds and briars, as to leave very imperfect veſtiges of its former ſtrength.

In the centre of each face of the fort there is a gateway about thirty feet wide; and theſe gateways were the principal entrances. The paſſage acroſs the ditch is over a cauſeway raiſed on a mound of earth, that ſerves as a bridge, and was formerly defended by a retrenchment, of which there are now no traces.

It is impoſſible to conceive a more ſtriking picture of fallen grandeur, and the deſolating hand of war, than the inſide of theſe walls diſplays. Alompra, when he got poſſeſſion of this city in the year 1757, razed every dwelling to the ground, and diſperſed or led into captivity all the inhabitants. The temples or praws, which are very numerous, were the only buildings that eſcaped the fury of the conqueror; and of theſe the great pyramid of Shoemadoo has alone been reverenced and kept in repair.

The preſent King of the Birmans, whoſe government has been leſs diſturbed than

that

that of any of his predeceſſors, early in his reign turned his thoughts to the population and improvement, as well as the extenſion, of his dominions, and ſeemed deſirous to conciliate his ſubjects by mildneſs, rather than to govern them by terror. He has abrogated ſome ſevere penal laws impoſed by his predeceſſors upon the Taliens, or native Peguers. Juſtice is now impartially diſtributed; and the only diſtinction at preſent between a Birman and a Talien conſiſts in the excluſion of the latter from places of public truſt and power.

No act of the Birman government is more likely to reconcile the Peguers to the Birman yoke, than the reſtoration of their ancient place of abode, and the preſervation and embelliſhment of the temple of Shoemadoo. The King, ſensible of this, as well as of the advantages that muſt arise to the ſtate from the increaſe of culture and population, five years ago iſſued orders to rebuild Pegue, encouraged ſettlers by grants of ground, and invited the ſcattered families of former inhabitants to return and repeople their deſerted city.

His Birman Majeſty, more effectually to accompliſh this end, on the death of the late Maywoon, which happened about five years ago, directed his ſucceſſor, the preſent governor, to quit Ragoon, and make Pegue his future reſidence, and the ſeat of provincial government of the thirty-two diſtricts of Henzawuddy *.

Theſe judicious meaſures have ſo far ſucceeded, that a new town has been built within the ſite of the ancient city; but Rangoon poſſeſſes ſo many advantages over Pegue in a commercial point of view, that perſons of property who are engaged in buſineſs will not eaſily be prevailed upon to leave one of the fineſt ſea-ports in the world, to encounter the difficulties of a new ſettlement, where commerce, if any can ſubſiſt, muſt be very confined, from the want of a commodious navigation. The present inhabitants, who have been induced to return, conſiſt chiefly of Rhahaans, or prieſts, followers of the provincial court, and poor Talien families, who were glad to regain a ſettlement in their once magnificent metropolis. The number altogether perhaps does not exceed ſix or ſeven thouſand; thoſe who dwelt in Pegue during its former days of ſplendor are now nearly extinct, and their deſcendants and relatives scattered over the provinces of Tongho, Martaban, and Talowmeou; many alſo live under the protection of the Siamese. There is little doubt, however, that the respect paid to their favourite temple of worſhip, and the ſecurity and encouragement held out to thoſe who venture to return, will, in time, accompliſh the wiſe and humane intentions of the Birman monarch.

Pegue, in its renovated and contracted ſtate, ſeems to be built on the plan of the former city, and occupies about one-half of its area. It is fenced round by a stockade from ten to twelve feet high; on the north and eaſt ſides it borders on the old walls. The plane of the town is not yet filled with houſes, but a number of new ones are building. There is one main ſtreet running eaſt and weſt, croſſed at right angles by two ſmaller ſtreets not yet finiſhed. At each extremity of the principal ſtreet, there is a gate in the ſtockade, which is ſhut early in the evening; and after that time entrance during the night is confined to a wicket. Each of theſe gates is defended by a wretched piece of ordnance, and a few muſqueteers, who never poſt ſentinels, and are uſually aſleep in an adjoining ſhed. There are two inferior gates on the north and south ſides of the stockade.

The ſtreets of Pegue are spacious, as are thoſe of all the Birman towns that I have ſeen. The new town is well paved with brick, which the ruins of the old

* The Shanſcrit name given to the province of Pegue by the Birmans.

plentifully supply; and on each ſide of the way there is a drain to carry off the water. The houſes of the meaneſt peaſants of Pegue, and throughout the Birman empire, poſſeſs manifeſt advantage over Indian dwellings, by being raiſed from the ground either on wooden poſts or bamboos, according to the ſize of the building. The kioums or monaſteries of the Rhahaans, and the habitations of the higher ranks, are uſually elevated ſix or eight, thoſe of the lower claſſes from two to four feet.

There are no brick buildings either in Pegue or Rangoon, except ſuch as belong to the King, or are dedicated to their divinity Gaudma: his Majeſty having prohibited the uſe of brick or ſtone in private buildings, from the apprehenſion, as I was informed, that if people got leave to build brick houſes, they might erect brick fortifications, dangerous to the ſecurity of the ſtate. The houſes, therefore, are all made of mats, or ſheathing boards, ſupported on bamboos or poſts; but from their being compoſed of ſuch combuſtible materials, the inhabitants are under continual dread of fire, againſt which they take every precaution. The roofs are lightly covered, and at each door ſtands a long bamboo, with an iron hook at the end, to pull down the thatch: there is alſo another pole, with a grating of iron at the extremity. about three feet ſquare, to ſuppreſs flame by preſſure. Almoſt every houſe has earthen pots, filled with water on the roof; and a particular class of people * whoſe buſineſs it is to prevent and extinguiſh fires, perambulate the ſtreets during the night.

The Maywoon's habitation, though not at all a magnificent manſion for the repreſentative of royalty, is, notwithſtanding, a building of much reſpectability, compared to the other houſes of Pegue. From an outſide view we judged it to be roomy, and to contain ſeveral apartments, excluſive of that in which he gives audience: it poſſeſſes, however, but few ornaments. Gilding is forbidden to all ſubjects of the Birman empire: liberty even to lacker and paint the pillars of their houſes, is granted to very few: the naked wood gave an unfiniſhed appearance to the dwelling of the Maywoon, which, in other reſpects, ſeemed well adapted for the accommodation of a Birman family.

The object in Pegue that moſt attracts and moſt merits notice, is the noble edifice of Shoemadoo†, or the Golden Supreme. This extraordinary pile of buildings is erected on a double terrace, one raiſed upon another. The lower and greater terrace is about ten feet above the natural level of the ground, forming an exact parallelogram: the upper and leſſer terrace is ſimilar in ſhape, and riſes about twenty feet above the lower terrace

* Theſe people are called Pagwaat; they are ſlaves of government; men who have been found guilty of theft, and, through mercy, had their lives ſpared. They are diſtinguiſhed by a black circle on each cheek, cauſed by gunpowder and punctuation; as well as by having on their breaſt, in Birman characters, the word *thief*, and the name of the article ſtolen, as, on one that I aſked to be explained to me, Putchoo Khoo, *cloth thief*. Theſe men patrole the ſtreets at night, to put out all fires and lights after a certain hour. They act as conſtables, and are the public executioners.

† Shoe or Shuœ, in the Birman tongue, ſignifies golden; and there can be no doubt that Madoo is a corruption of Mahadeva, or Deo. I could not learn from the Birmans the origin or etymology of the term; it was explained to me as ſignifying a promontory that overlooked land and water. Praw imports lord, and is always annexed to the name of a ſacred building; it is likewiſe a ſovereign and a ſacerdotal title, and is frequently uſed by an inferior when addreſſing his ſuperior. The analogy between the Birmans and ancient Egyptians in the application of this term, as alſo in many other particulars, is highly deſerving of notice.

Phra was the proper name under which the Egyptians firſt adored the Sun, before it received the allegorical appellation of Oſiris, or Author of Time; they likewiſe conferred the ſame title on their kings and on their prieſts.

In the firſt book of Moſes, chap. xl. Pharaoh gives "Joſeph to wife, the daughter of Potiphera, or the prieſt of On." In the book of Jeremiah a king of Egypt is ſtyled Pharaoh *Ophra*; and it is not a very improbable conjecture that the title of Pharaoh, given to ſucceſſive kings of Egypt, is a corruption of the word Phraw or Praw, in its original ſenſe ſignifying the ſun, and applied to the ſovereign and prieſthood, as the repreſentatives on earth of that ſplendid luminary.

or

Drawn by Stagey Esq.

Engraved by George Cooke

*Shwemadoc, the Great Temple at Pegu.*

or thirty above the level of the country. I judged a side of the lower terrace to be 1391 feet; of the upper 684. The walls that sustained the sides of the terrace, both upper and lower, are in a ruinous state; they were formerly covered with plaster, wrought into various figures; the area of the lower is strewed with the fragments of small decayed buildings but the upper is kept free from filth, and is in tolerably good order. There is reason to conclude that this building and the fortress are coeval, as the earth of which the terraces are composed appears to have been taken from the ditch; there being no other excavation in the city, or in its neighbourhood, that could have afforded a tenth part of the quantity.

The terraces are ascended by flights of stone steps, which are now broken and neglected. On each side are dwellings of the Rhahaans, raised on timbers four or five feet from the ground; these houses consist only of a large hall; the wooden pillars that support them are turned with neatness; the roofs are covered with tiles, and the sides are made of boards; and there are a number of bare benches in every house, on which the Rhahaans sleep; but we saw no other furniture.

Shoemadoo is a pyramidical building, composed of brick and mortar, without excavation or aperture of any sort; octagonal at the base, and spiral at top; each side of the base measures 162 feet; this immense breadth diminishes abruptly, and a similar building has not unaptly been compared in shape to a large speaking trumpet *.

Six feet from the ground there is a wide projection that surrounds the base, on the plane of which are fifty-seven small spires of equal size, and equidistant; one of them measured twenty-seven feet in height, and forty in circumference at the bottom. On a higher ledge there is another row, consisting of fifty-three spires of similar shape and measurement.

A great variety of mouldings encircle the building; and ornaments somewhat resembling the fleur-de-lys surround the lower part of the spire; circular mouldings likewise girt it to a considerable height, above which there are ornaments in stucco not unlike the leaves of a Corinthian capital; and the whole is crowned by a Tee, or umbrella, of open iron-work, from which rises a rod with a gilded pennant.

The tee or umbrella is to be seen on every sacred building that is of a spiral form: the raising and consecration of this last and indispensable appendage, is an act of high religious solemnity, and a season of festivity and relaxation. The present king bestowed the tee that covers Shoemadoo. It was made at the capital; and many of the principal nobility came down from Ummerapoora to be present at the ceremony of its elevation.

The circumference of the tee is fifty-six feet; it rests on an iron axis fixed in the building, and is farther secured by large chains strongly rivetted to the spire. Round the lower rim of the tee are appended a number of bells, which agitated by the wind, make a continual jingling.

The tee is gilt, and it is said to be the intention of the king to gild the whole of the spire. All the lesser pagodas are ornamented with proportionable umbrellas of similar workmanship, which are likewise encircled by small bells.

The extreme height of the edifice, from the level of the country, is 361 feet, and above the interior terrace, 331 feet.

On the south-east angle of the upper terrace there are two handsome saloons, or kioums, lately erected, the roofs composed of different stages, supported by pillars; we judged the length of each to be about 60 feet, and the breadth 30: the ceiling of one is already embellished with gold leaf, and the pillars are lackered; the decoration of the other is not yet completed. They are made entirely of wood; the carving

* See Mr. Hunter's account of Pegue.

on

extended a mile weſtward. Beyond theſe he entered a thick wood, conſiſting chiefly of the bamboo and pipal trees. Through this wilderneſs he penetrated nine or ten miles, without meeting an inhabitant, or ſeeing a ſingle dwelling. Some water-fowl, and wood-pigeons were the reward of his toil.

South of Pegue, about a mile beyond the city walls, there is a plain of great extent, for the moſt part overgrown with wild graſs and low bruſhwood, and bare of timber trees, except where a ſacred grove maintains its venerable ſhade. A few wretched villagers are to be ſeen, containing not more than twenty or thirty poor habitations. Small ſpots of land have been prepared by the peaſants for tillage, who ſeem to live in extreme poverty, notwithſtanding they poſſeſs in their cattle the means of comfortable ſubſiſtence: but they do not eat the fleſh, and I was told what is remarkable enough, that they ſeldom drink the milk. Rice gnapee, a ſpecies of ſprat, which when half putrified is made into a pickle, and uſed as a ſeaſoning for their rice, and oil expreſſed from a ſmall grain, with ſalt, are almoſt their only articles of food. Their cows are diminutive, reſembling the breed on the coaſt of Coromandel; but the buffaloes are noble animals, much ſuperior to thoſe of India. I ſaw here, for the firſttime, ſome of a light cream colour; they are uſed for draft and agriculture, and draw heavy loads on carts or ſmall waggons, conſtructed with conſiderable neatneſs and ingenuity.

The groves before-mentioned are objects of no unpleaſing contemplation; they are the retreats of ſuch Rhahaans or prieſts as devote themſelves to religious ſecluſion, and prefer the tranquillity of rural retirement to the noiſe and tumults of a town. In their choice of a reſidence they commonly ſelect the moſt retired ſpots they can find, where ſhady trees, particularly the tamarind and banyan protect them from the noon-day ſun. In theſe groves they build their kioums, and here they paſs their ſolitary lives. All kioums or monaſteries, whether in town or country, are ſeminaries for the education of youth, in which boys of a certain age are taught their letters, and inſtructed in moral and religious duties. To theſe ſchools the neighbouring villagers ſend their children, where they are educated gratis, no diſtinction being made between the ſon of the peaſant and of him who wears the tſaloe, or ſtring of nobility. A piece of ground contiguous to the grove is incloſed for a garden, where they ſow vegetables and plant fruit trees; the Indian ſweet potatoe, and the plantain, being the moſt nutritious, are principally cultivated; the charity of the country people ſupply them abundantly with rice, and the few neceſſaries which their narrow wants require. Abſtracted from all worldly conſiderations, they do not occupy themſelves in the common concerns of life: they never buy, ſell, or accept of money.

The only article of conſequence manufactured at Pegue, is ſilk and cotton cloth, which the women weave for their own and their huſbands' uſe. It is wrought with conſiderable dexterity; the thread is well ſpun; the texture of the web is cloſe and ſtrong; and it is moſtly chequered like the Scotch tartan: but they make no more than what ſuffices for their own conſumption.

In the town of Pegue there are only three perſons beſides the Maywoon or viceroy, whoſe rank entitles them to diſtinction: theſe are, the Raywoon, Chekey, and the Sere-dogee. The firſt is an old man turned of ſeventy, ſtill vigorous and active, who, it ſeems, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his proweſs in former wars, and obtained his preſent poſt as the reward of valour: he is alſo inveſted with high military inſignia, and has the privilege of wearing on his head a gilded helmet, or baſon, which is never uſed except on ſtate occaſions, when he exhibits a formidable repreſentation of the meagre knight adorned with Mambrino's helmet. The Chekey is a middle aged man, dull and plethoric. Laſt in office was our acquaintance the Sere-dogee, about forty,

ſadly afflicted with the rheumatiſm. The aſſiduous attentions of this good natured man, though perhaps dictated by policy, were both pleaſing and uſeful, and, to appearance at leaſt, perfectly diſintereſted. I had preſented him with ſome trifles, a piece of muſlin, one of ſilk, and a few yards of broad cloth; which he accepted, he ſaid, not for their value, but as a token of my good opinion. He one day brought his daughter, a child of ſix years old, with him, to pay me a viſit. After taking notice of her, I ſpread a piece of Bengal ſilk over her ſhoulders, as is the cuſtom when one makes a preſent to an inferior. The father thanked me with great cordiality, but returned the piece, ſaying, he feared I might think he brought the child with a view to extract a preſent; and that I ſhould have occaſion for all the articles I had got to give away, if I expected to ſatisfy every body who would look for a gratification; I diſclaimed the firſt ſuppoſition, but could not overcome the delicacy of his ſcruples.

Theſe officers exerciſe the function of magiſtrates, and hold ſeparate courts at their own houſes, for the determination of petty ſuits. Each has his diſtinct department; but this private juriſdiction is very limited: all cauſes of importance relating to property, and matters of an high criminal nature, are ſolemnly tried in open court. The three before-mentioned officers unite, and form a tribunal, which ſits at the rhoom *, or public hall of juſtice, where they hear the parties, examine witneſſes, and take depoſitions in writing: theſe depoſitions are ſent to the Maywoon, who repreſents the King, and the judges tranſmit their opinions along with the evidence, which the Maywoon either confirms or rejects as he thinks proper, and, in caſes of capital conviction, orders execution, or pardons the culprit. From his judgment there lies no appeal, except when it happens that an offender who holds an office under a royal commiſſion is brought to trial; in that caſe, the minutes of the evidence taken in court muſt be forwarded to the council of ſtate, to be by them ſubmitted to the King, who himſelf applies the law, and awards the ſentence.

We had now ſpent nearly three weeks at Pegue, and ſeen every thing worthy of notice, which, in a place ſo lately reſcued from a deſert ſtate, could not be very intereſting or various. Gathering clouds and a gloomy horizon foretold the approach of the ſouth-weſt monſoon; and we had reaſon ſhortly to expect the arrival of a royal meſſenger, to notify His Majeſty's pleaſure in regard to our further progreſs. Having alſo ſeveral arrangements to make at Rangoon preparatory to our departure, it became expedient to appoint a day for quitting Pegue; I therefore intimated to the Maywoon my intention, and fixed on the 25th to take my leave, on which day I viſited him in form. After half an hour's cheerful converſation, he aſked me with much earneſtneſs, whether we were pleaſed with the reception and treatment we had received; in return, I gave him the moſt ample aſſurances of our entire ſatisfaction, expreſſed my ſenſe of his paſt kindneſs, and my reliance on his future friendſhip: he ſeemed happy to find that we were contented, and handſomely apologized for the reſtraint and apparent rudeneſs we had ſuſtained on our firſt coming to Rangoon, which, he ſaid, originated in miſconception. Thus we parted with perfect complacency on both ſides.

Nor was this acknowledgment, on my part, mere matter of empty compliment; although I thought, that on certain occaſions he might have relaxed from the oſtentatious dignity which he cautiouſly preſerved; yet he never was deficient in politeneſs. His attentions to our accommodation and convenience were unremitting; and we ex-

* Called Roundaye by Europeans.

perienced, during the term of our reſidence, uniform civility from all his dependants, which, in fact, compriſes the whole of the inhabitants of Pegue.

CHAP. IV. — *Leave Pegue.* — *Reach the Village of Deeſa.* — *Abundance of Game.* — *Buffaloes* — *their Antipathy to the Colour of Red or Scarlet.*—*Deeſa infeſted by Tigers, and wild Elephants.* — *Reach Rangoon.* — *Geographical Poſition of Pegue, erroneouſly laid down in modern Maps.* — *Members of the Engliſh Deputation reſide within the Fortifications of Rangoon.* — *Miſtruſt evinced by the principal Inhabitants.* — *Deſcription of the Town of Rangoon* — *Swine and Dogs numerous.* — *Receive much uſeful Information from an Italian Miſſionary.* — *Account of the People called Careaners* — *of the Temple of Shoedagong.* — *Birmans fond of Religious Proceſſions.* — *Account of the Rhahaans, or Eccleſiaſtics.* — *Meet the Seredaw, or High Prieſt of Rangoon* — *His Character.* — *Virgin Prieſteſſes.* — *Reaſon of the Abolition of their Order.*

CAPTAIN Thomas and Dr. Buchanan, with a proportion of the baggage and ſervants, left Pegue on the 21ſt, to return to Rangoon; Mr. Wood and myſelf were ready to embark on the 26th. We went on board in the afternoon, attended by the Nakhaan, two inferior officers of government, and the public interpreter; the remainder of our domeſtics followed in a ſeparate boat. The heavy rains that fell during the night incommoded the rowers and retarded our progreſs; next morning the weather cleared up, but towards noon the ſky again become overcaſt, and ſeemed to promiſe a ſtormy night. About two o'clock we reached a village on the eaſt bank, called Deeſa, at which place we found two commodious houſes unoccupied, cloſe to the river. Our boatmen being fatigued, and there appearing no probability of being able to reach Rangoon by the night's tide, I judged it adviſable to take up our quarters here until the morning.

Shortly after our arrival had been announced, the Miou-gee, or chief perſon of the village, came to pay his reſpects. He informed me, that at this ſeaſon of the year his village and thoſe adjacent, were nearly deſerted by the men, who were all ſent on the ſervice of government, to make ſalt by the ſea-ſide, leaving their wives, children, and aged parents at home. The article of ſalt produces a conſiderable revenue to the ſtate: the peaſantry are employed in preparing it during the hot ſeaſon: as ſoon as the monſoon ſets in, they return to their habitations, and till their lands until the time comes round for a renewal of their annual labour on the coaſt, which does not occupy more than four months in the year.

Making inquiries reſpecting what game the country produced, the Miou-gee told me that it abounded in various kinds, particularly deer; and that if I choſe to walk out with my gun, he would be my guide, and undertake to ſhew me a herd of antelopes at no great diſtance. I accepted the offer with pleaſure: we went through the village, which did not contain more than fifty houſes, comfortable in appearance, and well raiſed from the ground: the women and children flocked to their doors, and ſcreamed with aſtoniſhment at ſeeing ſuch a phænomenon as an Engliſh officer dreſſed in his uniform. Proceeding to the eaſtward, about a mile from the town, we entered an extenſive plain, where the tall rank graſs had been conſumed by fire, to allow the growth of the more delicate ſhoots as paſturage for the cattle. Here we ſoon diſcovered a herd of deer, but ſo watchful and wild, that I could only get near enough to fire a random ſhot from a rifle, which did not take effect. In endeavouring to approach

proach them unperceived, I left my ſervants and guide at a conſiderable diſtance, and took a circuit by myſelf, out of ſight of my companions. A drove of buffaloes belonging to the villagers happened to be nigh at the time that I diſcharged my gun; alarmed at the noiſe, the whole troop raiſed their heads, and, inſtead of running away, ſeemed to ſtand on the defenſive. I walked leiſurely from them, when two came out of the herd, and, with their tails and heads erect, trotted towards me, not in a ſtraight line, but making half a circle, as if afraid to advance: they were too near for me to think of eſcaping by flight; I therefore kept on at a moderate pace, in an oblique direction, ſtopping at times, with my face towards them, on which they alſo ſtood ſtill, and looked at me; but when I reſumed my way, they immediately advanced; in this circuitous manner one of them came ſo cloſe that I felt my ſituation extremely awkward. I had reloaded my rifle whilſt I walked, but reſerved it for an extremity. As the beaſt approached, I ſtopped more frequently, which always checked his progreſs for a time; but he had now drawn ſo nigh, that I expected every inſtant to have a direct charge made at me: fortunately the Mioù-gee from a diſtance diſcovered my ſituation; he hallooed out, and made ſigns by taking off his blue cotton jacket, holding it up in the air, and then throwing it down. I immediately comprehended his meaning, and, whilſt I edged away, ſlipped off my ſcarlet coat, which I flung, together with my hat, into ſome long graſs, where they lay concealed; the buffalo inſtantly deſiſted from the purſuit, and returned towards the herd, quietly grazing as he retired. This circumſtance proves, that the buffalo entertains the ſame antipathy to the colour of red or ſcarlet that ſome other animals are known to do. The Miougee, when I joined him, ſeemed quite as much alarmed as I was; he ſaid, that if I had ſuſtained any injury, his head would have paid the forfeit of the accident.

The country inland appeared to be cleared of trees and bruſhwood to a conſiderable diſtance; but on the banks of the river, to the north and ſouth, the thickets bordered on the village, and, I was told, abounded in jungle* fowl and peacocks; but my guide requeſted that I would not venture in, for fear of tigers, which, he ſaid, frequently came prowling round the village at night, and ſometimes carried away their dogs, but durſt not attack their buffaloes, who, to all appearance, were a match for any tiger, and almoſt as fierce. The inhabitants alſo complained of being much moleſted in the wet ſeaſon by wild elephants, that occupy, in great numbers, a foreſt twelve miles to the north-eaſt. Theſe powerful animals, allured by the early crops of rice and ſugar-cane, make predatory excurſions in large troops, and do a great deal of miſchief, devaſtating more than they devour. The poor peaſantry have often to lament the deſtruction of their moſt expoſed plantations.

Next morning before daylight we left Deeſa with the firſt of the ebb; at ten o'clock we reached Rangoon, and landed at our former dwelling below the town. Baba-Sheen, who had travelled all night, arrived about the ſame hour from Pegue.

How much it is to be lamented, that the country we had juſt left, one of the faireſt and moſt healthful on the globe, ſhould remain, for the greater part, a ſolitary deſert; whilſt ſo many of the human race are condemned to languiſh away life in noxious regions, or extract, by inceſſant labour, a ſcanty ſubſiſtence from a barren ſoil! The natives of the adjacent iſlands of Nicobar, whoſe ſwollen limbs and diſeaſed bodies evince the peſtilential atmoſphere they breathe, might here prove uſeful members of general

* This is a bird well known to ſportſmen in India; it differs little from the common barn-door fowl, except that the wild ſort are all ſimilar in colour—a dark red, with black breaſt and legs. The fleſh is very delicate.

ſociety

ſociety, live in the enjoyment of a ſalubrious climate, ſupply their own, and contribute to relieve the wants of others. But it muſt require a long and uninterrupted term of peace to renew the population of Pegue. Should it ever be ſo fortunate, there can be little doubt that Pegue will be numbered amongſt the moſt flouriſhing and delightful countries of the Eaſt.

The authorities on which the geography of the city and river of Pegue has been laid down, though doubtleſs the beſt that could be procured, are nevertheleſs far from being accurate. The Pegue river is called by the natives Bagoo Kioup, or Pegue rivulet, to diſtinguiſh it from Mioup, or river. It is navigable but a very few miles to the northward of the city of Pegue, and for this it is indebted wholly to the action of the tide. It has no communication with the ſea, except by the Rangoon river, and in the fair ſeaſon, at low water, is almoſt dry. There ſeems to have been a miſtake of this ſtream for the Sitang river, about fifteen miles eaſt of Pegue, which is a great and independent body of water, that partly deſcribes the courſe that in the map is given to what is called the Pegue river.

Nor does the meridian meaſurement of the city of Pegue, as reported by former travellers, at all correſpond with later obſervations. Mr. Wood, an accurate aſtronomer, and furniſhed with excellent inſtruments, places Pegue in 17° 40′ north latitude, above forty geographical miles ſouth of the poſition aſſigned to it in the map. The difference in longitude is leſs than that of latitude. Mr. Wood, from a mean of obſervations of the immerſion and emerſion of Jupiter's ſatellites, determines Pegue to be in 96° 11′ 15″, about thirty-two miles weſt of its ſuppoſed ſituation. This eaſtward error may have given occaſion to the miſtake of the Sitang river for that of Pegue. Indeed the authorities for the geography of this country are, in moſt places, imperfect, and in ſome altogether erroneous.

The ruinous state and uncomfortable ſituation of the dwelling aſſigned to us on our firſt arrival, rendered it deſirable to remove into the town; and, as a proper underſtanding was now eſtabliſhed with the Rangoon government, no objection whatever was made to our taking up our abode wherever we thought proper. I accordingly hired two large houſes, one for the gentlemen of the deputation, the other for our attendants; theſe were made of timber, ſufficiently ſpacious, but ill adapted to the climate, being cloſe, and covered with tiles, which retained and tranſmitted the heat long after the ſun had ſet: they were, however, the beſt that could be procured, and we felt ourſelves more at eaſe from reſiding within the incloſure of what is called the Fort of Rangoon.

Being freed from the reſtraint impoſed on us before we went to Pegue, we now enjoyed the full liberty of collecting information, and ſeeing whatever was worth notice. Although a liberal licence was thus granted to us, I ſtill found, on the part of thoſe perſons who were beſt capable of communicating knowledge, a miſtruſtful unwillingneſs to reply to my queſtions, which they evaded, rather than declined anſwering; a conduct that created in me more regret than ſurpriſe; it was a natural jealouſy, which at this time I did not think it prudent to increaſe by minute inquiries into the internal ſtate of the country, and the political œconomy of their government.

Increaſing trade, and conſequent population, have extended the preſent town far beyond the limits that formerly comprehended Rangoon, as it was originally founded by Alompra. It ſtretches along the bank of the river about a mile, and is not more than a third of a mile in breadth. The city or miou * is a ſquare, ſurrounded by a

* Miou is a term applied either to a city or a diſtrict.

high

high ſtockade, and on the north ſide it is further ſtrengthened by an indifferent foſſe, acroſs which a wooden bridge is thrown; in this face there are two gates, in each of the others only one. Wooden ſtages are erected in ſeveral places within the ſtockade, for muſqueteers to ſtand on in caſe of an attack. On the ſouth ſide, towards the river, which is about twenty or thirty yards from the paliſade, there are a number of huts, and three wharfs, with cranes for landing goods. A battery of twelve cannon, ſix and nine-pounders, raiſed on the bank, commands the river; but the guns and carriages are in ſuch a wretched condition, that they could do little execution. Cloſe to the principal wharf are two commodious wooden houſes, uſed by the merchants as an exchange, where they uſually meet in the cool of the morning and evening, to converſe and tranſact buſineſs. The ſtreets of the town are narrow, and much inferior to thoſe of Pegue, but clean, and well paved: there are numerous channels to carry off the rain, over which ſtrong planks are laid, to prevent an interruption of intercourſe. The houſes are raiſed on poſts from the ground; the ſmaller ſupported by bamboos, the larger by ſtrong timbers. All the officers of government, the moſt opulent merchants, and perſons of conſideration, live within the fort; ſhipwrights, and people of inferior rank, inhabit the ſuburbs; and one entire ſtreet, called Tackally, is excluſively aſſigned to common proſtitutes, who are not permitted to dwell within the precincts of the fortification.

Swine are ſuffered to roam about the town at large: theſe animals, which are with reaſon held unclean, do not belong to any particular owners; they are ſervants of the public, common ſcavengers; they go under the houſes, and devour the filth. The Birmans are alſo fond of dogs, numbers of which infeſt the ſtreets; the breed is ſmall, and extremely noiſy; whenever we walked out, the inhabitants were apprized of our approach by the loud barking of theſe troubleſome curs.

I was now honoured occaſionally with viſits from all the men of official conſequence in Rangoon; but although they paid me this compliment, the greateſt formality and caution were ſtill preſerved in their deportment and language. Baba-Sheen was the only perſon with whom we held familiar intercourſe, and through him every attention was paid to our wants. From this conduct, however, I judged it prudent to ſuſpend the aſtronomical obſervations which Mr. Wood was deſirous to make, and not to employ my draftſman until a longer acquaintance had removed their ſuſpicions.

Amongſt the foreigners who came to pay their reſpects to the Engliſh gentlemen, was an Italian miſſionary, named Vincentius Sangermano, who had been deputed to this country about twenty years before, by the Society de Propaganda: he ſeemed a very reſpectable and intelligent man, ſpoke and wrote the Birman language fluently, and was held in high eſtimation by the natives for his exemplary life and inoffenſive manners. His congregation conſiſted of the deſcendants of former Portugueze coloniſts, who, though numerous, are in general very poor; they, however, had erected a neat chapel, and purchaſed for their paſtor a piece of ground a mile from the town, on which a neat comfortable dwelling was built, and a garden incloſed. He is indebted for his ſubſiſtence to the voluntary contributions of his flock; in return for their charity, he educates their children, inſtructs them in the tenets of the Romiſh faith, and performs maſs twice a day at the chapel.

From this reverend father I received much uſeful information; he told me of a ſingular deſcription of people called Carayners, or Carianers, that inhabit different parts of the country, particularly the weſtern provinces of Dalla and Baſſien, ſeveral ſocieties of whom alſo dwell in the diſtricts adjacent to Rangoon. He repreſented them as a ſimple innocent race, ſpeaking a language diſtinct from that of the Birmans, and entertaining

taining rude notions of religion. They lead quite a paſtoral life, and are the moſt induſtrious ſubjects of the ſtate: their villages form a ſelect community, from which they exclude all other ſects, and never reſide in a city, intermingle, or marry with ſtrangers. They profeſs and ſtrictly obſerve univerſal peace, not engaging in war, or taking part in conteſts for dominion, a ſyſtem that neceſſarily places them in a ſtate of ſubjection to the ruling power of the day. Agriculture, the care of cattle, and rearing poultry, are almoſt their only occupations. A great part of the proviſions uſed in the country is raiſed by the Carianers, and they particularly excel in gardening. They have of late years been heavily taxed and oppreſſed by the great Birman landholders, in conſequence of which numbers have withdrawn into the mountains of Arracan. They have traditional maxims of juriſprudence for their internal government, but are without any written laws: cuſtom, with them, conſtitutes the law. Some learn to ſpeak the Birman tongue, and a few can read and write it imperfectly. They are timorous, honeſt, mild in their manners, and exceedingly hoſpitable to ſtrangers.

The temple of Shoedagon*, or Dagoung, about two miles and a half north of Rangoon, is a very grand building, although not ſo high, by twenty-five or thirty feet, as that of Shoemadoo at Pegue. It is much more ornamented; the terrace on which it ſtands is raiſed on a rocky eminence, conſiderably higher than the circumjacent country. It is aſcended by above a hundred ſtone ſteps, that have been ſuffered to fall into decay. The ſituation renders Shoedagon a conſpicuous object at the diſtance of many miles. The tee and the whole of the ſpire are richly gilded, which, when the ſun ſhines, exhibit a ſingularly ſplendid appearance.

The ſmall auxiliary buildings are yet more numerous than thoſe that ſurround the baſe of the Pegue temple. Perceiving that ſeveral of theſe were in a ruinous ſtate, whilſt the foundations of others were juſt laid, and ſome half finiſhed, I aſked why they did not repair the damages of the old before they erected new ones, and was told, that to mend a decayed praw or temple, though an act of piety, was not ſo meritorious as to erect a new one; that ſometimes the old ones were repaired by thoſe who were unwilling or unable to be at the expence of a complete building; but this entirely depended on the means and inclination of the donor.

The borders of the terrace on which the temple is raiſed are planted with ſhady trees in regular rows; from this eminence there is a beautiful and extenſive proſpect; the Pegu and Rangoon rivers are ſeen winding through a level woody country, and the temple of Syriam, little inferior to thoſe that have been deſcribed, ſtands near the junction of the ſtreams. The rainy monſoon had now ſet in, and inundations were

* The name of this temple, which ſignifies Golden Dagon, naturally recalls to mind the paſſages in the Scriptures where the "houſe of Dagon" is mentioned, and the image of idolatry bows down before the holy ark.

"Next came one
Who mourn'd in earneſt, when the captive ark
Maim'd his brute image, head and hands lopt off
In his own temple, on the grunſel edge,
Where he fell flat, and ſham'd his worſhippers:
Dagon his name, ſea monſter, upward man
And downward fiſh: yet had his temple high
Rear'd in Azotus, dreaded through the coaſt
Of Paleſtine, in Gath and Aſcalon,
And Accaron and Gaza's frontier bounds." MILTON, B. I.

The reſemblance is too ſtriking to paſs unnoticed; at the ſame time it ſhould be obſerved, that analogies of this kind, though always pleaſing, are often deceptive.

formed in ſeveral places. It would have been a more pleaſing, though perhaps leſs picturesque ſcene, had the plains been cleared, and the fields laid out for cultivation: we could obſerve few marks of improvement; woods, lakes, and rivers, preſented themſelves on every ſide.

The road leading from the city to the temple is formed with care; a wide cauſeway in the centre prevents the rain from lodging, and throws it off to the ſides: numberleſs little ſpires are ranged along the edge of the road, in which are niches to receive ſmall images of their divinity Gaudma. Several kioums or monaſteries lay in this direction, generally removed a ſhort diſtance from the public way, under the ſhade of pipal or tamarind trees.

The Birmans, like all the natives of the eaſt, are fond of proceſſions; ſcarcely a week paſſes that there is not a religious diſplay in Rangoon; either a funeral of ſome perſon who leaves ſufficient to defray the expence of a pompous public burning, or the ceremony of admitting youths into the convents of the Rhahaans; on the latter occaſion parents vie with each other, and ſpare no coſt: the principal charge conſiſts in entertainments, and the cuſtomary preſents to the Rhahaans. The age of induction is generally from eight to twelve years. When a boy is to be introduced into a convent, either as a temporary reſident, or with a view to future conſecration, his friends prepare their offerings of cloth, rice, preſerves, fruit, fans, cuſhions, mats, and houſehold utenſils. On an appointed day he parades the ſtreets, dreſſed in yellow, and mounted on a horſe richly capariſoned, led by two ſervants: a band of muſic goes before, and a party of Rhahaans encircle him: his male friends follow in a troop, and the females of their families bring up the rear, the latter carrying on their heads the offerings meant for the Rhahaans. Thus they proceed to the convent of which the novice is to become a member, where he is preſented in form to the ſenior of the brotherhood. This ceremony is repeated three times, and at each perambulation freſh preſents are to be provided.

The kioums, or convents of the Rhahaans, are different in their ſtructure from common houſes, and much reſemble the architecture of the Chineſe; they are made entirely of wood: the roof is compoſed of different ſtages, ſupported by ſtrong pillars; the inſide comprehends one large hall; the whole houſe is open at the ſides; ſome are curiouſly carved with various ſymbolic repreſentations of the divinity. There are no apartments for the private recreation of the Rhahaans; publicity is the prevailing ſyſtem of Birman conduct, and they admit of no ſecrets either in church or ſtate.

From the many convents in the neighbourhood of Rangoon, the number of Rhahaans and Phonghis * muſt be very conſiderable; I was told that it exceeded 1500. This eſtimate muſt include thoſe in their novitiate. Like the Carmelites, they go barefooted, and have their heads cloſe ſhaven, on which they never wear any covering.

Yellow is the only colour worn by the prieſthood; they have a long looſe cloak which they wrap round them ſo as to cover moſt part of the body; they profeſs celibacy, and to abſtain from every ſenſual indulgence. The preſcribed puniſhment for a Rhahaan detected in an act of incontinence, is expulſion and public diſgrace; the delinquent is ſeated on an aſs, and his face daubed with black paint interſperſed with ſpots of white; he is thus led through the ſtreets, with a drum beating before him, and afterwards turned out of the city: but ſuch inſtances of degradation are very rare. The juniors are reſtricted from wandering about licentiouſly, either by day or

* The inferior order of prieſts, vulgarly called Tallapoins.

night. There is a prior in every convent, who has a diſcretionary power to grant permiſſion to go abroad.

The Rhahaans never dreſs their own victuals, holding it an abuſe of time to perform any of the common functions of life, which, ſo long as they occupy, muſt divert them from the abſtract contemplation of the divine eſſence. They receive the contributions of the laity ready cooked, and prefer cold food to hot. At the dawn of the morning they begin to perambulate the town, to collect ſupplies for the day: each convent ſends forth a certain number of its members, who walk at a quick pace through the ſtreets, ſupporting with the right arm a blue lackered box, in which the donations are depoſited; theſe uſually conſiſt of boiled rice mixed with oil, dried and pickled fiſh, ſweetmeats, fruit, &c. During their walk they never caſt their eyes to the right nor to the left, but keep them fixed on the ground; they do not ſtop to ſolicit, and ſeldom even look at the donors, who appear more deſirous to beſtow, than the others to receive. The Rhahaans eat but once a day, at the hour of noon. A much larger quantity of proviſion being commonly procured than ſuffices for the members of the convent, the ſurplus is diſpoſed of, as charitably as it was given, to the needy ſtranger, or the poor ſcholars who daily attend them to be inſtructed in letters, and taught their moral and religious duties.

In the various commotions of the empire, I never heard that the Rhahaans had taken any active ſhare, or publicly interfered in politics, or engaged in war: by this prudent conduct they excited no reſentment: the Birmans and Peguers profeſſing the ſame religion, whoever were conquerors equally reſpected the miniſters of their faith.

I had heard much of the veneration paid to the Seredaw, or head of the Rhahaans at Rangoon, and by chance had an opportunity of ſeeing him: he lived in a very handſome monaſtery half a mile from town, on the road leading to Shoedagon. One evening taking my cuſtomary walk, I met him returning from the pagoda: there was nothing to diſtinguiſh him from the common Rhahaans; he wore the ſame yellow dreſs, and his head and feet were bare; his years and abſtracted appearance induced me to aſk who he was; on being told, I turned and joined company with him, for he would not have ſtopped or gone out of his way had a monarch accoſted him. He entered freely into converſation, but kept his eyes fixed invariably on the ground before him: he was a little old man, of ſeventy-five, and ſtill walked with firm ſtep on even ground: but when he aſcended the ſtairs of his dwelling, he required ſupport. He goes every day, at the ſame hour, to the temple, to offer his devotions, and performs the journey, which, going and returning, cannot be leſs than four miles, on foot. Approaching his grove, he civilly aſked me to come in and reſt myſelf; I followed him, and we took our ſeats on mats ſpread on the floor, in the centre of a large and lofty hall. Several young Rhahaans, who had attended him in his walk, ranged themſelves at a ſmall diſtance. I was, however, diſappointed in the expectations I had formed; he betrayed a worldly pride inconſiſtent with his years and ſacred function; he announced, with much pomp, that he was the head of the church at Rangoon, and oſtentatiouſly diſplayed engraven on iron plates, his ſacerdotal titles, which had been conferred on him by the preſent and the late King. He ſeemed to poſſeſs little of the humility which diſtinguiſhed the aged prelate of Pegue, and I left him impreſſed with much leſs reverence than I had entertained for his character before our interview.

I was told, that formerly there were nunneries of virgin prieſteſſes, who, like the Rhahaans, wore yellow garments, cut off their hair, and devoted themſelves to chaſtity and religion; but theſe ſocieties were long ago aboliſhed, as being injurious to the

population of the ſtate. At preſent there are a few old women who ſhave their heads, wear a white dreſs, follow funerals, and carry water to the convents; and theſe venerable dames have ſome portion of reſpect paid to them.

CHAP. V. — *Population of Rangoon — an Aſylum for inſolvent Debtors. — Religious Toleration granted to Foreigners. — Province of Dalla, and Town of Maindu. — Mima-Shun-Rua, or the Village of Proſtitutes. — Barbarous Law reſpecting the female Relations of inſolvent Debtors. — Treatment of the Women. — River of Rangoon commodious for Ship-building — ſeveral Ships of Burthen on the Stocks. — Birman Shipwrights. — Imperial Mandate arrives for the Engliſh Deputation to proceed to the Capital — the Maywoon of Pegue ordered to accompany it. — Huntſmen employed to catch Alligators and Rhinoceroſes. — Reverence of the Birmans for their Braminical Aſtrologers — they declare a propitious Day for the Maywoon to depart — he leaves Rangoon — Engliſh Deputation prepares to follow — Deſcription of the Boats, &c.*

THE population of Rangoon is conſiderable; there are 5000 regiſtered taxable houſes in the city and ſuburbs; if each houſe be ſuppoſed to contain ſix people, the eſtimate will amount to 30,000. Having long been the aſylum of inſolvent debtors from the different ſettlements of India, it is crowded with foreigners of deſperate fortunes, who find from the Birmans a friendly reception, and, for the moſt part, ſupport themſelves by carrying on a petty trade, which affords a decent ſubſiſtence to thoſe who act prudently. Here are to be found fugitives from all countries of the eaſt, and of all complexions: the exchange, if I may ſo call the common place of their meeting, exhibits a motley aſſemblage of merchants, ſuch as few towns of much greater magnitude can produce; Malabars, Moguls, Perſians, Parſees, Armenians, Portugueze, French, and Engliſh, all mingle here, and are engaged in various branches of commerce. The members of this diſcordant multitude are not only permitted to reſide under the protection of government, but likewiſe enjoy the moſt liberal toleration in matters of religion; they celebrate their ſeveral rites and feſtivals, totally diſregarded by the Birmans, who have no inclination to make proſelytes. In the ſame ſtreet may be heard the ſolemn voice of the Muezzin, calling pious Iſlamites to early prayers, and the bell of the Portugueze chapel tinkling a ſummons to Romiſh Chriſtians. Proceſſions meet and paſs each other without giving or receiving cauſe of offence. The Birmans never trouble themſelves about the religious opinions of any ſect, nor diſturb their ritual ceremonies, provided they do not break the peace, or meddle with their own divinity Gaudma; but if any perſon commit an outrage, which the Muſſulmen, in their zeal for the true faith, will ſometimes do, the offender is ſure to be put into the ſtocks: and if that does not calm his turbulent enthuſiaſm, they baſtinado him into tranquillity.

The violence of the rainy monſoon prevented our making diſtant excurſions, which, in the preſent ſtage of the miſſion I ſhould perhaps have avoided had the weather been favourable. Our morning rides and evening walks ſeldom extended beyond the great temple, that being the beſt road. Dr. Buchanan one morning went acroſs to the weſt ſide of the river, on the bank of which oppoſite to Rangoon, is a conſiderable town, called Maindu, the reſidence of the governor of the province of Dalla, who has already been mentioned as having come down to meet the deputation on its firſt arrival. This government is entirely diſtinct from Rangoon, on the eaſt ſide. The rank of the Governor is much inferior to that of the Maywoon of Pegue; notwithſtanding which, the latter cannot apprehend a criminal within the juriſdiction of Dalla, by his own authority

authority. The city of Dalla, from whence the province takes its name, is ſaid to be on the weſt ſide of the China Buckier river, and was formerly a place of conſiderable importance. The town of Maindu is compoſed of one long ſtreet: at the eaſt end is a creek, which goes all the way to Baſſien, and has twelve feet depth of water, at high tide; on the weſt ſide is a ſmaller creek, on the bank of which ſtands a village called Mima-Shun-Rua, or the village of proſtitutes, being inhabited wholly by women of that deſcription.

Proſtitution in this, as in all other countries, is the ultimate reſort of female wretchedneſs; but here it is often attended with circumſtances of peculiar and unmerited miſery. Many who follow this courſe of life are not at their own diſpoſal, nor receive the earnings of their unhappy profeſſion; they are ſlaves ſold by creditors to a licenſed pander, for debts more frequently contracted by others than by themſelves. According to the laws of Pegue, he who incurs a debt which he cannot pay becomes the property of his creditor, who may claim the inſolvent debtor as his ſlave, and oblige him to perform menial ſervice until he liquidates the debt: nor does the unhappy man always ſuffer in his own perſon alone, his immediate relatives are often included in the bond, and when that is the caſe, are liable to be attached and ſold to diſcharge the obligation. The wretchedneſs into which this inhuman law plunges whole families is not to be deſcribed. Innocent women are often dragged from domeſtic comfort and happineſs; and from the folly or misfortune of the maſter of the houſe, in which they perhaps have no blame, are ſold to the licenſed ſuperintendant of the tackally, who, if they poſſeſs attractions, pays a high price for them, and reimburſes himſelf by the wages of their proſtitution.

In their treatment of the ſofter ſex the Birmans are deſtitute both of delicacy and humanity, conſidering women as little ſuperior to the brute ſtock of their farms. The lower claſs of Birmans make no ſcruple of ſelling their daughters, and even their wives, to foreigners who come to paſs a temporary reſidence amongſt them. It reflects no diſgrace on any of the parties, and the woman is not diſhonoured by the connection.

Reſpecting the trade of Rangoon, the commodities which the country is capable of producing, the preſent ſtate of its commerce, and the obſtacles that check its growth, I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more at length in another part of this work: it is ſufficient here to obſerve, that teak, the moſt durable wood that is known, and beſt adapted for the conſtruction of ſhips, is produced in the foreſts of the Birman and Pegue empires in inexhauſtible abundance. The river of Rangoon is equally commodious for the conſtruction of ſhips; the ſpring tides riſe twenty feet in perpendicular height; the banks are ſoft, and ſo flat that there is little need of labour for the formation of docks: veſſels of any burden may be built. Nature has liberally done her part to render Rangoon the moſt flouriſhing ſeaport of the eaſtern world.

There were at this time ſeveral ſhips from 600 to 1000 tons burden on the ſtocks; one belonging to the Maywoon of Pegue, about 900 tons, was conſidered by profeſſional men as a ſpecimen of excellent workmanſhip; it was entirely wrought by Birman carpenters, and formed on a French model, as are moſt of the ſhips built in this river, the Birmans having received their firſt rudiments of the art from that nation. Three or four veſſels of burden were likewiſe in a ſtate of forwardneſs, belonging to Engliſh adventurers; and one ſtill larger than the reſt, almoſt ready to be launched, the property of the governor of Maindu, the town on the oppoſite ſide. If this ſhip was not compoſed of prime materials, the building at leaſt was well attended to; every morning the governor's wife croſſed the river in her huſband's barge, attended by two or three female ſervants; after landing, ſhe commonly took her ſeat on one of the timbers

timbers in the yard, and overlooked the workmen for ſome hours, after which ſhe returned home, and ſeldom miſſed coming back in the evening, to ſee that the day's taſk had been completed. The ſlip on which the ſhip was built happened to be contiguous to our firſt habitation, a circumſtance that cauſed us to remark her conſtant viſits: curioſity, however, did not prompt her, or any of her attendants, to come within our precincts, whilſt decorum deterred us from making advances towards an acquaintance. Her huſband never accompanied her, and ſhe did not ſeem to require his aid. Women in the Birman country are not only good houſewives, but likewiſe manage the more important mercantile concerns of their huſbands, and attend to their intereſts in all out-door tranſactions: they are induſtrious to the greateſt degree, and are ſaid to be good mothers, and ſeldom from inclination unfaithful wives. If this be a true character, they meet with a moſt ungenerous return, for, as was before obſerved, the men treat them as beings of a very ſubordinate order.

Whilſt we admired the ſtructure and materials of theſe ſhips, we could not overlook the mode in which the work was executed, and the obvious merit of the artificers. In Bengal, a native carpenter, though his buſineſs is commonly well done, yet, in his manner of performing it, excites the ſurpriſe and ridicule of Europeans; he cuts his wood with a diminutive adze, in a feeble and ſlow manner; and when he wants to turn a piece of timber, has recourſe to a coolee, or labourer, that attends him; numbers there compenſate for the want of individual energy; notwithſtanding this, they finiſh what they undertake in a maſterly manner. The Birman ſhipwrights are athletic men, and poſſeſs, in an eminent degree, that vigour which diſtinguiſhes Europeans, and gives them pre-eminence over the enervated natives of the eaſt; nor do I imagine that the inhabitants of any country are capable of greater bodily exertion than the Birmans.

The month of May was now far advanced, and we became a little impatient at remaining ſo long in a ſtate of uncertainty, eſpecially as the officers of government did not at all relax in the formality and coldneſs of their deportment, nor were we yet aſſured what might be the nature of our reception at court. From this unpleaſant ſtate of ſuſpenſe we were at length agreeably relieved by the arrival of a letter from the Maywoon of Pegue to the council of Rangoon, acquainting them that he had received the imperial mandate to make preparations for our conveyance by water to the capital; and that it was His Majeſty's farther pleaſure that he ſhould accompany the deputation in perſon. Baba-Sheen loſt no time in imparting to me the intelligence, which was ſoon after communicated by an official meſſage from the Raywoon, inviting me to the Rhoom, or public hall, to hear the order formally announced in council. This was a ceremony which I begged leave to decline; but I ſent my moonſhee, or Perſian ſecretary, to attend the meeting.

Our viſit to Ummerapoora being now a meaſure decided on by the higheſt authority, it became requiſite to make ſome inquiries reſpecting our accommodations for the voyage. Being well aware that no ſteps could be taken except through the regular channels of authority, I applied to the Raywoon to obtain permiſſion to purchaſe ſuitable boats for the uſe of the deputation: an inferior officer waited on me, to repreſent, on the part of the Raywoon, that it was inconſiſtent with the uſage of their government to admit of a public miniſter being at any expence for his conveyance: and that the ſuperintendant of the port had received inſtructions to prepare as many boats as I thought neceſſary. This, I underſtood, was an eſtabliſhed point of etiquette, from which they could not poſſibly recede. I expreſſed regret at putting the government to ſo great an expence; but requeſted, as the ſeaſon was boiſterous, and the voyage not a ſhort

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one, that the veſſels might be examined by an Engliſh ſhipwright, and ſuch alterations made as would render them commodious to Europeans, which the boats of the natives, both from their ſtructure and inſufficient covering, are far from being. My deſire met a cheerful compliance.

Conformably to the imperial mandate, the Maywoon left Pegue, and arrived at Rangoon on the 25th of May: his retinue was numerous; and as no perſon of high official conſequence, when ſummoned to attend the Golden Feet can aſſure himſelf of returning to his government, or office, in order to be prepared for whatever might occur, he brought with him his wife and family as the companions of his voyage. On the day after his arrival I paid him a viſit; he was extremely civil, and aſſured me of his ready ſervices on every occaſion.

About this time an order came from court to the provincial government of Pegue, which furniſhed a ſubject of much converſation. I was told that the Emperor of China, having never ſeen a rhinoceros, or an alligator, entertained an ardent deſire to view thoſe formidable animals before his death, and had intimated his wiſh, through a a provincial legate from Yunan, who had lately arrived at Ummerapoora for the purpoſe of ſettling ſome mercantile arrangements. The King of Ava, ſolicitous to gratify his auguſt brother of China, had ſignified his pleaſure to his chief miniſter, who ſent the order before-mentioned, the purport of which, I underſtood, was to catch twenty alligators, and as many of the rhinoceros tribe, and convey them to the metropolis, whence they were to be tranſported to the imperial city of Pee-Kien. Thoſe who made elephant-hunting their profeſſion, were diſpatched to the foreſts, and ſtrong nets were thrown acroſs the Pegue river, on the ſands of which when the tide ebbed, I had ſeen in the courſe of my journey to Pegue, a much greater number than His Majeſty required. The fiſhermen began ſucceſsfully; ſeveral alligators were taken in two or three days, and put into boats, in the bottoms of which wells were conſtructed. The crocodile and alligator, although they are accounted amphibious animals, cannot long ſupport life out of the water. The rhinoceros hunters, I afterwards learned, were not equally fortunate.

In a former part of this work it has been mentioned, that the Birmans, notwithſtanding they are Hindoos of the ſect of Boodh, and not diſciples of Brahma, nevertheleſs reverence the Brahmins, and acknowledge their ſuperiority in ſcience over their own prieſts or Rhahaans. The partiality which the King, who is guided in every movement by aſtrological advice, manifeſts in their favour, has given celebrity to their predictions, and brought them ſo much into faſhion, that there is not a Viceroy or Maywoon who has not in his houſehold ſome of theſe domeſtic ſages, whom he conſults on all important occaſions, and ſometimes on occaſions of no importance whatever. The Maywoon of Pegue, whoſe viceroyalty, though not the moſt extenſive, is the moſt lucrative in the empire, maintains a number of Brahmins, whoſe counſel he deſired as to the moſt fortunate day and hour to commence the journey. After due deliberation, the 28th of May, at eight o'clock in the morning, was pronounced the moſt propitious for departure, and that time was accordingly appointed. Unluckily our boats could not be got in readineſs quite ſo ſoon; but as there was no reſiſting the ſtars, the Maywoon declared his regret at the ſupernatural neceſſity that compelled him to precede us, promiſing, however, to wait at the head of the Rangoon river, where it branched from the great ſtream of the Irrawaddy, until we ſhould join him, the diſtance being not more than two days' journey. I acquieſced in the propriety of ſubmitting every temporal concern to the diſpoſal of fate, and hoped that he would not ſuffer any conſideration for us to interfere with his own arrangements. On the day fixed, at ſeven in the morning

morning, he paſſed our habitation, and proceeded with much pomp to the water-ſide, himſelf on horſeback, his lady in a palanquin, and his children carried aſtride on men's ſhoulders. His own barge was very handſome, and of the ſtructure appertaining to nobility; it was attended by ſeveral war-boats ready manned, with a number of common veſſels; ſome belonging to his retinue, others to merchants, who took the opportunity of his protection to tranſport their merchandize duty-free. The Maywoon repoſed for a ſhort time in the houſe that is uſed as an exchange; and when the great drum that proclaimed the hour ſtruck the firſt ſtroke, he ſtepped on board, and was followed by his family: in an inſtant every boat puſhed from the ſhore with a loud ſhout; the oars were vigorouſly plied, and, the flood tide ſetting ſtrong, the fleet was ſoon carried to the northward of the city.

The boats, ſix in number, that had been provided for our accommodation, were now ready to receive us; Dr. Buchanan, Mr. Wood, and myſelf, had each a ſeparate veſſel; the Hindoo Pundit, whoſe religious prejudices rendered it irkſome to him to mingle with Muſſulmen, had likewiſe a ſmall boat to himſelf. The guard, and ſuch attendants as we did not immediately require, occupied another of a larger ſize, in which our heavy baggage, field equipage, &c. were ſtowed: a kind of cutter was equipped as a kitchen, which was ſeldom wanted, as our own barges were ſufficiently ſpacious to admit of all culinary purpoſes, without inconvenience to the inhabitants. Theſe barges were of a very different conſtruction from the flat-bottomed veſſels called budgerows, that are uſed on the Ganges; ours were long and narrow, and required a good deal of ballaſt to keep them ſteady; even with ballaſt, they would have been in conſtant danger of overſetting, had they not been provided with outriggers, which compoſed of thin boards, or oftener of buoyant bamboos, make a platform that extends horizontally ſix or ſeven feet on the outſide of the boat, from ſtem to ſtern. Thus ſecured, the veſſel can incline no farther than until the platform touches the ſurface of the water, when ſhe immediately rights; on this ſtage the boatmen ply their oars, or impel the boat forward by poles; ſuch an addition affords a convenience unknown to the navigation of the Ganges; it is the place excluſively appropriated to the crew, who ſleep on it at night, and, by putting up mats, or ſpreading a ſail from the roof of the boat to the outſide edge, ſhelter themſelves from the weather. My barge was ſixty feet in length, and not more than twelve in the wideſt part; by taking away one thwart beam near the ſtern, laying a floor two feet below the gunwale, and raiſing an arched roof about ſeven feet above the floor, a commodious room was formed, fourteen feet long, and ten wide, with a cloſet behind it; at the ſtern there was a ſtage, on which the leedegee, or ſteerſman, ſtood, and a vacant ſpace of ſeven or eight feet, where a kettle might be boiled, or dinner provided. On each ſide of the cabin a ſmall door opened on the platform, and there were three windows, which, when raiſed, admitted a free circulation of air. The roof was made of bamboos covered with mats, and over all was extended a painted canvas, that effectually ſecured us from the heavieſt rain. The inſide was neatly lined with matting. The conveyances of the other gentlemen were nearly of the ſame ſize and conſtruction. Twenty-ſix boatmen compoſed the crew of my veſſel, excluſive of the leedegee, who is the chief or captain.

CHAP. VI. — *Depart from Rangoon. — Alteration in the Temperature of the Air. — Reach Panlang. — Moſquitoes unuſually numerous and troubleſome. — Paſs Kettoree-Rua, or Parroquet Village. — Towns of Tangain-Chain-Yah, and Denoobew. — A handſome Temple. — Segahghee ; —Summeingtoh ; — Yeoungbenzah. — Singular Appearance of a Tree. — Taykyatt ; — Terriato, or Mango Village ; — Taambooterra ; — Kioumzeik, or Convent Stairs. — Indigo Plant : — Birman Method of preparing it for Uſe. — Manufactory of Cotton Cloth. — Shwaye-Gaim ; — Sabbaymeoun ; — Gnapeezeik. — Violent Current. — Yeagaim ; — Kanounglay, or Little Kanoung. — Rich Plantations. — Kanoungghe, or Great Kanoung. — Slow Progreſs. — Meyahoun : — Gilded Temples, and ſpacious Convents : — numerous trading Boats : — Country fruitful : — Paſheem : — Kianggain. — Violent Guſt of Wind. — Tirroup-miou, or Chineſe Town. — Mountains. — Tzeezau. — Peeing-ghee. — A Ship on the Stocks. — Beautiful Appearance of the Banks. — Great Difficulty in ſurmounting the Stream : — Extraordinary Exertions of the Boatmen : — Fleet diſperſed : — Baggage-boat loſt. — The Fleet reaſſembles. — Reach the City of Peeaye-mew, or Prome.*

ON the 29th of May we were ready to depart: our baggage and attendants had been previouſly ſent on board, and the boats containing the royal preſents had received their lading from the Sea-Horſe. We embarked in the evening, ſlept on board, and at ten o'clock next morning, when the tide ſerved, puſhed off, accompanied by our civil acquaintance, the Seredogee of Pegue, Baba-Sheen, Jacob Aguizar, the Armenian merchant, and the chief interpreter of Rangoon; theſe perſonages had boats of their own. Paumtchoo, my Portugueze ſervant, being with me, and three or four of the boatmen ſpeaking a little of the Hindoſtan language, I was at no loſs to make myſelf underſtood. An under ſeree, or inferior clerk, was ſtationed in my boat, profeſſedly to attend to my wants, and receive my orders, and probably with a view to obſerve and report my actions. It was, however, an oſtenſible compliment, and accepted by me in that light.

We rowed without intermiſſion until three in the afternoon. A ſhort way from Rangoon the river becomes narrower, with a winding courſe, owing to which we did not advance more than three leagues in a direct line. We paſſed a ſmall village on the left: the banks on each ſide were ſhaded with trees. The fleet brought-to on the north ſide of the river, when Dr. Buchanan went on ſhore, and found an extenſive plain covered with ſhort graſs, beyond which there was a large village. We experienced a pleaſing alteration in the temperature of the air on the water, from what we had felt on ſhore. The day before our departure, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the thermometer in the houſe ſtood at 98°; next day, at the ſame hour, the quickſilver only reached 90° on the river. When the flood made, we got under way, rowed hard all night, and anchored in the morning near a town called Panlang, which, the ſeree informed me, had once been a city of conſiderable magnitude, and from which the Rangoon river is frequently called the Panlang-mioup. The number of boats that were moored near it, indicated that it was ſtill a place of ſome importance. The ſoil is rich, but there appeared to be little cultivation in its neighbourhood: here a branch of the river ſhapes its courſe to the ſouth. At two in the afternoon we purſued our voyage, and continued rowing till ſeven in the evening, when we brought to, having paſſed three ſmall villages in the way, one of which was ſurrounded by thick groves of plantain trees. At this place we ſpent a very comfortleſs night; it is a part of the river remarkable for being infeſted by moſquitoes of an unuſual ſize, and venomous

beyond what I ever felt in any other country: two pair of thick ſtockings were inſufficient to defend my legs from their attacks; when in bed the curtains afforded ſome protection, but the ſervants, and even the boatmen, got no reſt all night. A kind of reed that grows on the bank, breeds and harbours theſe inſects in the utmoſt abundance; fortunately, the colony does not extend many miles; a war-boat that rows quick can eſcape them, but a heavy veſſel muſt lie for one tide within their action.

On the 1ſt of June, at day-break, we left Panlang, and ſtopped about nine o'clock at a hamlet on the right, where we ſaw a few gardens, and ſeveral travellers paſſing along a road at ſome diſtance on the plain. The river here contracts greatly, and does not appear to be more than two hundred yards acroſs. Our people having taken refreſhment, we continued our voyage. After leaving Panlang, the influence of the tide becomes much weaker, and the water, during the ebb, is freſh. Our progreſs was but ſlow, having neither wind nor ſtream to befriend us. In three hours we reached Kettoree-Rua, or Parroquet village; and in two hours more came to Yangain-Chain-Yah. Here we entered the great river, and ſtopped for the night, our boats being faſtened with hawſers to the bank. The courſe of the ſtream was nearly north and ſouth, and about a mile wide.

Next morning, at the dawn of day, we puſhed off; and at one o'clock joined the Maywoon, who, with his ſuite and a vaſt concourſe of boats, was waiting our arrival; he ſent a polite meſſage, with a preſent of ſome milk, fine rice, and fruit. Heavy rains falling, we remained here all day: the banks were ſteep, and there was nothing to attract notice. At a diſtance on the oppoſite ſhore we could perceive the temple of Denoobew.

At eight o'clock in the morning of the 3d of June the whole fleet got under way. Being now in the great river, and no longer ſheltered by high and cloſe banks, we ſpread our canvas, and, favoured by a ſtrong ſoutherly wind, ſailed againſt the ſtream. At nine we paſſed Denoobew, an extenſive town, ornamented with a lofty temple, reſembling Shoedagon in form, but of ſmaller ſize. The adjacent fields appeared cultivated; ſeveral large mercantile boats were lying here, and more at a ſmall village the oppoſite ſide; and the river was ſtill low; the rains, although ſet in, had not yet materially affected it. We paſſed, in the courſe of one day's journey, many iſlands of ſand formed by different ſtreams of the river in the dry ſeaſon, but which are entirely covered when the waters ſwell; on ſome of theſe iſlands there are trees and verdure. We left the towns of Segahghee on the eaſt, and Summeingtoh on the weſt. Our journey this day was very delightful; the weather turned out fine, and the wind was ſo favourable, that though the ſtream was ſtrong, we paſſed the banks at the rate of three miles an hour: there were not leſs than a hundred ſail of boats of different ſorts in company, and the whole was a cheerful and pleaſing ſight. The Maywoon being conſidered as commodore of the fleet, his movements regulated the reſt. We ſtopped at ſunſet near the town of Yeoungbenzah, where I miſſed the Seredogee of Pegue, who ſeldom failed making an evening viſit to drink tea, and aſk queſtions about England. Baba-Sheen told me, that he was left behind at the head of the Rangoon river, where he was bargaining for another boat, his own being rather crazy, and ſo deeply laden with merchandize that he durſt not venture it on the great river.

We left Yeoungbenzah at daybreak, and paſſed in our courſe ſeveral iſlands of ſand. In one place we perceived the roots and ſtump of a tree growing cloſe to the water's edge, under a high bank, about fourteen feet beneath the ſurface of the ſoil: this ſingular appearance is to be accounted for by ſuppoſing, that where the bank was now raiſed, there had formerly been a ſand level with the water, on which a tree took root, and

and had been covered by annual accumulations from the river during the ſeaſon of inundation. It is probable, that the tall reeds and coarſe graſs which every year rot and incorporate with the ſand of the river form the fine ſoil of the plains; thus aquatic exuviæ are to be diſcovered every where deep in the earth: the ſtream, however, waſhes away on one ſide as much as it depoſits on the other, and, as is the caſe with all rivers flowing through champaign countries, is continually changing its channel. In the morning we paſſed Taykyatt, a long and ſtraggling town on the weſt ſide; alſo Terriato, or Mango village, ſmall, but beautifully ſituated on a high commanding bank that overlooks the country on the oppoſite ſide to a great diſtance; it is ſurrounded by groves of mango trees, from which it takes the name. Taambooterra, on the ſame ſide, is a long town. The country, in this journey, did not appear ſo well inhabited as that we paſſed through the day before. At half paſt four we came-to for the night at Kioumzeik, or Convent Stairs: a long ſand intervened between us and the town; at this ſeaſon the convex ſide of the windings of the river always terminates in a level ſand. Two temples, not large, but gilded on the outſide from top to bottom, made a very brilliant appearance. There were here many monaſteries, and the Rhahaans belonging to them were ſtrolling up and down the banks, as curioſity led them. Near the river ſide were ſome fields planted with indigo, which throve in full luxuriance, and was nearly ripe; the natives prepare it without any ſkill: a large quantity of the weed was ſteeping in an old boat ſunk in the river, which was ſubſtituted in the room of a vat. They do not take the trouble, or perhaps do not know how, to purify and reduce it to a hard refined conſiſtence, but are ſatisfied with it in a liquid ſtate; they uſe it to colour a coarſe kind of cotton cloth, which is manufactured here in great quantities. The indigo is very cheap, and doubtleſs might, by proper management, be cultivated in this country to the higheſt advantage.

The town of Kioumzeik is well built, and ſeems to be in a ſtate of improvement: there are ſeveral interruptions in it, cauſed by watercourſes, over which good wooden bridges are built. The manufacture of cotton cloth is the ſource of its proſperity. A town called Henzadah, near to Kioumzeik, is of much greater antiquity. Numerous cart-roads and pathways evince that there is an extenſive communication maintained with the interior country; but we ſaw little cultivation of grain, and only a few gardens. Buffaloes and other cattle were grazing in large herds on the neighbouring plain.

On the next day, June 5th, we put off at the firſt dawn, and paſſed in the courſe of our journey ſeveral ſmall villages, none of which preſented any thing worth notice; Sekayebeeim, on the eaſt, was the moſt conſiderable. The bank on one ſide was high, and the ſands extenſive on the other. The courſe of the river runs deep beneath an overhanging bank, at a ſluggiſh rate, not exceeding a mile in the hour. The ſoutherly wind was not ſo ſtrong as uſual, and the temperature of the air had become much hotter; the thermometer, which on the preceding day ſtood at 78°, on this roſe to 86°; but ſtill the heat was not oppreſſive. We brought-to in the afternoon, ſouth of a town called Ackeo; the evening was cloudy, and threatened a thunder ſtorm; a long and low ſtrand lay between the boats and the town; I did not go on ſhore: Dr. Buchanan, however, ventured, and met with nothing to repay the trouble he took in traverſing a plain of heavy ſand.

We ſet off the following morning at the uſual hour, and ſaw a few villages, but none remarkable; one on the eaſt bank was ſituated in a large garden of plaintain trees. At noon our boatmen tracked the boats along the ſands, and thus made greater progreſs than they could either by rowing or ſetting with poles. Notwithſtanding the general

general name of the Irrawaddy, I learned that different parts of it are diſtinguiſhed by different appellations, taken from places of note on its banks, as though we ſhould call the Thames at appropriate places, the Graveſend river, the London river, &c. At two o'clock, the ſky lowered, and black clouds in the north-weſt quarter threatened one of thoſe violent guſts which are frequent at this ſeaſon; the ledeegee, of his own accord, brought-to on the weſt ſide, under the ſhelter of a high bank. As ſoon as the boat was made faſt, the Doctor and I clambered up the ſteep; the country round was covered with reeds as tall as a man's head; there were many pathways leading through them; but we were diſſuaded by the Birmans from entering, for fear of tigers, which are numerous here, and particularly frequent that kind of cover. The ſtorm broke before it reached us, and, after a delay of two hours, we ſet ſail with a ſoutherly wind; paſſing a large village on the weſt, the ſeree told me it was named Shwaye-Gaim, and that the inhabitants ſometimes, during the rainy ſeaſon, found gold-duſt in the ſand of the river, which is waſhed down by the periodical rains. A town nearly oppoſite, on the eaſt ſide, is called Sabbaymeoun. It was eight o'clock in the evening when we ſtopped cloſe to the town of Gnapeezeik. Gnapee, or Napee, a ſort of ſprat half pickled and half putrid, has already been deſcribed as a favourite and univerſal ſauce uſed by the Birmans to give a reliſh to their rice; zeik ſignifies a landing-place: whence we concluded that this town is an emporium for that commodity, which in itſelf forms an extenſive branch of traffic.

Early in the morning we left Gnapee, and had to contend againſt a ſtrong current; with very little aſſiſtance from the wind; the weſtern bank was planted with pipal and mango trees. Yeagaim, on the right, and Kanounglay, or Little Kanoung, on the left, were the moſt remarkable places; near the latter we ſaw ſeveral plantations of fruit-trees, the mango, plantain, jack-fruit, and cuſtard apple. The fields near it were regularly laid down, and well fenced; many boats, ſome of them of a large ſize, were building on the banks, and the general aſpect of things denoted peace and plenty. A little time brought us to Kanoungghe, or Great Kanoung, a long town, with a good quay, and well conſtructed wooden ſtairs, conſiſting of one hundred ſteps, deſcending to the water's edge. The population of this part of the country muſt be conſiderable. In getting round a bluff point we found much difficulty, owing to the rapidity of the current; the fleet was in conſequence widely ſcattered, ſome ſurmounting the ſtream with more eaſe than others; the wind was but faint, and the weather exceedingly ſultry. At two o'clock the thermometer roſe to 94°. Our boatmen being haraſſed, I brought-to early in the evening, under a pleaſant bank; the Maywoon had got far ahead. Before tea I walked out with my gun, but had no ſucceſs, ſeeing only a few quails and ſome wild pigeons. The country was tolerably well cleared; and, though there was not much cultivation, it ſeemed in a ſtate of preparation for the huſbandman.

Our progreſs on the following day was more expeditious; we ſoon reached the neighbourhood of Meyahoun, formerly Loonzay ,rendered memorable in the wars between the Birmans and Peguers. It is a very ancient city, ſtretching two miles along the margin of the river. Houſes in cities or in villages differ very little; but this town was diſtinguiſhed by numerous gilded temples, and ſpacious convents; a great variety of tall wide-ſpreading trees gave the place an air of venerable grandeur; and under the ſhade of theſe, ſeveral Rhahaans were luxurioufly repoſing. We ſaw not leſs than two hundred large boats at the different quays, which on an average, might be reckoned each at ſixty tons burthen, all provided with good roofs, and maſted after the country manner. They ſeemed much better conſtructed than the unwieldy

wullocks * of Bengal. I was informed that the neighbourhood of Meyahoun is uncommonly fruitful in rice, and that a large quantity is exported annually to the capital. Here alſo were capacious granaries belonging to the King, built of wood, and covered with thatch; theſe are always kept filled with grain ready to be tranſported to any part of the empire in which there happens to be a ſcarcity; a misfortune that ſometimes occurs to the higher provinces, where the annual rains are neither ſo certain nor ſo copious as in the ſouthern diſtricts: this wiſe and humane inſtitution ſtrongly evinces the ſolicitude of the monarch for the welfare of his people. Leaving Meyahoun, we paſſed Paſheem, whence a nullah or watercourſe, leads to the ſouth-weſt; alſo Kilnggain: at both theſe places there were a number of trading boats. At half paſt two o'clock we were aſſailed by a violent north-weſt guſt of wind, that, acting with the current, drove us back nearly two miles before we could reach the ſhore. The river here was more than a mile wide, although it had not yet attained its full monſoon height, At four we again got under way, and ſaw, on the eaſt ſide, Tirroup-miou, or Chineſe town. During our journey this day we plainly diſcerned the Anoupectoumiou, or great weſtern hills that divide this country from Arracan; the particular mountains in ſight, the boatman ſaid, were named Taungzo. The diſtricts we paſſed through this day were exceedingly populous, and in moſt parts cultivated. We brought to late in the evening, under a ſteep bank, near the inconſiderable village of Tzeezau.

We left, before daylight, a very uncomfortable ſituation: the night was ſultry, and the high bank that hung over us prevented a free circulation of air; added to this, we were annoyed by myriads of ſtinking inſects that iſſued from the reeds and coarſe graſs. The pleaſantneſs of the day compenſated for the inconveniences of the night. As we advanced the weſtern range of hills cloſed upon the river, and in ſome places diſplayed very beautiful ſcenery. Approaching the town of Peeing-ghee, on the weſt ſide, the rocky banks roſe abruptly to the height of two or three hundred feet, the ſides of which were richly clothed with hanging trees of variegated foliage. The confinement of the water in this place increaſed its rapidity, and I could not but admire the exertions made by the boatmen in ſtemming ſo violent a ſtream; oars were uſeleſs, and the perpendicular banks afforded no footpath to track; it therefore became neceſſary to impel the boat forward by bamboo poles, a labour at which the Birmans are uncommonly expert. When the pole is firm in the ground, they place the top of it againſt the muſcles of the ſhoulder, juſt above the collar bone, then raiſing that ſhoulder, and bending forward, they bring the whole weight of the body to bear upon the end of the pole; in this manner they traverſe the platform from ſtem to ſtern, following each other in quick ſucceſſion on both ſides of the boat, having ſmall thwart bamboos faſtened on the platform, a yard aſunder, to prevent their feet from ſlipping. Owing to this mode of fixing the end of the pole againſt the muſcles that reach from the back of the neck to the ſhoulder, a callocity is formed and a Birman boatmen always appears to be high ſhouldered. I could not diſcover why they preferred that method to the more obvious and eaſy one of puſhing with the flat of the ſhoulder; they, however, performed what I am perſuaded none but Birmans could effect. We were an hour in paſſing the extreme force of the current, which did not exceed four hundred yards.

The town of Peeing-ghee, and that of Sahlahdan, a little above it, export a great part of the teak timber that is carried to Rangoon. The foreſts extend along on the

* A heavy boat uſed on the river Ganges.

weſtern mountains, and were in ſight from the boats. The trees are felled in the dry ſeaſon, and, when the monſoon ſets in, are borne by the torrents to theſe towns. There was a ſhip on the ſtocks cloſe to Peeing-ghee, of 400 tons burthen; a Muſſulman merchant from Surat, out of economy, choſe this place for building at, in preference to Rangoon; he meant, as ſoon as the hull ſhould be finiſhed, to float it down the ſtream. I was told that there was a good deal of hazard in the navigation, the diſtance of which, including the windings of the river, probably exceeds 150 miles; but he calculated the difference of expence to be adequate to the riſk. This adventurer furniſhed a proof of the confidence that might be placed in the Birman government, and the ſecurity that a ſtranger has for his property. The teak tree, although it will grow on the plains, is a native of the mountains. The foreſts, like moſt of the woody and uncultivated parts of India, are extremely peſtiferous; an inhabitant of the champaign country conſiders a journey thither as going to inevitable deſtruction. The wood-cutters are a particular claſs of men, born and bred in the hills; but even they are ſaid to be unhealthy, and ſeldom attain longevity.

The difficulty of this day's journey had diſperſed the fleet; the lighteſt and beſt manned boats of courſe got a-head of the reſt, and ſeveral were obliged to join their crews, and carry up each veſſel ſingly by their united ſtrength. Half a mile above Sahlahdan I overtook the Maywoon, who had arrived ſome time before me, and was waiting for us. The boatmen being greatly haraſſed, he recommended us to paſs the night here. In the evening we took a walk together: the Maywoon was attended by eight or ten ſervants armed with ſpears and muſquets: we both fired at game without ſucceſs. The Birmans, even the common boatmen, are fond of fowling to a degree of childiſh delight; rather than not ſhoot, they will fire at ſparrows. I never was more importuned than by them for ſhot, which they do not know how to fabricate. No ſchoolboy could be more pleaſed than the ledeegee of my boat, when I one evening lent him a gun to ſhoot wild pigeons. In this, as well as many other particulars, their diſpoſition is ſtrikingly contraſted with the habits of apathy and indolence that characterize the natives of Aſia in general. My companions, Dr. Buchanan and Mr. Wood, not joining the party before dark, I expreſſed my apprehenſions about them to the Maywoon, who was ſo good as to diſpatch a war-boat to their aſſiſtance; the Doctor came about ten o'clock, but Mr. Wood's people being quite exhauſted, he was obliged to ſtop three miles ſhort of us, and the baggage-boat did not arrive at all. A little after midnight I was awakened to receive the unpleaſant intelligence that ſhe was wrecked: the boatmen, it ſeems, had nearly ſurmounted the difficult paſſage below Peeing-ghee when, either from a remiſſion of their efforts, or a more impetuous guſh of water than uſual, the boat ſuddenly got ſtern-way, and when once ſhe loſt ground there was no recovering it; the boatmen reſigned her to the current, which ſwept her back with irreſiſtible violence; fortunately, ſhe ſet towards the ſide, where a landing was practicable, and, taking the ground on a rocky bottom, ſhe bulged, and filled with water. The people got on ſhore ſafe, and it was expected that moſt of the articles on board would be recovered; but ſuch as were liable to injury from the water were irretrievably ſpoiled.

Early the next morning, June 10th, Mr. Wood joined company, and the Maywoon ſent an officer to Peeing-ghee, with directions to procure a proper conveyance for my people, and render them every poſſible aſſiſtance; he likewiſe intimated to me his deſire to remain three or four days at Meayday, a town and diſtrict two days' journey north of Prome, which he holds in jaghire by a grant from the king. This intention was far from being diſagreeable to me or to any of the party, as our boatmen were fatigued,

fatigued, and the ſervants and the guard required a ſhort time to adjuſt their conveniences for the remainder of the voyage.

The country contiguous to the river, in this day's journey, was pleaſingly diverſified with hill and valley, and with ſpots of cleared ground and hanging woods; the range of mountains retired in a weſterly direction as we advanced to the north, but ſmaller hills ſtill ſkirted the river. We ſailed before a fine ſoutherly breeze, and enjoyed a climate far more temperate than I ever experienced in Hindoſtan at the ſame ſeaſon of the year.

We left, aſtern on the weſt, Podangmew, a large and populous city; on the right, Shwaye-do-mew was the moſt important town. About noon we ſtopped to avoid a ſquall from the north-weſt: in the evening, my boat being ahead, I reached the city of Peeaye-mew, or Prome, on the eaſt ſide; the other gentlemen did not croſs the river till next morning.

CHAP. VII. — *Deſcription of Prome. — Surpriſe excited by an European. — Prome ſometimes called Terreketteree: — Origin of the Name: — Singular Analogy. — Village of Pouoodang; — Temple; — Zee-ain; — Kamma; — Neoungbenzeik. — Gale of Wind. — Teoungbenzeik; — Serraipmew; — Trees; — Soil. — Meeaday: — Houſe erected for the Engliſh Agent: — Mode of Structure: — Birmans punctilious in whatever relates to Rank. — Town of Meeaday: — Indulgence to Strangers: — Cultivation: — invited by the Maywoon to viſit his Gardens: — Remarks: — meet a Caravan: — curious Stone: — numerous Viſitants: — leave Meeaday. — Paſs Meealſah-gaim. — Reach Longhee. — Viſit a Kioum. — Tradition reſpecting Longhee. — Romantic Scenery. — Tigers numerous. — Cattle; — Soil; — Produce. — Excurſion of the Portugueſe Pantchoo. — Tangho: — a Fort and City of Importance. — Beetle Nut. — Kayns, or Mountaineers. — Shawbunder arrives: — his whimſical Appearance.*

PROMPTED by curioſity to view a place ſo renowned as Prome is in Birman hiſtory, for having been the ſcene of many long ſieges and bloody conflicts, as ſoon as my boat was made faſt I haſtened on ſhore, and a ſhort way from the bank entered a long ſtrait ſtreet, in which I walked for near a mile. The buildings were not remarkable; but, though I ſaw little to notice, I found that I was myſelf an object of univerſal wonder; an Engliſh officer, dreſſed in uniform, was a phænomenon perhaps never before ſeen in this part of the world. My attendants alſo created no little ſurpriſe; the dogs, numbers of which infeſted the ſtreets, ſet up a horrid barking; the men gaped, the children followed me, and the women, as uſual, expreſſed their aſtoniſhment by loud laughter and clapping their hands; yet not the leaſt indication of contempt was manifeſted, nor any thing done that could be conſtrued into an intention to offend. Whichever way I turned, the crowd reſpectfully opened, and the moſt forward were reſtrained by others. The notice I took of a little girl, who was alarmed at our appearance, ſeemed to be very gratifying to the parents, and the mother, encouraging her child, brought her cloſe to me. Had I entered a houſe, I have no doubt but the owners would have offered me the beſt it contained. Kindneſs to ſtrangers is equally the precept and the practice of Birmans.

At the upper end of the preſent city are to be ſeen the ruins of the ancient fort of Prome: it had been a ſmall pentagon, built of brick, and from its ſituation muſt have been very ſtrong. The modern fort is nothing more than a paliſaded incloſure with earth thrown up behind it. Low hills on the eaſtern ſide approach the town, in which the rains have formed channels down to the river, that are croſſed by wooden bridges.

I paſſed ſome ſtone-cutters' yards, where artificers were manufacturing flags for pavements, and ſlabs and vaſes for the uſe of temples, out of a fine freeſtone which is found in that neighbourhood. Adjacent to the town there is a royal menagery of elephants, conſiſting of two rows of lofty well-built ſtables, in which theſe animals are lodged during the rains. I ſaw ſome that had been lately caught, under the diſcipline neceſſary to render them docile.

The city of Prome, and the province in which it ſtands, are the jaghire, or eſtate of the ſecond ſon of the king; they likewiſe give him his title. Prome is ſometimes called Terreketteree, or ſingle ſkin: and the Birmans have an old legendary tale reſpecting the origin of this name: it is related, that a favourite female ſlave of Tute-bong-mangee, or the mighty ſovereign with three eyes, importuned her lord for a gift of ſome ground; and being aſked of what extent, replied in ſimilar terms with the crafty and amorous Eliſa, when ſhe projected the ſite of ancient Carthage. Her requeſt was granted, and ſhe uſed the ſame artifice. The reſemblance of the ſtories is curious.

I had not leiſure to go through the whole of the town, but was informed that it contained more inhabitants than Rangoon, and had a better ſupplied market. The Seree told me, that the ruins of a large fort and city, much ſurpaſſing the preſent, ſtood about a league eaſtward of the town: the lateneſs of the hour, however, prevented me from continuing my reſearches.

We departed from Prome at an early hour, on the 11th of June, and ſailed before a ſtrong ſoutherly gale till we came to Pouoodang, a ſmall village built on the weſtern bank of the river. A high hill, of a conical form, riſes abruptly behind it, on the top of which there is a temple of peculiar ſanctity, having once been the abode of Gaudma; the impreſſion made by the foot of the divinity is ſhewn indented on a ſlab of marble. The Maywoon had gone before us to perform his devotions at this place of worſhip. The hill ſeemed difficult of aſcent; ſeveral of our people went up, but the day being wet and ſtormy, I declined the undertaking. We afterwards made head againſt a violent current, by the aid of a tempeſtuous wind: there was, for a long way, little improvement cloſe to the river; obſcure hamlets, at diſtant intervals, juſt ſerved to ſhew that the country was not without inhabitants. Zeeain, on the weſt, appeared a pretty village. Towards evening we reached Kammah, on the eaſt ſide: it is the chief town of a diſtrict that bears the ſame name, and makes large exports of teak timber for the Rangoon market. We did not ſtop here, but continued our courſe as far as Neoungbenzeik, where we arrived too late to make many obſervations: this alſo is a town of ſome reſpectability. We were here on a lee ſhore, under a high and rocky bank. The Maywoon not liking the appearance of the weather, and thinking it unſafe to remain in ſuch a ſituation all night, ordered the boatmen to row acroſs to a long ſand, where we might be ſecure from danger in the event of a ſtorm: nor was this precaution ill timed; for about midnight it blew a hurricane: we, however, ran no riſk; our boats touched the ſoft ſand, and were moored by ſtrong hawſers, reaching from the ſtem and ſtern to the ſhore. Mr. Wood and Dr. Buchanan, who had not come up, found ſhelter in a creek, where they paſſed the night. As ſoon as the ſtorm commenced, the Maywoon detached a war-boat to their aſſiſtance.

Our aſſociates joined the fleet betimes in the morning, and we ſailed immediately. Our journey this day was diſagreeable, from the violence of the ſoutherly wind, which, meeting the ſtream, cauſed a heavy ſwell: the boats pitched deep, and were very uneaſy. We paſſed a ſmall village on the left bank, whence, I was told, a road leads through the mountains to Arracan. Yeoungbenzeik, or Indian fig-tree ſtairs, on the eaſt

eaſt ſide, is a fine village, ſituated in a romantic country; ſo alſo is Pelon, a place remarkable for boat-building; and Samban, famed for its iron manufactory. At a particular part the river was divided into two diſtinct branches, ſeparated by a ſand; each branch we judged to be a mile wide; and when the water riſes ſo as to overflow the ſands, the breadth cannot be leſs than four miles from bank to bank. Every village we ſaw was ornamented with one or more ſmall temples. In the evening we brought to, at a town called Sirriapmew. The country around was pleaſingly diverſified with ſwelling grounds, covered with ſtately trees, particularly with the tamarind and mango: Dr. Buchanan meaſured one of the latter, and found it, at the height of his ſhoulder from the ground, twelve feet in circumference: ſome of the tamarind and pipal trees ſeemed ſtill larger. Many of the riſing grounds were planted with indigo; but the natives ſuffer the hills, for the moſt part, to remain uncultivated, and only plough the rich levels: they everywhere burn the rank graſs once a-year to improve the paſture. We ſaw many people at labour. The ſoil is a fine mould, and would produce abundant crops in proper hands: but the Birmans will not take much pains; they leave half the work to nature, which has been very bountiful to them. Their thirſt for conqueſt does not ſeem to have enriched their country.

In the morning, when we left Sirriapmew, the wind blew as uſual from the ſouthward with great violence. At noon we reached Meeaday, the perſonal eſtate of the Maywoon of Pegue, who is oftener called, from this place, Meeaday Praw, or Lord of Meeaday, than by his viceroyal titles. Here, in compliance with the wiſhes of the Maywoon, we propoſed ſtaying a few days.

It is a mark of reſpect, and a diſtinction of rank, for a perſon journeying on the water to have houſes built for his accommodation on the banks, at the places where he means to ſtop. When the king goes on the river, or travels by land, buildings of the royal order of architecture are erected wherever he is to halt. In the manner of conſtructing houſes, whether temporary or laſting, ſtrict obſervance is paid to the form, which is indicative of the rank of the occupant; nor dare any ſubject aſſume a mode of ſtructure to which he is not legally entitled: the diſtinction conſiſts chiefly in the number of ſtages of which the roof is compoſed. The ſubordination of rank is maintained and marked by the Birmans with the moſt tenacious ſtrictneſs; and not only houſes, but even domeſtic implements, ſuch as the beetle box, water flaggon, drinking cup, and horſe furniture, all expreſs and manifeſt, by ſhape and quality, the preciſe ſtation of the owner; nor can one perſon intrude upon the rights of another, under penalty of incurring a moſt ſevere puniſhment, which is never remitted. The Maywoon had obligingly given directions to have a houſe conſtructed on the bank for us, of the order appertaining to nobility, but of what particular claſs I could not eaſily aſcertain; and I refrained from minute inquiries, as it might appear faſtidious, and give an unfavourable impreſſion to thoſe whom it was my inclination to conciliate.

The materials of which theſe houſes are made are always eaſy to be procured; and the ſtructure is ſo ſimple, that a ſpacious, and by no means uncomfortable dwelling, ſuited to the climate, may be erected in one day. Our habitation, conſiſting of three ſmall rooms, and a hall open to the north, in little more than four hours was in readineſs for our reception: fifty or ſixty labourers completed it in that time, and, on emergency, could perform the work in much leſs. Bamboos, graſs for thatching, and the ground rattan, are all the materials requiſite; not a nail is uſed in the whole edifice: a row of ſtrong bamboos, from eight to ten feet high, are fixed firm in the ground, which deſcribe the outline, and are the ſupporters of the building; ſmaller bamboos are then tied horizontally by ſtrips of the ground rattan, to theſe upright poſts; the walls,

walls, compoſed of bamboo mats, are faſtened to the ſides with ſimilar ligatures; bamboo rafters are quickly raiſed, and a roof formed, over which thatch is ſpread in regular layers, and bound to the roof by filaments of rattan; a floor of bamboo grating is next laid in the inſide, elevated two or three feet above the ground; this grating is ſupported on bamboos, and covered with mats and carpets: thus ends the proceſs, which is not more ſimple than effectual. When the workmen take pains, a houſe of this ſort is proof againſt very inclement weather. We experienced, during our ſtay at Meeaday, a ſevere ſtorm of wind and rain; but no water penetrated, nor thatch eſcaped: and if the tempeſt ſhould blow down the houſe, the inhabitants would run no riſk of having their brains knocked out, or their bones broken; the fall of the whole fabric would not cruſh a lady's lap-dog.

Having got poſſeſſion of our dwelling, Mr. Wood, Dr. Buchanan, and myſelf, took a walk to view the town and adjacent country: our boats had brought-to at the ſouthern extremity of Meeaday. It is a place of no great magnitude, but extremely neat: there are two principal ſtreets, and at the north end of the preſent town are to be ſeen the ruins of a brick fort, which, like all other forts of maſonry in the Birman empire, is in a ſtate of dilapidation. At a ſhort diſtance there is a pleaſant river which flows through a fertile plain, affording ſome rich paſture-ground, and interſperſed with plantations of tobacco. On the ſouth and ſouth-eaſt ſides, the town is incloſed by a deep ravine, the banks of which are cut perpendicular; and the remains of an old brick wall were diſcoverable, which was probably a defence to the former ſuburb. We obſerved many ſmall temples and convents apart from the town, ſituated in groves of mango, tamarind, and pipal trees of uncommon ſtatelineſs and beauty. The Maywoon had a reſidence here, alſo a pleaſure-houſe and beetle garden at ſome diſtance. Notwithſtanding his manners were ſtill very formal, and evidently deſirous of little perſonal intercourſe, he continued invariably attentive, and daily ſent me ſuch preſents as he thought would be acceptable, ſuch as fruit, fiſh, and milk. Although it is ſinful, according to the Birman tenets, to deprive any being of life to ſatisfy a carnivorous appetite, yet the inhabitants do not ſcruple to kill game of all kinds, and abſtain only from domeſtic animals; even in this they often relax, and always grant a moſt liberal indulgence to ſtrangers. I was allowed to ſend my Portugueze ſervant to the neighbouring villages to purchaſe fowls, which we got very good, and ſometimes were able to procure kids. The Birman farmers do not breed ſheep, goats giving ſo much more milk. It was privately intimated to me, that there would be no crime if a ſervant of mine ſhould ſhoot a fat bullock when he met one; that it would be aſcribed to accident, and I might make reparation to the owner, who would think himſelf amply recompenſed for his loſs by two tackals, about ſix ſhillings; and the beaſt being dead, there could be no ſin in eating it; but that a public ſanction could not previouſly be given to ſlaughter one. I declined ſupplying our table by this evaſive logic, and preferred the want of beef to the riſk of giving offence, and wounding the feelings of people who omitted no opportunity to manifeſt towards us hoſpitality and kindneſs.

North of the town, about a mile, there is a good deal of cultivation, chiefly of rice; the fields were well laid down, and fenced. This quarter is beautifully wooded, and diverſified with riſing grounds. We obſerved many cart-roads and path-ways leading into the country in various directions. The ſoil is compoſed of clay and ſand, and in ſome places is very ſtony, particularly near the river. Early on the 14th the Maywoon politely ſent us an invitation to accompany him on the ſame evening to his garden-houſe: I was not well, and excuſed myſelf; Mr. Wood was otherwiſe engaged, but the Doctor undertook to repreſent us. The Maywoon ſupplied him with

a horſe for his conveyance, and rode himſelf; they croſſed the ſmall river before mentioned, and traverſed a country partly cultivated, and partly wooded: the road was indifferent, and led through two very neat villages. They alſo paſſed ſeveral ſtraggling houſes, which, conſidered as country cottages, were extremely comfortable. In their way they ſaw a caravan of waggons, which had come from a great diſtance, loaded with goods of different ſorts for traffic. The inhabitants in many places were employed in clearing the ground, and burning the long graſs and bruſhwood. On arriving at the garden, about five miles diſtant, the Maywoon and his company, among whom the doctor was the moſt diſtinguiſhed, were regaled with tea and ſweetmeats, and returned late in the evening nearly by the ſame road.

In the courſe of our walks, not the leaſt curious object that preſented itſelf was a flat ſtone, of a coarſe gray granite, laid horizontally on a pedeſtal of maſonry, ſix feet in length, and three wide, protected from the weather by a wooden ſhed. This ſtone, like that at Pouoodang, was ſaid to bear the genuine print of the foot of Gaudma; and we were informed, that a ſimilar impreſſion is to be ſeen on a large rock, ſituated between two hills, one day's journey weſt of Memboo. On the plane of the foot upwards of one hundred emblematical figures are engraven in ſeparate compartments: two convoluted ſerpents are preſſed beneath the heel, and five conch ſhells, with the involutions to the right, form the toes: it was explained to me as a type of the creation, and was held in profound reverence. There is ſaid to be a ſimilar impreſſion on a rock * on Adam's Peak, in the iſland of Ceylon; and it is traditionally believed, both by the Birmans, the Siameſe, and the Cingaleze, that Gaudama, or Boodh, placed one foot on the continent, and the other on the iſland of Ceylon. The neighbouring Rhahaans had no objection to my painter's taking a copy of it, a taſk that he performed with great exactneſs †.

On our return, we met a caravan of waggons travelling from the ſouthern country towards the capital, eighteen in number: theſe vehicles were well conſtructed, and more commodious and neat than the clumſy gawries or carts of India. Each waggon was drawn by ſix bullocks, and ſeveral ſpare ones followed, to ſupply the place of any that might fall ſick or lame. A good tilted roof of bamboo, covered with painted cloth, threw off the rain. They contained not only merchandize, but alſo entire families, the wives, children, monkies, cats, parroquets, and all the worldly ſubſtance of the waggoner. Each bullock had a bell under his throat. The wheels not being greaſed, a horrid noiſe announced the approach of the caravan long before it could be ſeen. They travel ſlowly, from ten to fifteen miles a day. At night the waggons are diſpoſed in a circle, and form a barrier, within which the carriers feed their cattle, light fires, and dreſs their victuals, ſecure from the attacks of tigers, which much infeſt the leſs populous parts of the empire.

We remained at Meeaday until the 22d of June. During our ſtay I made ſhort excurſions to different parts of the country, and found little variation in its appearance; it was very beautiful, though but half cultivated, and I was every where treated with reſpect. The news of the miſſion had reached the place before we arrived, and excited a general curioſity to ſee the Boomien of the Colars, or the general of the ſtrangers, as they were pleaſed to denominate me. Not only the better claſs of the inhabitants of Meeaday came to viſit us, but likewiſe people of condition from all the towns and villages twenty miles round: I have ſometimes received eight

* See Baldæus; alſo Knox's Hiſtorical Relation of Ceylon.

† Annexed is a plate of the impreſſion, to enable the learned antiquary to compare this curious ſymbolic repreſentation with the ſacred hieroglyphics of the ancient Egyptians.

or ten different companies in a morning. When a party wiſhed to be introduced, a meſſage was ſent to aſk permiſſion; which being obtained, they entered the room in a crouching poſition, and ſat down on their heels, men and women alike; they always brought a gift of ſomething, whatever they ſuppoſed might be acceptable; tobacco, onions, fine rice, &c.: no company preſented themſelves empty handed; it would not have been reſpectful; of courſe, their offerings drew from me a ſuitable return, ſuch as fillets of Indian muſlin to the women, and a Coſſembuzar ſilk handkerchief to the men. Several parties of women came unaccompanied by their huſbands, or any of their male friends; and according to the notions entertained by them, there was nothing indecorous in it; they were unconſcious of any thing but an innocent deſire to gratify curioſity, and manifeſt reſpect: women of a better claſs were always accompanied by a train of female attendants; and, like the ſex every where, were more lively, good humoured, and inquiſitive, than the men.

Early on the 22d of June matters were arranged for the proſecution of our voyage, and the fleet was in readineſs to depart. The articles ſaved from the boat that had been wrecked below Peeing-ghee were dried; our attendants, however, had ſuffered a material loſs; but a ſerviceable boat had been provided for them in lieu of the one that was loſt. At eleven o'clock we puſhed off, the Maywoon leading the van: the day turned out tempeſtuous and gloomy, and the wind blew hard from the ſouth. In a ſhort time we paſſed Meealſah-gain, on the weſt, a large village at the foot of a fine ſwelling wooded lawn, ornamented with ſome neat temples. Our way through the water was very rapid, not leſs than five miles an hour; and at one time it blew ſo violently, that we were obliged to make for the ſhore. The range of hills, which in our courſe this day approached neareſt to the river, were covered with a blue miſt. We paſſed ſome villages of no note: the country ſeemed populous, and herds of cattle were grazing on the banks. About ſeven o'clock we brought-to for the night on the weſt ſide.

At ſeven in the morning, after a night of unremitting rain, we left an uncomfortable ſituation, and ſailed till we came to an extenſive iſland, which divided the river into two branches; we took the eaſtern ſide, and, on account of the inclemency of the weather, brought-to at the lower town of Loonghee, oppoſite the ſouth extremity of the iſland. The width of the ſtream between the main land and the iſland is about 500 yards. In the afternoon the rain ceaſed, but the wind continued. Dr. Buchanan and I walked to a convent of Rhahaans, that ſeemed to be of more than ordinary note: we found it a good building, and, aſcending a flight of ſteps, took the liberty of entering without ceremony. The neatneſs of the inſide correſponded with the external appearance: a number of Gaudmas, richly gilt, and of various ſizes, were ranged on a bench to receive the adorations of the pious. It was the eighth day of the moon, which is the Birman ſabbath, and ſeveral perſons were ſauntering up and down, waiting for the hour of prayer. The ſuperior, a man advanced in years, was ſitting on his elevated ſeat when we went in: he expreſſed much ſurpriſe at our appearance and dreſs, but was extremely civil: he preſented me with a ſcroll, written with a ſtylus on a papyrus leaf, which, he ſaid, contained a ſacred exhortation, and requeſted I would preſerve it in remembrance of Shoedagonga Seredaw, which, it ſeems, was his title. He aſked why the doctor did not wear a ſcarlet dreſs like mine; and being informed of his profeſſion, begged a preſcription for a ſore throat, which almoſt hindered him from articulating. The doctor promiſed to ſend him a gargle, and we took our leave.

The infant ſon of the Maywoon had been unwell for ſome time, and his illneſs

had now increaſed to a dangerous height: the anxious parent ſent Baba-Sheen to me to intimate his deſire of remaining where we were until his child grew better, the tempeſtuouſneſs of the weather agitating the boat ſo much, that he was afraid it might increaſe the fever. I had no ſcruple in indulging ſo natural a wiſh; but as the ſpot we were in was much expoſed, and had many diſadvantages, we moved to a more commodious ſituation, nearly two miles farther on, oppoſite the north end of the iſland. A war-boat was diſpatched expreſs to the capital to bring down medicine, and a celebrated profeſſor of phyſic; in the meantime all the phyſicians of the country, to the number of twenty, were aſſembled, to conſult and preſcribe for the ſick infant.

Longhee, or Great Cable, takes its name from the following circumſtance: a curious ligament of ſtone unites a pointed rock, which riſes in the middle of the ſtream, with the oppoſite bank; it has the appearance of a petrified cable, and the natives relate, that one hundred years ago a large rope, floating down the river, ceaſed its courſe at this place, and that one end adhering to the rock, and the other to the bank, the rope was changed into ſtone. They alſo ſay that the oppoſite iſland formerly conſtituted a part of one ſituated fifteen miles higher up, but was ſevered from it by an earthquake, and carried down to the place where it now reſts. The quality which the waters of the Irrawaddy poſſeſs of changing wood into ſtone, of which we afterwards ſaw innumerable inſtances, renders the tranſmutation of the cable by no means an impoſſible circumſtance. The Birmans, however, are deeply tainted with that credulity which ignorance is ever diſpoſed to pay to tales of fiction and to miraculous events.

Whether removed by an extraordinary convulſion of nature, and by a ſtill more extraordinary tranſportation, or whether encircled by the river, from the diſpoſition that all large ſtreams flowing through a level country have to change their channel, would, perhaps, be difficult to aſcertain; but, whatever may have been the cauſe, the iſland now conſtitutes a principal object in one of the fineſt ſylvan ſcenes I ever beheld. From a temple above Loonghee, that ſtands by the river ſide, on a commanding cliff, whoſe ſummit overhangs its baſe, the eye is gratified by a moſt delightful combination of natural beauties: a fine ſheet of water three miles in breadth, broken by an iſland more than a mile long, and half a mile wide, covered with trees of luxuriant foliage; eminences on the oppoſite ſhore, that riſe from gently ſwelling grounds clothed in wood, to brown and rugged mountains, which, receding in an oblique direction, leave to the view a long and level plain; theſe altogether form a landſcape which I never ſaw equalled, and, perhaps, is not to be excelled. How much did I regret that my draftſman, though ſkilful in copying figures and making botanical drawings, was unacquainted with landſcape painting and perſpective, and that not one of ourſelves poſſeſſed any knowledge of that delightful art! Had Mr. Daniel, in his Oriental Travels, viſited this part of the world, the view from Loonghee would have ſtood conſpicuous among thoſe faithful and excellent repreſentations by which he has locally introduced India into England, and familiarized the European eye to the rich ſcenery of the eaſt.

We continued at this charming place until the ſecond of July, when the child of the Maywoon, notwithſtanding the preſcription of 20 doctors, was declared out of danger. So long as recovery continued doubtful, I ſent the Hindoo Pundit every morning to enquire after his health: this attention was taken in good part, and the Pundit obtained the honour of being introduced into the ſick chamber, where he witneſſed the moſt amiable demonſtrations of parental tenderneſs: both the father and mother were kneeling by the ſide of the infant's bed, and attended on him themſelves day and night.

The diſorder proved to be an inflammatory fever, and their treatment of it was perfectly ſimple: tea made of wild thyme, and decoctions of ſeveral vegetable productions, were the only medicines adminiſtered; the reſt was left to nature, who accompliſhed her part. They did not, however, neglect to call in the aid of ſupernatural remedies; incantations were uſed and amulets applied, to the efficacy of which much was attributed. Whatever might have been the cauſe, the recovery of the child afforded very general ſatisfaction; every body ſeemed to feel an intereſt in his fate.

We made ſeveral ſhort excurſions during our continuance at Loonghee: the country to the ſouthward was well cultivated, and the fields incloſed by ſtrong hedges of thorn; the ſoil is light and ſandy, with many looſe ſtones; the ground, for the moſt part, uneven, and riſing into gentle acclivities. There were ſeveral neat villages within the diſtance of two or three miles; a deep ravine, formed by the monſoon rains, extended inland from the river, the banks of which were covered with ſtunted trees. Dr. Buchanan, in following its courſe, perceived in the ſand the freſh tracks of a tiger, and prudently returned. On enquiring, I underſtood that the adjacent wood contained many of theſe deſtructive beaſts, who frequently at night come down the bed of the water-courſe to quench their thirſt at the river. I went the next day with the Doctor and an armed party to the place, and plainly traced in the ſand the footſteps of two tigers, a large and a ſmall one; this diſcovery rendered us cautious of purſuing game into the foreſts. We found partridges, hares, quails, and wood pidgeons, in the open fields; but the jungle fowl, or wild poultry, kept cloſe in the thick covers, where we heard the cocks crow, but did not dare to venture after them. We ſaw on the iſland, which is a very romantic ſpot, a few deer, and three buffaloes; the former were extremely wild; we fired at them without ſucceſs, but were more fortunate in killing a number of pidgeons of a beautiful plumage and excellent to eat.

The cattle uſed for tillage and draft in this part of the country are remarkably good; they put only a pair in the plough, which differs little from the plough of India, and turns up the ſoil very ſuperficially. In their large carts they yoke four and often ſix: walking out one day, I met a waggon drawn by four ſtout oxen, going at a hand gallop, and driven by a country girl ſtanding up in her vehicle, who ſeemed to manage the reins and a long whip with equal eaſe and dexterity: this was a novel ſight to a perſon accuſtomed to the ſlow moving machines of India, in which the women are almoſt too timorous to ride, much leſs to attempt to guide.

The ſoil in the neighbourhood of Loonghee is very favourable for the cultivation of cotton; we ſaw many fields planted with it, in which the ſhrub was growing ſtrong and healthy. In one field a man was ſowing ſeſamum: the light dry grains anſwer here better than rice, which thrives only in low and moiſt grounds.

My Portugueze ſervant Pauntchoo, whom I had diſpatched along with a Birman in queſt both of fowls and kids, was abſent for three days; a circumſtance that gave riſe to ſome uneaſineſs on his account, from the fear of his having been devoured by tigers: he, however, returned ſafe, and informed me that he had been to a town nine leagues diſtant, and in his way paſſed through ſeveral villages, and a country thickly inhabited. When he had concluded his bargain, he procured a ſmall cart to carry his purchaſe to Loonghee, and could not prevail on the owner to accept of any thing more than a Coſſembuzar ſilk handkerchief. All the manufactures of India are highly prized by the Birmans, although many articles are not at all ſuperior to what they make themſelves. Pauntchoo alſo reported, that there was a well-frequented road leading to the city of Tongho, which was diſtant fifteen days' journey, the capital of a rich and populous province,

vince, that bears the ſame name, and is governed by one of the King's ſons, who takes his title from it, being called Tongho Teekien, or Prince of Tongho: he added, that its inhabitants excelled in the manufacture of cotton cloth, and their country produced the beſt beetle nut in the empire, a luxury in which Birmans of all ranks indulge ſo freely, that it is become with them almoſt a neceſſary of life. In one of Pauntchoo's expeditions acroſs the river he met with a village inhabited by Kayns, a race of mountaineers perfectly diſtinct from the Carianers, and ſpeaking a language differing radically both from theirs and that of the Birmans. They were originally inhabitants of the Arracan mountains, whom the Birmans, ſince their conqueſt of that kingdom, have prevailed on, partly by force, and partly by mild treatment, to abandon their native hills, and ſettle on the plain. There are ſeveral ſmall ſocieties of theſe people eſtabliſhed near the foot of the mountains farther north. The Carianers are not to be found higher up than the city of Prome.

Every thing was now in readineſs for us to take our next departure, and the firſt of July was fixed upon to leave Loonghee. On the morning of the 29th of June we were ſurprized by an unexpected viſit from the Portugueze Shawbunder of Rangoon, who has already been mentioned as having been at Ummerapoora, the capital, at the time of our firſt arrival. He had been ordered down from court to meet the deputation, and came with all the pomp that his ſtation would allow him to diſplay; his barge was profuſely decorated with colours, and his boatmen were dreſſed in uniform. On landing, he firſt paid his compliments to the Maywoon, and afterwards waited on me at my boat.

The appearance of this naturalized Portugueze was calculated rather to excite laughter than reſpect: he wore a long tunic of old velvet decorated with tarniſhed gold lace, and on his head a broad brimmed hat flapped, bound alſo with gold. He ſpoke the language of Hindoſtan imperfectly, but well enough to make himſelf underſtood. After an awkward ſalutation, half in the Birman, half in the European manner, he informed me that he had been ſent by an order from the Lotoo, or Grand Council, to meet the Engliſh deputation, and to acquaint me that His Majeſty had been pleaſed to direct that three officers of diſtinguiſhed rank ſhould proceed to Pagahm-mew, a city ſeven days' journey below Ummerapoora, to wait our arrival, and eſcort us to the capital. The King, he obſerved, had done me the extraordinary honour to ſend a royal barge for my perſonal accommodation, with two war-boats to tow it: this was conſidered as a flattering mark of His Majeſty's good inclination, and we drew from it a favourable omen. To have our barge drawn by war-boats was an honorary privilege granted only to perſons of the firſt conſequence; it is grounded on the idea that it is inconſiſtent with the dignity of a man of high rank to be in the ſame boat with people of ſuch mean condition as common watermen; it is a ſingular refinement, and furniſhes an additional inſtance of the characteriſtic pride of the nation. The Shawbunder diſplayed great ſhrewdneſs in his converſation. He aſked me ſeveral queſtions reſpecting the powers with which I was inveſted; and as the viſit might in ſome degree be conſidered as official, I in part gratified his curioſity, by explaining in general terms the nature of the miſſion, and the capacity in which I expected to be received, without at all diſcloſing the ſpecific objects I had in view.

CHAP. VIII.—*Leave Longhee.—Extenſive Iſland.—Keendoo Praw.—Meegheoung-yay, or Crocodile Town.—Meein-yah.—Patanagoh.—Magway.—Spanziek.—Strong Current.—Hills clothed with Wood.—Maynbu.—Shoe-Lee-Rua, or Golden Boat Village.—Gold the Type of Excellence.—Yaynangheoum, or Petroleum Creek.—Petrified Wood.—Barren Country.—Pengkioum.—Sembewghewm.—Sillahmew.—Manufactory of Silk.—Crotolaria Juncea.—Mountain of Poupa.—Seenghoo.—Bullock ſlain by a Tiger.—Yoos, an ugly Race.—Temple of Logah-nundah.—City of Pagahm.—Neoundah.—Birman Deputies.—Muſic.—Dancing.—Beautiful Manufactory of lackered Ware.—Temple of Shoezeegoon.—Deſtructive Conflagration.—Numerous religious Buildings.—Gigantic Figure of the Divinity in a recumbent Poſture:—another Image erect.—Oil Mills.*

THE Shawbunder left Loonghee on the firſt of July, to announce our approach to the Birman officers, who were already arrived at Pagahm: we poſtponed our departure until the following day, and at ſeven in the morning quitted this pleaſing and rural place. In our journey we paſſed many towns and villages; ſometimes we went ſwiftly through the water, at others we were ſtationary, and even loſt ground, as the wind frequently ſubſided, and the ſtream was very rapid. The range of Arracan mountains appeared to recede weſtward; and about three o'clock we came to a large iſland formed by ſeparate arms of the river; there was a pyramidical temple on it, called Keendoo Praw, and ſeveral ſmaller ones raiſed on a high terrace. I eſtimated the extent of the iſland to be two miles: at the upper end we croſſed the river, and ſtopped a mile above Meegheoung-yay, at paſt ſeven in the evening.

Meegheoung-yay, or Crocodile Town, is a place of much trade and importance; there were not leſs than 100 large boats, and ſeveral ſmaller ones, lying at different ſtairs, which, my people ſaid, were taking on board rice, onions, garlic, and oil, for the conſumption of the capital. It ſtands on a very high bank, and has fewer religious buildings than any town we had ſeen of equal magnitude. Dr. Buchanan went on ſhore at daybreak, and obſerved in his walk ſome neat farms, each of them containing four or five cottages, better built than houſes in towns uſually are: they were fenced round with wide incloſures to receive the cattle, of which there was great abundance. The fields were divided by thorn hedges; the low grounds prepared for rice, and the higher planted with leguminous ſhrubs, or left for paſture.

Early on the third we paſſed Meeinyah: between that and Patanagoh, on the eaſtern ſhore, there was a ſloping bank planted with indigo, which was then ripe, and the villagers were cutting it. Melloon on the weſt ſide, ſeemed rich in temples, but the town was no way diſtinguiſhed. Patanagoh had only one temple, which was ſplendidly gilded; it is a long ſtraggling village, and every houſe had a comfortable garden, encloſed by a bamboo railing, with orchards of palmyra, plantain, and mango trees: here, likewiſe, were many boats of burthen waiting to receive a cargo. Numerous villages were ſcattered along the banks, which, as the wind blew ſtrong, and we were obliged to keep the middle of the river, there was no opportunity of examining. This day we paſſed ſome ſandy iſlands, and brought-to early in the evening, on the eaſtern ſide, between the towns of Magway and Spanzeik. I took a walk before tea, and could diſcover little cultivation in the vicinity of the river: the land was ſtony, and covered with low thorn trees, in which we ſaw jungle fowl, and other game. Herds of young cattle were grazing among the thickets: we croſſed ſome cart roads, and met ſeveral peaſants.

At

At daybreak next morning we ſet ſail with a fair and ſteady wind, by the force of which the fleet ſtemmed a ſtrong current. Low woody hills ſkirted the river, particularly on the eaſtern ſide; on the ſummits of ſome of theſe hills temples were raiſed; and one on the weſtern bank, called Maynbu, appeared to be conſiderable. The river, except where it was interrupted by iſlands, could not be leſs than two miles acroſs. We paſſed a village named Shoe-Lee-Rua, or Golden-boat Village, from its being inhabited by watermen in the ſervice of the King, whoſe boats, as well as every thing elſe belonging to the Sovereign, have always the addition of ſhoe, or golden, annexed to them; even His Majeſty's perſon is never mentioned but in conjunction with this precious metal. When a ſubject means to affirm that the King has heard any thing, he ſays, "It has reached the golden ears;" he who has obtained admiſſion to the royal preſence, has been at the golden feet; the perfume of otta of roſes, a nobleman obſerved one day, "was an odour grateful to the golden noſe." Gold, among the Birmans, is the type of excellence: although highly valued, however, it is not uſed for coin in the country; it is employed ſometimes in ornaments for the women, and in utenſils and ear-rings for the men; but the greateſt quantity is expended in gilding their temples, on which vaſt ſums are continually laviſhed. The Birmans preſent the ſubſtance of their gods, and aſcribe its qualities to their King.

After paſſing various ſands and villages, we got to Yaynangheoum, or earth-oil (Petroleum) creek, about two hours paſt noon. The country now diſplayed an aſpect differing from any we had yet ſeen; the ſurface was broken into ſmall ſeparate hills, entirely barren, and deſtitute of vegetation, except ſome ſtunted buſhes that grew on the declivities, and in the dells, and a few unhealthy trees immediately in the neighbourhood of the villages: the clay was diſcoloured, and had the appearance of red ochre. We were informed, that the celebrated wells of Petroleum, which ſupply the whole empire, and many parts of India, with that uſeful product, were five miles to the eaſt of this place. The Seree brought me a piece of ſtone, which he aſſured me was petrified wood, and which certainly had much the appearance of it. In walking about, I picked up ſeveral lumps of the ſame, in which the grain of the wood was plainly diſcernible; it was hard, ſiliceous, and ſeemed compoſed of different lamina. The Birmans ſaid it was the nature of the ſoil that cauſed this tranſmutation; and added, that the petrifying quality of the earth at this place was ſuch, that leaves of trees ſhaken off by the wind were not unfrequently changed into ſtone before they could be decayed by time. The face of the country was altered, and the banks of the river were totally barren; the ground was ſuperficially covered with quartz-gravel, and concreted maſſes of the ſame material were thickly ſcattered. The mouth of the creek was crowded with large boats, waiting to receive a lading of oil; and immenſe pyramids of earthen jars were raiſed within and round the village, diſpoſed in the ſame manner as ſhot and ſhells are piled in an arſenal. This place is inhabited only by potters, who carry on an extenſive manufactory, and find full employment. The ſmell of the oil was extremely offenſive; we ſaw ſeveral thouſand jars filled with it ranged along the bank; ſome of theſe were continually breaking, and the contents, mingling with the ſand, formed a very filthy conſiſtence. Mr. Wood had the curioſity to walk to the wells: but, though I felt the ſame deſire, I thought it prudent to poſtpone viſiting them until my return, when I was likely to have more leiſure, and to be leſs the object of obſervation.

At ſeven in the morning on the 5th of July, we left the neighbourhood of Earth-oil Wells. After paſſing Penkioum, where a ſmall river unites with the Irrawaddy, the face of the country reſumed its verdant appearance, and the trees ſhot up with their

their uſual vigour. The bed of the river from bank to bank, was very wide; we judged it to be four miles; but the ſtream, being divided into different channels, formed low intermediate iſlands of ſand, which are covered when the waters attain their utmoſt height. On the left we ſaw the town of Sembewghewn, whence there is a road that leads through the weſtern hills into Arracan, which is accounted much the leaſt difficult paſſage; this is the place to which all Bengal articles of merchandize imported by way of Arracan are brought, and are here embarked on the Irrawaddy. Shortly after we ſaw a large town on the eaſtern ſide, with ſeveral neat temples; it was called Pakang-yay: lofty palmyra, the tamarind, and banyan trees, ſpread a pleaſant ſhade around it; here alſo were ſome heavy trading boats. The weſtern ſhore ſeemed rich and level; we brought-to about ſix in the afternoon, a little below Sillah-mew, a large town remarkable for its manufactories of ſilk. The fleet had not long been moored when the retail merchants flocked down to the water ſide to diſpoſe of their wares; they carried in lackered boxes pieces of ſilken cloth, and of ſilk and cotton mixed, which they offered for ſale at what I conſidered a very high price. I was aſked fifteen tackal, about 2l. ſterling, for a piece of moderate fineneſs, five yards long, and barely one yard wide: they were moſtly woven in patterns adapted to the Birman dreſs. The ſilk, of which theſe goods are made, comes from Yunan, the ſouth-weſt province of China: it is brought from Ummerapoora to this place in a raw ſtate, and is returned in the web. The colours are bright and beautiful, but do not appear to be durable; the texture is cloſe and ſtrong; and it wears, as I was informed, much longer than any China or Indian manufacture.

Sillah-mew is a handſome town, ſhaded by wide ſpreading trees, and embelliſhed with ſeveral temples. A ſmooth bank ſloping to the river, and clothed with the fineſt verdure, adds much to its beauty. The ſoil in general is but poor; ſome fields were regularly fenced, and cattle in large herds were grazing in the neighbourhood. Dr. Buchanan informed me that he ſaw the crotolaria juncea growing ſpontaneouſly, which would yield good hemp or flax.

On the ſixth of July we made but little way; the current was violent, and the wind not ſtrong enough to enable us to ſtem it: we were obliged to have recourſe to poles, and were puſhed forward with exceſſive labour by the boatmen; in one place where an iſland contracted the ſtream, we ſent out an anchor a-head in a ſmall cutter, and hauled on it by a hawſer. The Arracan mountains appeared to the weſt, and a conſpicuous hill, lofty, and of a conical form, called Poupa, was in ſight to the eaſtward: a few villages, and many temples, ſkirted the banks. In the afternoon the fleet made faſt to the eaſtern ſhore; there was neither town nor village nigh; it was about four miles below Seenghoo; and though we ſaw little cultivation, there were ſeveral herds of cattle. Dr. Buchanan, whoſe ardour for botanical reſearches often made me apprehenſive for his ſafety, in wandering through the thickets in queſt of plants, heard the report of a muſket at a diſtance; on his approach to the ſpot, he found ſome peaſants about to ſkin a bullock that had juſt been killed by a tiger: the ſhot had cauſed the animal to abandon his prey, and in its retreat it moſt fortunately took another way from that which the Doctor came. This was not the only time that his thirſt after knowledge, and reliance upon his gun, led him into danger. A muſket is a very precarious defence againſt the ſudden aſſault of the moſt ferocious and terrible of all animals.

Whilſt we were at tea, the Seree informed us, that further on there is a ſmall river which enters the Irrawaddy, at a place called Yoo-wa, and that two days journey up this river is a large town called Yoo-miou; he obſerved alſo, that an extenſive

extenſive tract of country is inhabited by a people called Yoo, whom he repreſented as exceedingly ugly, having protuberant bellies and white teeth. The Birmans, it is to be obſerved, both men and women, colour their teeth, their eyelaſhes, and the edges of their eyelids, with black *. The Yoos are ſubjects of the Birman ſtate, and obſerve the ſame religious worſhip; they ſpeak the language of Tavay, which is nothing more than a provincial dialect of the Birman tongue.

We left our nightly ſtation at the cuſtomary hour, and, favoured by a fair breeze, ſailed through a country diverſified by ſmall barren hills, on which there was little vegetation, and by green fertile valleys, cultivated and laid out in farms. The petrifactions, like thoſe we found at Yaynangheoum, were frequent here: indigo was growing in one of the valleys. About twelve o'clock we came to a rocky point that projected far into the river, round which the current ſet with ſuch exceſſive rapidity that our boats were a long time in getting paſt, and did not at length effect it without difficulty and ſome danger. The Maywoon obligingly ſent his war-boats to our aſſiſtance. After we had ſurmounted this impediment, we came to a green level bank, where there was a wide range of paſturage, and many cattle feeding. Seenghoo is a large town; in its neighbourhood, and for a great diſtance along the eaſtern bank, ſmall temples were built cloſe to the river. We did not make much way in this day's journey, although our labour was great. In the evening we brought-to near Keahoh, a poor village where the inhabitants get their livelihood by extracting molaſſes from the palmyra tree, of which they make tolerably good ſugar.

Although the ſoil near the river is in moſt places unproductive and barren, yet, as we advanced northwards on the following day, population increaſed. Every little hill and riſing ground was crowned with a temple; that of Logah-nundah is diſtinguiſhed for its ſuperior ſize; it is a clumſy inelegant maſs of building, elevated on a ſemicircular terrace; the baſe is painted with different colours, and the cupola is richly gilded.

Leaving the temple of Logah-nundah, we approached the once magnificent city of Pagahm. We could ſee little more from the river than a few ſtraggling houſes, which bore the appearance of having once been a connected ſtreet: in fact, ſcarcely any thing remains of ancient Pagahm, except its numerous mouldering temples, and the veſtiges of an old brick fort, the ramparts of which are ſtill to be traced. The town of Neoundah, about four miles to the north, which may be called a continuation of Pagahm, has flouriſhed in proportion as the latter has decayed. We paſſed a ſmall river named in the days of ſplendour, Shoe-kiaung, or the Golden Stream: here we ſpent a night, rendered unpleaſant by the ſtormy weather.

We reached Neoundah early on the 9th of July. At this place the deputation from the capital, of which I had been apprized by the Shawbunder, was waiting my arrival. The Seree informed me, that a temporary houſe, which I ſaw on a clear piece of ground about 100 yards from the brink, had been erected as a compliment to me; it was much larger than that which the Maywoon had prepared at Meeaday. Early in the afternoon I left my boat, and was received at the houſe by the Birman officers with every formal teſtimony of reſpect; on a part of the floor, elevated a few inches, a carpet was ſpread, on which I took my ſeat. The principal perſon of the deputation was a Woondock, or junior counſellor of ſtate; the others were the

* This cuſtom is not confined to the Birmans, particularly the operation of colouring the eyelaſhes; the women of Hindoſtan and Perſia commonly practiſe it; they deem it beneficial as well as becoming. The collyrium they uſe is called ſurma, the Perſian name of antimony.

governor

governor of a diſtrict called Miengdong north of Ava, the governor of Pein-keing bordering on China, and the commandant of the Siameſe guards. The Woondock was a lively man, about forty-five years old; the reſt appeared of more advanced age, not leſs than ſixty-five or ſeventy: they all wore the tſaloe, or chain of nobility. The Woondock, though from his ſtation he had the precedence of the reſt, yet was not of ſuch high rank as the two governors. The utmoſt decorum was preſerved at this meeting; the Woondock ſpoke in the name of the others, and Baba-Sheen interpreted in the language of Hindoſtan. After pompouſly expatiating upon the honour which His Birman majeſty had been pleaſed to confer on me, by ſending a deputation to welcome me, and a barge with war boats to tow it, he aſked ſome trivial queſtions, and offered his ſervices to procure whatever we ſtood in need of. Having diſcourſed for a ſhort time, a band of muſic and a company of dancing girls were introduced; drums, gongs, the Indian ſyrinda, or guitar, the Birman harp and fiddle, with loud and harſh clarionets, almoſt deafened us with their noiſe. Among the dancers, one girl much excelled her companions in ſymmetry of form and elegance of movement; ſhe was richly dreſſed, and in ſhewing the modes of dancing practiſed in different countries, diſplayed a fine perſon to great advantage. The manner of Caſſay is moſt conſonant to the Engliſh taſte, in which the time varies ſuddenly from quick to ſlow. The entertainment, however, ſeemed entirely loſt upon the elders, who ſat in ſolemn inſenſibility, chewing their beetle nut, and regarding with profound gravity the voluptuous attitudes of a very beautiful woman. The amuſement did not end till paſt nine o'clock. I directed a few pieces of ſilver to be diſtributed among the muſicians and dancers. The Birman officers retired without ceremony, and we paſſed the night on board our reſpective boats.

The next morning I was again viſited in form, with the additional honour of the company of the Maywoon of Pegue, a compliment which, either from pride or policy, he had never before condeſcended to pay; the Woondock, however, was here his ſuperior. We converſed for an hour on indifferent ſubjects, and the Maywoon informed his friends that Dr Buchanan was a botaniſt, and had made ſeveral drawings of plants. On a wiſh being expreſſed to ſee them, the Doctor obligingly gratified their curioſity with a ſight of ſome that had been executed by the Bengal painter, under his own inſpection; theſe were inſtantly recogniſed by the Birmans, who mentioned the names of the originals: they are themſelves fond of vegetable productions, which they uſe very generally in medicine. About eleven o'clock the aſſembly broke up, and it was ſettled that we ſhould purſue our journey on the following day.

The remaining time was ſpent in viewing as much of this once flouriſhing city as the ſhortneſs of our ſtay would admit. On entering the town, we came into a long, narrow, winding ſtreet, about thirty feet wide; the houſes were built of bamboo, and raiſed from the ground: this ſtreet was full of ſhops, containing no other articles than lackered ware: boxes, trays, cups, &c. varniſhed in a very neat manner, were diſplayed in the front of the ſhops; they were of various colours; ſome had figures painted on them, others wreaths of flowers. Leaving this ſtreet, we croſſed a water-courſe on a good wooden bridge, and came to the bazar, or proviſion market: the green-ſtalls ſeemed to be well provided with rice, pulſe, greens, garlic, onions, and fruit; there were alſo freſh fiſh, Gnapee, and dead lizards, which latter the Birmans account a delicacy: but there was not any meat. In our progreſs, we paſſed over another bridge, and ſaw ſev ral ſtreets running in parallel lines; ſome of theſe were inhabited by carriers, whoſe cattle were feeding n rice ſtraw round their houſes. Having reached the extremity of the town in this dir ction, we came upon a well paved road, that led

to the great temple named Shoezeegoon, to which we proceeded. On each ſide of the road there was a range of ſmall temples, neglected and in ruins: the kioums, or monaſteries, were in good repair, and we ſaw ſome handſome houſes for the accommodation of ſtrangers. Shoezeegoon is neither ſo large nor ſo well built as the temples at Rangoon or Pegue; the height does not exceed 150 feet: it is ſurrounded by a ſpacious area paved with broad flags, on which there are a number of leſſer buildings, profuſely gilded, and laborioufly carved. A ſtaircaſe on the outſide leads up to a gallery, about a third of the height of the principal temple, whence we had an extenſive proſpect of the country, which appeared to be exceedingly unproductive and barren: the ruins of innumerable religious buildings were to be ſeen in every direction, which cover a ſpace of ground not leſs than ſix or ſeven miles along the river, and three miles inland. Pagahm is ſaid to have been the reſidence of forty-five ſucceſſive monarchs, and was abandoned 500 years ago in conſequence of a divine admonition: whatever may be its true hiſtory, it certainly was once a place of no ordinary ſplendour. Returning by a different way, we walked through an alley occupied by blackſmiths' ſhops, furniſhed with bill-hooks, ſpike nails, adzes, &c. A little farther on we ſaw the ruins of a ſtreet that had been conſumed by fire only two days before: from ſeventy to eighty houſes were deſtroyed by the conflagration. It was the Tackally, and the ſufferers were the already wretched, the miſerable public proſtitutes.

In the afternoon I directed my walk ſouthward, and was much ſurprized at the number of religious edifices I beheld. They differ in ſtructure from thoſe which we had ſeen in the lower provinces; inſtead of a ſlender ſpire riſing to a great height from an expanded baſe, the temples of Pagahm, in general, carry up a heavy breadth to very near the top, and then come abruptly to a point, which give a clumſy appearance to the buildings. Many of the moſt ancient temples at this place are not ſolid at the bottom; a well arched dome ſupports a ponderous ſuperſtructure; within, an image of Gaudma ſits enſhrined; four Gothic doorways open into the dome: in one of theſe I ſaw a human figure ſtanding erect, which the Seree* told me was Gaudma; and another of the ſame perſonage lying on his right ſide aſleep, both of gigantic ſtature. The divinity, however, is rarely to be found in theſe attitudes; the poſture in which he is generally depictured is ſitting croſs-legged on a pedeſtal, adorned with repreſentations of the leaf of the ſacred lotus carved upon the baſe; the left hand of the image reſts upon his lap, and the right is pendent. Paſſing through the ſuburbs, we came to a part where the inhabitants were employed in expreſſing oil from the ſeſamum ſeed: the grain is put into a deep wooden trough, in which it is preſſed by an upright timber fixed in a frame; the force is increaſed by a long lever, on the extremity of which a man ſits and guides a bullock that moves in a circle, thus turning and preſſing the ſeed at the ſame time: the machine was ſimple, and anſwered the purpoſe effectually. There were not leſs than 200 of thoſe mills within a narrow compaſs. From the circumſtance of the cattle being in good order, we concluded that they were fed on the ſeed after the oil was extracted. The land about Pagahm ſcarcely yields ſufficient vegetation to nouriſh goats.

* I ſuſpect the authenticity of my information on this point, which, I imagine, proceeded from ignorance in the Seree. Of theſe figures, which he called Gaudma, I conceive the one erect to be the Hindoo Ananda, the other, Nà-rà-yàn, ſleeping on the waters.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.—*Embark on board the royal Barge.—Leave Pagahm.—Singular Caves.—Birman Hermits.—Paſs Sirraykioum.—Gnerroutoh.—Country populous.—Shwayedong.—Keonzeec.—Toucheec.—Læpac, or pickled Tea.—Kiouptaun, or Line of Rocks.—Tanoundain.—Tirroup-mew, or Chineſe Town.—The Keenduem a large River.—Caſſay Boatmen.—Yaudaboo.—Manufactory of Earthen-ware.—Summeikioum.—Manufactory of Saltpetre and Gunpowder.—Gnameaghee.—Tobacco Plantations.—Sandaht, or Elephant Village.—Meahmoo.—Yapadain.—The Shawbunder returns.—Kiouptaloun.—Periodical Riſings of the River.—Ancient Ava:—deſcription of it.—Temple of Shoegunga Praw.—Beautiful Situation of Chagain.—Appearance of Ummerapoora, the Capital.—Tounzemahn.—Spacious Lake—Reſidence of the Britiſh Deputation, and Reception on our landing.*

AT nine o'clock in the morning of the 11th of July I took poſſeſſion of the royal barge with ceremonious formality, accompanied by the Woondock and Baba-Sheen. The platform on the outſide contained ſpace for thirty-two rowers, ſixteen on each ſide; but on this occaſion the oars were not faſtened, as it was meant to be drawn by war boats: the inſide was divided into three ſmall apartments, handſomely fitted up; the roof and ſides were lined with white cotton, and the floor covered with carpets and fine mats. I proceeded in this barge till one o'clock, and then returned to my own boat, which was a much more convenient though leſs dignified conveyance.

After leaving Neoundah the eaſtern bank of the river riſes to a perpendicular height, eighty or one hundred feet above the river. In the ſide of the cliff, rather more than half way up, we ſaw ſome apertures reſembling doorways, and were told that they were entrances into caves which had formerly been inhabited by hermits, who, deſirous of withdrawing from the world, had excavated theſe abodes with their own hands, and dwelt in them for the remainder of their lives, preſerving no farther intercourſe with their fellow creatures than what was neceſſary to receive their food, which was lowered down to them by a rope. The Birmans do not inflict on themſelves diſguſtful tortures after the manner of the Hindoos, but they deem it meritorious to mortify the fleſh by the voluntary penance of abſtemiouſneſs and ſelf denial. Solitary ſeclusion has, at ſome period or other, been accounted praiſeworthy in moſt countries: during the reign of monkiſh ſuperſtition it prevailed very commonly throughout Europe: our legendary tales are not wholly unfounded: the Hermit of Warkworth is ſaid to have had its origin from a fact. Birmans, however, though bigotted, are not gloomy, and are in general bleſſed with a diſpoſition too cheerful to retire from the world in hopeleſs deſpondency, or ſullen diſcontent.

Our journey this day was ſlow, and we perceived little that differed from what has already been deſcribed: the iſlands formed by the river were long, and ſucceeded each other with ſuch ſmall intervals, that the full breadth of the river, from bank to bank, ſeldom could be ſeen; we judged it to be in moſt places three miles wide: our boats kept near the eaſtern ſhore, and paſſed, on that ſide, the towns of Sirraykioum and Gnerroutoh. During the latter part of the day, the country ſeemed fertile, and the ſoil richer than in the neighbourhood of Pagahm; the number of inhabitants and cattle denoted a conſiderable population. In the evening we brought-to near Shwayedong, a ſmall but neat town, containing about 300 houſes ranged in a regular ſtreet; each dwelling had a ſmall garden, fenced with a bamboo railing. Two monaſteries and a few ſmall temples did not claim particular notice, but the tall and wide-ſpreading trees that over-ſhadowed them were objects of pleaſing contemplation.

On the next day, July 12th, we continued our journey, ſometimes going faſt, at others ſlow and with difficulty, as the wind favoured us, the reaches of the river winding ſo much that we had it on all quarters. Keozee, on the eaſtern ſide, was the place of moſt conſequence, and was ornamented with ſeveral neat temples. At half paſt five in the evening I went on ſhore, and found the adjacent country divided into fields, which, at a proper ſeaſon, are cultivated; the remains of a tobacco plantation, that had produced a crop in the former year, were yet lying on the ground: detached hills appeared to the eaſtward. We brought-to, and ſpent the night near a ſmall village called Toucheac, to the north of Yebbay. Here the inhabitants get their livelihood by ſelling læpac, or pickled tea-leaf, of which the Birmans are extremely fond. The plant, I was informed, grows at a place called Palong-miou, a diſtrict to the north-eaſt of Ummerapoora; it is very inferior to the tea produced in China, and is ſeldom uſed but as a pickle.

On the following day we kept cloſe to the eaſtern ſhore, and the breadth of the river being in moſt places from three to five miles, it was not eaſy minutely to diſtinguiſh objects on the weſtern bank. The country, as we advanced north, increaſed in population, and improved in agriculture; the land every where indicated a deficiency of rain, being parched, and broken into deep fiſſures, owing to the want of moiſture. We underſtood that the ſeaſon had been remarkably dry; rain, however, was ſhortly expected. The river, notwithſtanding the failure of the monſoon, continued to riſe. We paſſed, on the eaſtern ſide, Kiouptaun, or the Line of Rocks, Tanoundain, a reſpectable town, with ſeveral other towns and villages. In the evening we brought-to at an iſland oppoſite Tirroup-mew, or Chineſe City: there is a ſmall diſtrict that bears the ſame name, called ſo in commemoration of a victory gained here over an army of Chineſe that invaded the Birman empire ſome centuries ago, at the period when Pagahm was the ſeat of government; whence it appears, that the Chineſe have long conſidered this kingdom as a deſirable conqueſt, and have made more than one fruitleſs attempt to accompliſh its ſubjection.

The next day we ſtopped five miles above Tirroup-mew, where the Keenduem mingles its waters with thoſe of the Irrawaddy: this great river comes from the north-weſt, and divides the country of Caſſay from that of Ava. The Birmans ſay, that it has its ſource in a lake three months' journey to the northward; it is navigable, as far as the Birman territories extend, for veſſels of burthen. An intelligent man belonging to Dr. Buchanan's boat informed him, that the moſt diſtant town in the poſſeſſion of the Birmans on the Keenduem, was named Nakioung, and the firſt Shaan town * was called Thangdat. The entrance of the Keenduem ſeemed ſomewhat leſs than a mile wide: the Irrawaddy, immediately above the junction, became much narrower; but I imagine a ſtream was concealed, and that what appeared to be the limits of the river was the bank of an iſland formed by another branch.

In the men who rowed the war-boats that accompanied the barge from Ummerapoora, I had remarked features differing much from the other boatmen, and a ſoftneſs of countenance that reſembled more the Bengal than the Birman character of face; on inquiry, I learned that they were Caſſayers, or the ſons of Caſſayers, who had been brought away from their native country, at times when the Birmans carried their predatory incurſions acroſs the Keenduem. Eaſtern invaders who do not intend to occupy

* Shaan, or Shan, is a very comprehenſive term given to different nations, ſome independent, others the ſubjects of the greater ſtates: thus the Birmans frequently mention the Melap-Shaan, or Shaan ſubject to the Birmans; the Yoodra-Shaan, ſubject to the Siameſe; the Caſſay-Shaan, to the Caſſayers.

the territories they overrun, uſually adopt the policy of conveying away the inhabitants, particularly children, whom they eſtabliſh within their own dominions, and thus acquire additional ſtrength by augmenting the number of their ſubjects. This has been a practice of Aſiatic warfare from time immemorial: the laſt conteſt of the Engliſh with Hyder Ally depopulated the Carnatic. Children, until they attain a certain age, may be tranſplanted with ſafety, and will aſſimilate to any ſoil: but after arriving at the years of maturity, the moſt lenient treatment will hardly reconcile the human mind to coercive detention in a foreign country. The ſpot where a perſon has paſſed the tender years of life, the long remembered and impreſſive interval between infancy and manhood, be it where it may, is ever dear to him. I ſhould willingly have converſed with the Caſſay boat people reſpecting their nation, but my ſituation forbad me either to gratify my own curioſity, or ſanction the enquiries of others.

At ten o'clock we reached the town of Yandaboo, remarkable for its manufactories of earthen-ware; and in the courſe of the day we paſſed many towns and villages, on each ſide agreeably ſhaded by trees, particularly by the palmyra and the tamarind. Early in the evening we brought-to in a creek which leads up to a large town named Summei-kioum: after dinner Dr. Buchanan and myſelf took a walk along the margin of the creek, which carried us to the town by a wide circuit: we found the houſes, though numerous, mean, and very irregularly built; the grounds in the neighbourhood were embanked for the cultivation of rice. The ſoil appeared to be good, but the inhabitants expreſſed the utmoſt anxiety on the ſubject of rain; not a drop had yet fallen here, although in the common courſe of ſeaſons the monſoon ſhould have commenced three weeks earlier. The poor people were carefully huſbanding their rice-ſtraw for the ſupport of their cattle, large herds of which were endeavouring to pick up a ſubſiſtence from the parched blades of graſs, in fields that were covered with duſt inſtead of verdure. The appearance of theſe animals beſpoke exceſſive poverty, if not actual famine.

At Summei-kioum there is the greateſt manufactory of ſaltpetre and gunpowder in the kingdom: here alſo is prepared the gunpowder that is required for the royal magazines: it is the ſole occupation of the inhabitants. Neither ſaltpetre nor gunpowder are ſuffered to be exported under any plea, nor can the ſmalleſt quantity be ſold without a ſpecial licence from ſome man in power.

Early in the morning we left the neighbourhood of gunpowder and ſaltpetre: temples and villages lined the banks ſo thickly that it would be tedious to enumerate them. At nine o'clock we ſtopped at Gnameaghee, celebrated for producing the beſt tobacco in the Birman empire; many brick-kilns were on fire, preparing materials for building temples, of which there appeared to be already a ſufficient number. Purſuing our journey, we paſſed numerous iſlands, ſome of them were cultivated, and had houſes, inhabitants, and trees. Towards evening the wind ſuddenly roſe to a ſtorm; Mr. Wood and myſelf reached Sandaht, or Elephant Village; Dr. Buchanan's boat could not make head againſt wind and ſtream, and dropped an anchor; perceiving his ſituation, I diſpatched one of the war-boats to his aid, when the united efforts of both crews ſoon brought him in ſafety to the fleet. Sandaht is a ſmall town, which, together with the lands adjacent, is occupied entirely by the elephant-keepers belonging to the royal ſtables. The King is the ſole proprietor of all the elephants in his dominions, and the privilege to ride on or keep one of theſe animals is an honour granted only to men of the very firſt rank and conſequence: His Birman Majeſty is ſaid to poſſeſs 6000. In India, female elephants are prized beyond males, on account of their being more tractable: but in Ava it is the reverſe; females are never uſed on ſtate occaſions,

occaſions, and ſeldom for ordinary riding, which cauſes the other ſex to be of much higher value: it rarely happens, however, that either one or the other is to be purchaſed; the King's excluſive right, and the limited uſe that is made of them, prevent their becoming an article of common ſale.

We ſet out at an early hour next morning; Meahmoo, on the weſtern ſide, appeared from the water to be a large town, ſhaded by groves of palmyra trees: it is remarkable for a manufactory of coarſe chequered cotton cloth, ſuch as is worn by the lower claſs of people. Yapadain, a town on the eaſtern ſide, was diſtinguiſhed by ſeveral temples, and a handſome monaſtery. About twelve o'clock the Shawbunder, who, after the interview at Loonghee had returned to Ava, again met us; he had travelled with great expedition, having been at court, and made his report: the preſent viſit was a ſpontaneous act of civility; he poſſeſſed a ſmall jaghire, or perſonal eſtate, in the neighbourhood, where he had prepared ſome refreſhments, of which he requeſted I would ſtop to partake. I complied with his deſire, and accompanied him to a bower formed in a clump of bamboos on the bank of the river, and ſhaded from the ſun by an artificial awning of graſs: here we found a profuſion of fruits, milk, butter, and preſerves, in diſhes laid out on carpets; a company of dancing girls and muſicians from a neigbouring village entertained us with their muſic and graces. I remained as ſhort a time as was conſiſtent with civility, and then purſued my voyage. We paſſed in our progreſs ſeveral populous villages pleaſantly ſituated, and adorned with well-incloſed gardens and orchards of plantain, guava, and other fruit-trees. At night we brought-to at Kiouptaloum, where a large temple, ſurrounded by ſeveral ſmall buildings, was the only object that merited particular attention.

Next day we got under way at the cuſtomary hour, and made but ſlow progreſs, the wind heading us ſo far that the ſquare ſails of the Birman boats could not keep full; oars and poles were plied with vigour. The river, which, though it had not yet riſen to its utmoſt periodical height, had overflowed its banks, filled all the watercourſes, and inundated the low grounds adjacent to its bed. As the force of the current lay in the middle of the ſtream, in order to avoid its influence we frequently navigated through fields, in which the tall graſs and reeds appeared above the ſurface of the water, and the trees had their ſtems immerſed beneath the flood. The ſwelling of the Irrawaddy is not influenced by the quantity of rain which falls in the vallies, but by the torrents that ruſh down from the mountains. Notwithſtanding the drought in the champaign country had been greater this year than uſual, the river was ſwollen to its regular height, which, I was informed, it rarely fell ſhort of or exceeded: indeed, this part of the country is ſeldom refreſhed by copious rains, but, like Egypt, depends on the overflowing of its river to fertilize the ſoil. The Irrawaddy, during the monſoon months, riſes and ſubſides three or four times. As our diſtance from Ummerapoora diminiſhed, towns and villages on each ſide recurred at ſuch ſhort intervals, that it was in vain to enquire the name of each diſtinct aſſemblage of houſes; each, however, had its name, and was for the moſt part inhabited by one particular claſs of people, profeſſing ſome ſeparate trade, or following ſome peculiar occupation. We were ſhewn a tomb erected to the memory of a perſon of high diſtinction, who had been accidentally drowned near that place fifteen years before; it was an oblong brick building, one ſtory high, with eight or nine doors opening towards the river. Many beautiful temples and kioums would have engaged our attention had we not already ſeen ſuch numbers, and been aſſured that all we had viewed fell far ſhort of thoſe which we ſhould have an opportunity of beholding at the capital. We brought-to late in the evening, at the lower landing-place of what was once the city of Ava, and the metropolis of all the Birman empire.

In

Ith e morning I took a haſty view of Aungwa, or Ava; it is divided into an upper and lower city, both of which are fortified: the lower, which is the moſt extenſive, I judged to be about four miles in circumference; it is protected by a wall thirty feet high, at the foot of which there is a deep and broad foſſe. The communication between the fort and the country is over a mound of earth croſſing the ditch, that ſupports a cauſeway; an embankment of earth in the inſide ſuſtains the wall; the upper or ſmaller fort, which may be called the citadel, and does not exceed a mile in circuit, was much ſtronger and more compact than the lower; but neither the upper nor the lower had a ditch on the ſide of the river. The walls are now mouldering into decay; ivy clings to the ſides, and buſhes ſuffered to grow at the bottom, undermine the foundation, and have already cauſed large chaſms in the different faces of the fort. The materials of the houſes, conſiſting chiefly of wood, had, on the firſt order for removing, been tranſported to the new city of Ummerapoora: but the ground, unleſs where it is covered with buſhes or rank graſs, ſtill retains traces of former buildings and ſtreets. The lines of the royal palace, of the Lotoo, or grand council hall, the apartments of the women, and the ſpot on which the piaſath, or imperial ſpire, had ſtood, were pointed out to us by our guide. Clumps of bamboos, a few plantain trees, and tall thorns, occupy the greater part of the area of this lately flouriſhing capital. We obſerved two dwelling houſes of brick and mortar, the roofs of which had fallen in; theſe, our guide ſaid, had belonged to colars, or foreigners: on entering one, we found it inhabited only by bats, which flew in our faces, whilſt our ſenſe of ſmelling was offended by their filth, and by the noiſome mildew that hung upon the walls. Numerous temples on which the Birmans never lay ſacrilegious hands, were dilapidating by time. It is impoſſible to draw a more ſtriking picture of deſolation and ruin.

Among the religious buildings within the fort, one named Shoegunga Praw, noways diſtinguiſhed for ſize or ſplendour, was in former times held peculiarly ſacred, and is ſtill reverenced above the reſt. At the preſent day, when an officer of rank is about to enter on a great public truſt, or a new commander is appointed to the army, the oath of allegiance is adminiſtered in this temple with great ſolemnity, a breach of which is conſidered the moſt heinous crime that a Birman can be guilty of, and is invariably puniſhed by the ſevereſt tortures. How Shoegunga obtained this diſtinction I was not able to learn. We were informed that a temple of much greater magnitude, named Logatherpoo Praw, ſtood a ſhort diſtance to the weſtward of the fort, in which was a coloſſal figure of Gaudma, formed out of a ſolid block of marble. This temple and image we had a better opportunity of viewing on our return.

Leaving Ava in our rear, the river bends again to the northward, when the oppoſite city of Chagain, and the ſpires, the turrets, and the lofty piaſath of Ummerapoora, create an unexpected pleaſure, and exhibit a fine contraſt to the gloomy and deſerted walls of Ava. Chagain, on the north ſide, once too the ſeat of imperial reſidence, is ſituated partly at the foot and partly on the ſide of a rugged hill that is broken into ſeparate eminences, and on the ſummit of each ſtands a ſpiral temple; theſe temples, riſing irregularly one above another to the top of the mountain, form a beautiful aſſemblage of objects, the effect of which is increaſed by their being carefully whitewaſhed and kept in repair. As we ſailed near the oppoſite ſhore the ſun ſhone full upon the hill, and its reflected rays diſplayed the ſcenery to the higheſt advantage; in addition to this, the ſwollen ſtate of the river gave to the waters the ſemblance of a vaſt lake, interſperſed with iſlands, in which the foundations of Ummerapoora ſeemed to be immerſed. Numberleſs boats were paſſing up and down, and the houſes on the weſtern,

or rather ſouthern ſhore, appeared, from their uninterrupted ſucceſſion, to be a continued town, or the ſuburbs of a city.

At twelve o'clock we came to the mouth of the channel that communicates with the lake of Tounzemahn, through which it receives its waters from the river. The ſituation of Ummerapoora has already been deſcribed; the ſouthern face of the fort is waſhed, during the rainy ſeaſon, by the waves of the lake, and the houſes of the city and ſuburbs extend along the bank as far as the extreme point of land. Acroſs the lake, and oppoſite to the fort, ſtands the ſmall village of Tounzemahn, near which, in a tall grove of mango, palmyra, and cocoa-nut trees, a dwelling was prepared for the Britiſh deputation. On entering the lake, the number of boats that were moored, as in a harbour, to avoid the influence of the ſweeping flood, the ſingularity of their conſtruction, the height of the waters, which threaten inundation to the whole city, and the amphitheatre of lofty hills that nearly ſurrounded us, altogether preſented a novel ſcene, exceedingly intereſting to a ſtranger. We rowed towards the grove, whilſt the greater part of the fleet went to the oppoſite ſide: on reaching the bank, I perceived a war-boat belonging to the Maywoon of Pegue, who, I underſtoood, was at the grove waiting our arrival. I was received on landing by Baba-Sheen, and ſome inferior officers; they accompanied me to the houſe, which was ſituated about three hundred yards from the brink of the lake, overſhadowed by lofty trees, that completely defended it from the meridian ſun. When we came to the entrance of the virando, or balcony, the Maywoon of Pegue, the governor of Bamoo, a province bordering on China, and the Woondock before mentioned, welcomed me to the capital. Being ſeated on carpets ſpread along the floor, the converſation turned on general topics, and particularly on European geography, a ſubject on which the governor of Bamoo appeared very deſirous of information. After ſome time, the Woondock, addreſſing himſelf to me, ſaid, that His Birman Majeſty had been abſent a few months, at a country reſidence named Meengoung, where he was erecting a magnificent temple to their divinity Gaudma, but was expected to return ſoon to Ummerapoora; that in the mean time inſtructions had been given to his miniſters to provide every thing requiſite for the accommodation of the Engliſh gentlemen, and that Baba-Sheen was commanded to reſide near us, in order to ſupply our wants, and to communicate our wiſhes: to this the Maywoon of Pegue added, that the two inferior Serees, or provincial under ſecretaries, who had accompanied us from Rangoon, were likewiſe directed to attend to our orders; and being perſons to whom we were accuſtomed, would probably be more agreeable to us than entire ſtrangers.

Theſe polite and hoſpitable attentions were received and acknowledged by me with real ſatisfaction; nor was it at all diminiſhed by the freedom with which the Woondock informed me, that it was contrary to the etiquette of the Birman court, for a public miniſter from a foreign nation to go abroad before his firſt audience. He therefore hoped I would not croſs the lake in perſon, or ſuffer any of my people to do ſo, until the ceremonials were paſt; but as our cuſtoms differed from theirs, and the Europeans habituated themſelves to take exerciſe, I was at full liberty to walk or ride into the country, or over the plains that lay between our dwelling and the hills, as far as I thought proper; recommending to me, at the ſame time, not to go to any great diſtance, as it would be conſidered by the common people in the light of a derogation from my own conſequence. I thanked him for his counſel, which was delivered with many expreſſions of civility, and readily acquieſced in what he aſſured me was an eſtabliſhed cuſtom.

This

This uſage of debarring a public miniſter from entering the capital previous to his firſt formal preſentation, I underſtood, was neither recent nor uncommon; it has long been the known practice of the Birman and Siameſe governments; Monſieur Loubere makes mention of it in his Account of an Embaſſy to Siam, ſent from the court of Louis the Fourteenth. It is founded on that cautious policy which governs all nations eaſtward of India in their intercourſe with foreign ſtates.

CHAP. X. — *Place of Reſidence deſcribed. — Deputation from China provincial, not imperial. — Rhoom, a Building ſometimes attached to private Houſes — Reaſon of it. — Munificence of the Birman Government. — Letter from General Erſkine — opened by the Birman Miniſter — Apology. — Appearance of the adjacent Country — parched for Want of Rain. — Caſſay Farmers. — Women induſtrious — row the Boats — fond of ſinging. — Chineſe Muſic diſcordant and troubleſome. — Indolence of the Chineſe. — King returns to the Capital. — Eclipſe of the Moon. — Reaſon of Delay. — Pride of the Court — its Punctiliouſneſs. — Letter from the Governor General tranſlated. — Preſent a Memorial. — Embaſſies uſually conſiſt of three Members. — Viſit from the junior Deputies from China. — Whimſical Ceremony. — Return the Viſit. — Subject of Converſation.*

AS ſoon as my viſitors took their leave, I made a ſurvey of our new habitation; it was a ſpacious houſe of one ſtory, raiſed from the ground ſomewhat more than two feet, and better covered than Birman houſes uſually are: it conſiſted of two good ſized rooms and a large virando, or balcony: the partitions and walls were made of cane mats, with latticed windows in the ſides; the ſhape of the roof was ſuch as diſtinguiſhes the houſes of nobles: it was altogether a comfortable habitation, and well adapted to the climate. Mr. Wood had a ſmaller houſe erected behind mine, and parallel to it; and Dr. Buchanan another at right angles. Small ſeparate huts were conſtructed for the guard, and for our attendants; the whole was ſurrounded by a ſtrong bamboo paling, which incloſed a court-yard. There were two entrances by gates, one in front of my houſe, the other backwards; at each of theſe, on the outſide of the paling, was a ſhed, in which a Birman guard was poſted, to protect us from thieves, keep off the populace, and probably to watch and report our movements.

On the ſkirts of the ſame grove, in a line with our dwelling, ſimilar houſes were erected for three Chineſe deputies, who had arrived at Ummerapoora about two months before us: theſe perſonages were repreſented as compoſing a royal miſſion from the imperial city of Pekin; but circumſtances early led me to ſuſpect that their real character did not riſe higher than that of a provincial deputation from Manchegee, or Yunan, the ſouth-weſt province of China, which borders on the kingdom of Ava: a conjecture that was afterwards confirmed. They had accompanied the Governor of Bamoo, which is the frontier province, to the capital; and I underſtood that their buſineſs was to adjuſt ſome mercantile concerns relating to the jee, or mart, where the commodities of the two empires are brought and bartered. It was not at all improbable, that the miſſion had been ſanctioned by the authority of the Emperor of China, eſpecially as the principal member of it was a native of Pekin, and had lately come from thence: but the falſe pride of the Birman court ſuggeſted the

puerile * expedient of repreſenting it to us as an imperial embaſſy; a diſtinction to which, I was privately informed from an authentic ſource, it poſſeſſed no pretenſions whatever. The members, however, were treated apparently with much perſonal reſpect and attention.

The building denominated Rhoom has already been deſcribed as the official hall of juſtice, where the members of provincial governments and all municipal officers, are accuſtomed to aſſemble for the tranſaction of public buſineſs. Every man of high rank in the Birman empire is a magiſtrate, and has a place of this deſcription and name contiguous to his dwelling; but always on the outſide of the encloſure of his court-yard, and not ſurrounded by any fence or railing, in order to manifeſt publicity, and ſhew that it is the ſeat of majeſty and juſtice, to which all mankind may have free acceſs. An imperial mandate to a governor, or an order from a governor to a petty miougee, or chief of a ſmall town or diſtrict, is invariably opened and read aloud in this ſanctified hall. The Birman government in the adminiſtration of public affairs, ſuffers no ſuch thing as privacy or concealment. The rhoom is likewiſe an appendage of dignity, as it denotes him to whoſe habitation it is annexed to be a perſon of rank and conſequence: a building of this ſort was erected within a few yards of the front gate of our incloſure.

For two days after our landing, the boatmen and ſervants were employed in tranſporting our baggage from the boats to the houſe, and our time was chiefly taken up in arranging the domeſtic economy of our new reſidence, in which we found a liberal proviſion of all ſuch neceſſaries as the natives themſelves require; my rooms were carpeted, but the chairs, tables, &c. were my own. Rice, gee (clarified butter), firewood, and pots for dreſſing victuals, were ſupplied to our people in abundance. A few ſtalls, or petty ſhops, were eſtabliſhed in the grove, to afford the ſmaller ingredients of cookery, ſuch as greens, ſpices, ſalt, tamarinds, &c. Here alſo tobacco and beetle leaf were ſold; and to enable our attendants to purchaſe ſuch articles, one hundred tackal, about 12l. ſterling, were diſtributed amongſt them: this was an act of munificence which I with great difficulty avoided the obligation of, in my own perſon; but no remonſtrance could prevail on the Birman officer to diſpenſe with it in the inſtance of our domeſtics.

The delinquent refugees, of whom mention has been made in a former part of this work as having been ſurrendered by order of the governor-general, to the juſtice of their country, had reached Ummerapoora ſome weeks previous to our arrival. The Birman guard that eſcorted them had brought a letter directed to me from General Erſkine, the Engliſh commander at Chittigong; this letter the Birman miniſter, as it was alleged, through miſtake, but more probably by deſign, cauſed to be opened, and procured a tranſlation from an Armenian interpreter. The circumſtance was reported to the King, who ordered that the letter ſhould be ſafely depoſited in the Lotoo, and given to me on my arrival: the royal injunctions were punctually obeyed; an officer, in his dreſs of ceremony, brought it over. A propoſal was firſt made, that I ſhould go myſelf to the rhoom, ſolicit its reſtoration, receive it as an act of grace,

* The Chineſe ſeem to have been actuated by a policy equally abſurd, when they informed Sir George Staunton, at the time of the formal introduction of Lord Macartney, that "Ambaſſadors from Pegue" were preſent; and that "Siam, Ava, and Pegue were tributary to China:" ſuch unworthy deceptions, not being expected; could hardly be guarded againſt. The courts of Ava and Pekin appear to reſemble each other in many points; but in none more than in their vanity, which often manifeſts itſelf in a manner not leſs ridiculous than contemptible.

and do homage to the King, by bowing with my face towards the palace. From this I entirely diſſented, as the cauſe of complaint was with me, and confidence had in ſome meaſure been violated by their breaking the ſeal. I do not imagine that the propoſition originated from any authority, as it was immediately given up, and the letter, in a ſilk wrapper, was formally preſented to me on a tray, by the officer who conveyed it acroſs the lake.

Being now comfortably lodged, we had leiſure to take a view of the circumjacent country, and obſerve the objects that immediately ſurrounded us. Behind the grove in which we lived was a ſmooth extenſive plain, interſected by the embankments of what, in the paſt year, had been fields of rice, but which promiſed, this ſeaſon, to be an unproductive waſte, owing to the uncommon drought: notwithſtanding the ſpot we were on was elevated very little above the preſent level of the lake, which had now nearly reached its utmoſt height, yet the ground was parched up, and divided into chaſms from want of moiſture, Dark and rugged mountains, about eight miles diſtant, bounded the proſpect to the ſouth-weſt: ſeveral ſmall villages were ſcattered over the plain, and on the ſkirts of the grove, inhabited, as we were informed, by native Caſſayers, or the deſcendants of Caſſayers, who had been carried into captivity by the Birman invaders during their predatory expeditions acroſs the Keendeum.

The Seree who accompanied me ſaid, that theſe people, whom he called Munniporeans, from Munnipore, the capital of Caſſay, were in general become reconciled to their ſtate of ſervitude, owing to their having been brought away very young from their own country: the ſuperior induſtry and ſkill which they poſſeſs over the Birmans in different branches of handicraft, ſupplied them with a comfortable ſubſiſtence. Thoſe in our neighbourhood were farmers and gardeners, who cultivated pulſe, greens, onions, and ſuch vegetables as Birmans uſe; theſe articles they tranſport at an early hour acroſs the lake to the city, where they retail them in the market, and bring home the produce at night; this buſineſs is moſtly performed by females; one man, commonly a perſon in years, accompanies each boat, in which, ſtanding erect, he acts as ſteerſman, whilſt the women, uſually from ten to fourteen in number, ſitting with their legs acroſs, row ſhort oars, or uſe paddles, according to the ſize of the veſſel: when they ſet out in a morning, they proceed in ſilence; but returning at night they join in jocund chorus, and time the ſtroke of their oars to the bars of their ſong. We were ſerenaded every evening from duſk till ten o'clock by ſucceſſive parties of theſe joyous females, whoſe ſtrains, though unpoliſhed, were always melodious and pleaſing. The Birmans, both men and women, are fond of ſinging whilſt at work: it lightens their labour: "ſong ſweetens toil, how rude ſoe'er the ſound." Unfortunately our muſic was not confined to theſe paſſing chantreſſes; there were other performers, leſs agreeable, nearer to us. Our neighbours, the deputies from China, unluckily for the repoſe of thoſe from Britain, happened to be amateurs in their way, and had amongſt their dependants a ſelect band of muſicians, ſuch as I certainly had never heard equalled; it is impoſſible to deſcribe the horrible noiſes that iſſued from gongs, drums, cymbals, an inſtrument with two ſtrings, which may be called a fiddle, and ſomething like a clarionet, that ſent forth a ſound more grating to the ear than all the reſt. This was their conſtant nocturnal amuſement, which never ended before midnight, and was not once remitted till the principal perſonage of the embaſſy became ſo indiſpoſed that he could endure it no longer. Whilſt he lingered, we enjoyed tranquillity; but after his deceaſe the concert recommenced, and

and continued, to our great annoyance, till they quitted the grove to return to their native country.

The oppoſite habits of different nations were here ſtrikingly evinced in the diſſimilarity between the manners of the Engliſh and thoſe of the Chineſe; the latter never left the precincts of their habitation, or manifeſted a deſire to leave it, except to loll in eaſy chairs, and ſmoke their long pipes in the cool of the evening on the margin of the lake, about two or three hundred yards in front of their houſe. The Engliſh gentlemen accuſtomed themſelves either to walk or ride three or four miles in the morning before breakfaſt, and the ſame diſtance in the afternoon, a circumſtance that did not eſcape the notice of the Birmans. My cuſtomary route was in a ſouthern direction, over pathways that led through rice fields, in my return making a circuit along the green border of the lake. Although there was not the leaſt cauſe to apprehend either injury or inſolence, I was always attended in my excurſions by ſix or eight ſoldiers, and by as many of my private ſervants, armed with ſabres, who ſeemed to attract no leſs notice than myſelf. When I met any of the natives, particularly women, they ſquatted down into the poſture of reſpect. As ſoon as the novelty of my appearance had a little worn off, I was told that they were ſtill anxious to know why a perſon conſulting his own amuſement, and maſter of his own time, ſhould walk ſo faſt; but on being informed that I was "a Colar," or ſtranger, and that it was the cuſtom of my country, they were reconciled to this as well as to every other act that did not coincide with their own prejudices and uſage.

In a few days the return of the King was announced by the diſcharge of rockets, and by the general buſtle that ſo important an event cauſed among all claſſes of people: we ſaw nothing of the diſplay; which we underſtood, on this occaſion, was not at all pompous.

The period of our arrival occurred at a juncture that ſupplied the Birman court with a plauſible excuſe for poſtponing the conſideration of public buſineſs, and delaying my formal reception, as well as the delivery of the letter from the governor-general to the King. It ſo happened, that in the enſuing month there was to be an eclipſe of the moon, an operation of nature which they aſcribe to the interference of a malignant demon. On ſuch an occaſion, affairs of ſtate, and all important matters of buſineſs that will admit of procraſtination, are put off to the following month. The aſtrologers were aſſembled to conſult on the firſt fortunate day after the lapſe of that inauſpicious moon, when they diſcovered that the ſeventeenth of the month Touzelien, correſponding with the 30th of Auguſt, was the earlieſt that would occur, and that day was accordingly appointed for the public reception of the Engliſh embaſſy.

Caution and policy had, perhaps, as great a ſhare with the Birmans as ſuperſtition, in thus retarding the ceremony of our introduction: it was to them a novel incident; they were deſirous to penetrate thoroughly into the objects we had in view, before any part of the ſubject came into formal diſcuſſion. They might probably alſo wiſh to have an opportunity to judge of our national character, and to determine, from our conduct, in what manner to regulate their own: if ſuch were their motives, they were conſiſtent with that ſagacity which I found invariably diſplayed by the Birman government in all its reſolutions and acts of a public nature.

But the prevailing characteriſtic of the Birman court is pride; like the ſovereign of China, His Majeſty of Ava acknowledges no equal; indeed it is the fixed principle of all nations eaſtward of Bengal, to conſider foreign miniſters as ſuppliants come to ſolicit protection, not as repreſentatives who may demand redreſs; rather as vaſſals to render homage,

homage, than as perſons veſted with authority to treat on equal terms. Of this ſyſtem I was early apprized, and felt no diſappointment at hearing of a general rumour current among the higher ranks of Birmans, that a deputy had arrived from the Engliſh government, bearing tribute for their King. Reports of this nature were no otherwiſe regarded, than as an admonition to regulate my actions with ſcrupulous circumſpection.

Amongſt other regulations of this punctilious court, I was given to underſtand, that it was not cuſtomary for the King to receive any letter in a formal manner without being previouſly apprized of its contents. This created ſome difficulty in reſpect to the letter from the governor-general, which was at length ſurmounted by an agreement on my part to admit of a copy being made in my preſence; but it was ſtipulated by them, that it ſhould be tranſcribed in the rhoom adjacent to my houſe, and not in my private reſidence. In this propoſal I acquieſced; and accordingly a formal deputation, conſiſting of ſeven or eight officers of ſtate, was directed to proceed to the rhoom, where they were to open the letter, and ſee it properly tranſcribed: theſe perſonages came with much parade, apparelled in their robes of ceremony; on landing they walked directly to the rhoom, and, having taken their ſeats, ſent a Terrezogee, or inferior officer, along with Baba-Sheen, to requeſt I would come, and bring with me the governor-general's letter; I obeyed this ſummons, accompanied by the other gentlemen and our uſual attendants. On entering the rhoom, I was civilly deſired, as the occaſion was a ſolemn one, to make obeiſance towards the piaſath, or ſpire of the royal palace, which was more than two miles diſtant, a ceremony that I complied with by raiſing my right hand to my head, and making a ſlight inclination of my body, after the manner of the Mahomedan Salaam. Being ſeated, I delivered the letter, which was written in Engliſh and in Perſian, to the Woondock, or ſuperior officer: it was immediately opened by a ſecretary: and an Armenian interpreter, named Muckatees, who ſpoke and wrote Engliſh fluently, was ordered to make a copy in Engliſh, whilſt a Muſſulman moonſhee made another in Perſian. When the writing was finiſhed, I delivered a paper, which I deſired might be laid before His Majeſty's council, declaratory, in general terms, of the friendly wiſhes and views of the governor-general in deputing me to the Birman court, and expreſſing my deſire to maintain a confidential intercourſe with ſuch perſons as His Majeſty, or his council, ſhould think proper to authorize.

The buſineſs being concluded, I returned to my houſe, and received a ceremonious viſit from the Birman officers, among whom there were ſome perſonages of high diſtinction; a Woondock, but not the one that met me at Pagahm, preſided; the maſter of the elephants, the old governor of Peenkeing, two Seredogees, or ſecretaries of ſtate, and ſome other officers, whoſe names and ſtations I did not learn, were preſent; their robes, which were very graceful, were made either of velvet or flowered ſatin, with wide bodies, and looſe ſleeves: they were all inveſted with the chain of nobility, and wore caps covered with light green taffety. Three, of higher rank than the reſt, had a wreath of gold leaves encircling the bottom of their caps, not unlike the ſtrawberry leaves in a ducal coronet; their attendants, who were numerous, carried a variety of utenſils, ſuch as their beetle box, water flaggon, drinking cup, and ſpitting pot; of which latter, from their filthy practice of chewing beetle, they ſtood in conſtant need. I regaled them with tea, and Engliſh raſpberry jam ſpread on biſcuits: although they praiſed, I do not think they much reliſhed our preſerve; they ate ſparingly, and refreſhed themſelves with copious bowls of tea, unadulterated either by cream or ſugar.

About this time the Chineſe miniſter, who has already been mentioned as labouring

under ſevere indiſpoſition, ſent me a polite meſſage, expreſſing his regret that he had it not in his power to viſit me in perſon, but that his two colleagues would wait on me whenever I ſhould be at leiſure to receive them; I returned my acknowledgments, and appointed the following day.

It is cuſtomary among nations eaſtward of Bengal, when a public deputation is ſent to a foreign court, to nominate three members, who conſtitute a council: although the preſident or chief of theſe is inveſted with all the power, and controls the proceedings of the reſt, yet the diſtinction between them is not ſo wide as to preclude the juniors from a high degree of conſequence being attached to their ſtations; and in caſe of the demiſe of the principal, the ſenior ſurvivor executes all diplomatic functions, thus wiſely guarding againſt any impediment which a caſualty might throw in the way of negotiation.

The two junior members of the Chineſe deputation came at the appointed hour, accompanied by ſeven or eight attendants. There is no perſonage on earth ſo ſolemn and ceremonious as a Chineſe officer of ſtate; his dignity is preſerved by profound ſilence, unleſs when occaſion renders it neceſſary to exerciſe the faculty of ſpeech, which is always ſlow, monotonous, and dull; even gentlemen, in the familiarity of private life, ſeldom depart from their gravity, or relax into a ſmile. On entering a room where there is company, good breeding is evinced by a modeſt but pertinacious refuſal to ſit down till the maſter of the houſe is firſt ſeated, which would be an equal violation of decorum on his part. This cuſtom, I was told, ſometimes produces a very ludicrous ſcene, and the gueſts are not unfrequently obliged to be dragged to their chairs, and placed in them almoſt by compulſion. My houſe being about to undergo ſome alteration, I had cauſed a ſuite of tents, which I had brought with me, to be pitched for our temporary accommodation; in theſe I made arrangements to receive my viſitors, who were exact to their time. On entering the door of the marquee, they both made an abrupt ſtop, and reſiſted all ſolicitation to advance to chairs, that had been prepared for them, until I ſhould firſt be ſeated: in this dilemma Dr. Buchanan, who had viſited China, adviſed me what was to be done; I immediately ſeized on the foremoſt, whilſt the doctor himſelf grappled with the ſecond: thus we ſoon fixed them in their ſeats, both parties, during the ſtruggle, repeating Chin Chin, Chin Chin, the Chineſe term of ſalutation. The converſation was not at all lively or intereſting; for, though I ſat between them, our words had to make a wide circuit before they reached each other's comprehenſion. I ſpoke in the language of Hindoſtan to a Muſſulman who underſtood Birman, he delivered it to a Birman who ſpoke Chineſe, this Birman gave it to the firſt official domeſtic, who repeated it to his maſter in the Chineſe tongue. Our wines, port, claret, and madeira, all excellent of their kind, were ſerved up; theſe, however, were too cold for Chineſe palates; my viſitants did not ſeem to reliſh them; but when cherry-brandy was introduced, their approbation was manifeſted by the ſatisfaction with which each of them ſwallowed a large glaſs-full of the liquor: they taſted our tea, and, before they departed, politely preſented me with ſome fans, two or three pieces of ſilk, two ſmall boxes of tea, and three bottles of ſhouchou, a very fiery ſpirit diſtilled from rice, of which the Chineſe are extremely fond. I returned the viſit on the following day, and was received with as much pomp and oſtentation as circumſtances would admit: in front of the houſe a ſilk enſign waved, on which was embroidered the imperial dragon of China, and at their gate were ſuſpended whips and chains, importing the power which the owner poſſeſſed to inflict corporal puniſhment. The two junior members met me at the threſhold of their habitation, apologized for the unavoidable abſence of the chief perſonage, and introduced

introduced me into a hall, the walls of which were concealed by ſcreens of ſilk, and the chairs covered with looſe pieces of ſatin; this interview was rendered more intereſting than the former, by a ſpontaneous queſtion on the part of the ſenior Chineſe, to know whether I had heard of the ſafe arrival of Lord Macartney in England. His lordſhip having left China only the preceding year, it was not poſſible to have had accounts of his reaching England, and the iſſue of his lordſhip's negociations was at that time wholly unknown; conſequently, being unacquainted both with the objects and event of that ſplendid miſſion, I felt myſelf rather on delicate ground in regard to the enquiries which I, on my part, wiſhed to make. In order to draw ſome concluſion from their diſcourſe, I encouraged them to purſue the topic, by aſking how his lordſhip's health had borne the viciſſitudes of climate? They replied, that they only knew of the embaſſy from report, and ſeemed reluctant to enter into particulars, with which, it is probable, they were entirely unacquainted: I did not, therefore, preſs the ſubject farther; but I was not ſuffered to remain long in doubt what their ſentiments were. Chineſe vanity ſcarcely yields to that of the Birmans; here was an opportunity, by exaggeration and miſrepreſentation, of indulging their own pride at the expence of the Engliſh nation, which, in the accounts circulated by them at Ummerapoora reſpecting the embaſſy to China, they did not neglect. They treated us with tea and ſweetmeats, and ſmoked their long pipes with unrelaxed ſolemnity. I repaid their civilities by giving them ſome broad-cloth and brandy, and took my leave.

The alterations in my own dwelling, which I had ſuggeſted, were quickly carried into effect; and, by an order from the Lotoo, or grand council, a ſmall additional building, of a ſquare form, and raiſed from the ground, was erected within the encloſure of our court, for the reception of the preſents intended for His Majeſty. I was given to underſtand that this building was meant as a compliment to what they they thought proper to term among themſelves, "tribute from the King of England;" but as no ſuch arrogant aſſumption was ever publicly profeſſed, I could not take notice of mere rumour: it was, however, privately intimated to me, that keeping our tents pitched would be conſidered by the court in the light of a reflection upon its hoſpitality; and an inference would be drawn from it, that we were diſcontented with our habitation. I immediately ordered the marquees to be ſtruck, nothing being farther from my intention than to give umbrage, or expreſs diſſatisfaction, for which, indeed, in the preſent inſtance, there was certainly no ground.

The interval that elapſed between the time of our arrival at Ummerapoora, and of our formal introduction at court, afforded us leiſure to acquire ſome inſight into the cuſtoms, religious tenets, and moral economy of the Birman nation. Inſtead, therefore, of filling up the chaſm by an unimportant journal, in which the acts of one day differed but little from thoſe of the preceding, I ſhall dedicate a few pages to a more general account of the country, and endeavour, as far as our own circumſcribed obſervation, and the information of others, enabled us, to illuſtrate the character of this people from their manners, and their ſtate of ſociety from the progreſs which the arts had made, and from the uſages of the inhabitants in common life.

CHAP. XI. — *Religion of the Birmans. — Their Laws. — Juriſdiction of the Metropolis. — Lawyers. — The Royal Eſtabliſhment. — Council of State. — Officers. — Honours not hereditary. — Inſignia of Rank. — Dreſs. — Reſemblance to the Chineſe. — Marriages. — Funerals. — Population. — Revenue.*

AFTER what has been written, there can be little neceſſity to inform my readers, that the Birmans are Hindoos: not votaries of Brahma, but ſectaries of Boodh, which latter is admitted by Hindoos of all deſcriptions to be the ninth Avatar *, or deſcent of the deity in his capacity of preſerver. He reformed the doctrines contained in the Vedas, and ſeverely cenſured the ſacrifice of cattle, or depriving any being of life: he is called the author of happineſs: his place of reſidence was diſcovered at Gaya in Bengal, by the illuſtrious Amára †, renowned amongſt men, "who cauſed an image of the ſupreme Boodh to be made, and he worſhipped it: reverence be unto thee in the form of Boodh; reverence be unto thee, Lord of the earth; reverence be unto thee, an incarnation of the Deity; and, eternal One, reverence be unto thee, O God in the form of Mercy."

Gotma, or Goutum, according to the Hindoos of India, or Gaudma, among the inhabitants of the more eaſtern parts, is ſaid ‡ to have been a philoſopher, and is by the Birmans believed to have flouriſhed above 2300 § years ago: he taught in the Indian ſchools the heterodox religion and philoſophy of Boodh. The image that repreſents Boodh is called Gaudma, or Goutum, which is now a commonly received appellation of Boodh himſelf: this image is the primary object of worſhip in all countries ſituated between Bengal and China. The ſectaries of Boodh contend with thoſe of Brahma for the honour of antiquity, and are certainly far more numerous. The Cingaleze in Ceylon are Boodhiſts of the pureſt ſource, and the Birmans acknowledge to have originally received their religion from that iſland ‖. It was brought, ſay the Rhahaans, firſt from Zehoo (Ceylon) to Arracan, and thence was introduced into Ava, and probably into China; for the Birmans aſſert with confidence that the Chineſe are Boodhiſts.

This is a curious ſubject of inveſtigation, and the concurrent teſtimony of circumſtances, added to the opinions of the moſt intelligent writers, ſeem to leave little doubt of the fact. It cannot, however, be demonſtrated beyond the poſſibility of diſpute, till we ſhall have acquired a more perfect knowledge of Chineſe letters, and a readier acceſs to their repoſitories of learning. Little can at preſent be added to the lights caſt on the ſubject by the late Sir William Jones, in his diſcourſe delivered to the Aſiatic Society on the Chineſe. That great man has expreſſed his conviction in poſitive terms, that "Boodh was unqueſtionably the Foe of China," and that he was alſo the god of Japan, and the Woden of the Goths; an opinion which correſponds with, and is, perhaps, grafted on the information of the learned and laborious Kæmpfer ¶, corroborated afterwards

* Sir William Jones on the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India.

† See the tranſlation of a Shanſcrit inſcription on a ſtone found in the temple of Boodh, at Gaya, by Mr. Wilkins, Aſiat. Reſearch. vol. i. I am indebted for the annexed repreſentation of the image of Boodh, at Gaya, to the kindneſs of Lord Teignmouth. The reader will obſerve the cloſe reſemblance it bears to that of the Birman Gaudma.

‡ Sir William Jones on the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India.

§ This agrees with the account of the Siameſe computation given by Kæmpfer.

‖ The Birmans call Ceylon, Zehoo.

¶ Speaking of the Budz, or Seaka, of the Japaneſe, Kæmpfer ſays, "I have ſtrong reaſons to believe, both from the affinity of the name and the very nature of this religion, that its author and founder is the very

wards by his own reſearches. On whatever grounds the latter inference reſts, it will not tend to weaken the belief of his firſt poſition, when I obſerve that the Chineſe deputies, on the occaſion of our introduction to the Seredaw, or high prieſt of the Birman empire, proſtrated themſelves before him, and afterwards adored an image of Gaudma with more religious fervour than mere politeneſs, or acquieſcence in the cuſtoms of another nation, would have excited: the Bonzes alſo of China, like the Rhahaans of Ava, were yellow as the ſacerdotal colour, and in many of their cuſtoms and ceremonies there may be traced a ſtriking ſimilitude.

Whatever may be the antiquity of the worſhip of Boodh, the wide extent of its reception cannot be doubted. The moſt authentic writer * on the eaſtern peninſula calls the image of Gaudma, as worſhipped by the Siameſe, Somona-codom: being unacquainted with the language of Siam, which, from ſo ſhort a reſidence as four months, it was impoſſible he could have acquired, he confounds two diſtinct words, Somona, and Codom, ſignifying Codom, or Gaudma, in his incarnate ſtate; the difference between the letters C and G may eaſily have ariſen from the mode of pronunciation in different countries; even in the Birman manner of uttering the word, the diſtinction between theſe letters is not very clear. The Boodh of the Indians and the Birmans, is pronounced by Siameſe Pooth, or Pood; by the vulgar, Poo; which, without any violence to probability, might be converted by the Chineſe into Foe †; the Tamulic termination *en*, as Mr. Chambers remarks, creates a ſtriking reſemblance between Pooden and the Woden of the Goths; every perſon who has converſed with the natives of India, knows that Boodh is the *Dies Mercurii*, the Wedneſday, or Woden's day, of all Hindoos. Chronology, however, which muſt always be accepted as a ſurer guide to truth, than inferences drawn from the reſemblance of words, and etymological reaſoning, does not, to my mind, ſufficiently eſtabliſh that Boodh and Woden were the ſame. The period of the ninth incarnation of Viſhnu was long antecedent to the exiſtence of the deified hero of Scandinavia. Sir William Jones determines the period when Boodh appeared on the earth to be 1014 years before the birth of Chriſt. Odin, or Woden, flouriſhed at a period not very diſtant from our Saviour, and was, according to ſome, a cotemporary of Pompey and of Julius Cæſar. The author of the Northern Antiquities places him ſeventy years after the Chriſtian era. Even the Birman Gaudma, conformably to their account, muſt have lived above five hundred years before Woden. So immenſe a ſpace can hardly be ſuppoſed to have been overlooked: but if the ſuppoſition refers, not to the warrior of the north, but to the orginal deity Odin, the attributes of the latter are as widely oppoſed to thoſe of Boodh, who was himſelf only an incarnation of Viſhnu, as the dates are incongruous. The deity, whoſe doctrines were introduced into Scandinavia, was a god of terror, and his votaries carried deſolation and the ſword

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very ſame perſon whom the Bramins call Budha, and believe to be the eſſential ſpirit of Wiſhna, or their deity, who made his ninth appearance in the world under this name: the Peguers call him Samana Khutama." Hiſt. Japan. book iv. ch. 6.

Treating on the introduction of Boodh into China, the ſame author ſays, "About the year of Chriſt 518, one Darma, a great ſaint, and twenty-third ſucceſſor on the holy ſee of Seaka (Budha), came over into China from Seitenſeku, as the Japaneſe writers explain it, that is, from that part of the world which lies weſtward with regard to Japan, and laid, properly ſpeaking, the firſt firm foundation of the Budſdoiſm in that mighty empire." Book iv. ch. 6.

* Loubere.

† M. Gentil aſſerts that the Chineſe admit by their own accounts, that Foe, their object of worſhip, was originally brought from India.

throughout whole regions; but the ninth Avatar * brought the peaceful olive, and came into the world for the ſole purpoſe of preventing ſanguinary acts. Theſe apparent inconſiſtencies will naturally lead us to heſitate in acknowledging Boodh and Woden to be the ſame perſon: their doctrines are oppoſite, and their eras are widely remote.

Had that diſtinguiſhed genius †, whoſe learning ſo lately illuminated the Eaſt, been longer ſpared for the inſtruction and delight of mankind, he would probably have elucidated this obſcurity, and have removed the duſky veil that ſtill hangs over the religious legends of antiquity. The ſubject ‡, as it now ſtands, affords an ample field for indulging in pleaſing theories and fanciful ſpeculations; and as the probability increaſes of being able to trace all forms of divine worſhip to one ſacred and primeval ſource, the inquiry in proportion becomes more intereſting, and awakens a train of ſerious ideas in a reflecting mind.

It would be as unſatisfactory as tedious to attempt leading my reader through the mazes of mythological fable and extravagant allegory, in which the Hindoo religion, both Braminical and Boodhic, is enveloped and obſcured; it may be ſufficient to obſerve, that the Birmans believe in the metempſychoſis, and that, after having undergone a certain number of tranſmigrations, their ſouls will at laſt either be received into their Olympus on the mountain Meru §, or be ſent to ſuffer torments in a place of divine puniſhments. Mercy they hold to be the firſt attribute of the divinity: "Reverence be to thee, O God, in the form of Mercy!" and they worſhip God by extending mercy unto all his creatures.

The laws of the Birmans, like their religion, are Hindoo; in fact, there is no ſeparating their laws from their religion: divine authority revealed to Menu the ſacred principles in a hundred thouſand ſlocas, or verſes: Menu promulgated the code; numerous commentaries || on Menu were compoſed by the Munis, or old philoſophers, whoſe treatiſes conſtitute the Dherma Saſtra, or body of law.

The Birmans generally call their code Derma Sath, or Saſtra; it is one among the many commentaries on Menu: I was ſo fortunate as to procure a tranſlation of the moſt remarkable paſſages, which were rendered into Latin by Padre Vincentius Sangermano, and, to my great ſurpriſe, I found it to correſpond cloſely with a Perſian verſion of the Arracan code which is now in my poſſeſſion. From the inquiries to which this circumſtance gave riſe, I learned that the laws, as well as the religion of the Birmans, had found their way into the Ava country from Arracan, and came originally from Ceylon ¶. The Birman ſyſtem of juriſprudence is replete with ſound morality, and, in

* See the account of the ninth Avatar, by the Rev. Mr. Maurice, in his Hiſtory of Hindooſtan. Vol ii. part 3.

† I need hardly obſerve that I mean Sir William Jones.

‡ General Vallancey, ſo juſtly celebrated for his knowledge of the antiquities of his country, has expreſſed his perfect conviction that the Hindoos have been in Britain and Ireland. See Major Ouſeley's Oriental Collections, Vol. ii. Much attention is certainly due to ſuch reſpectable authority.

§ Meru properly denotes the pole, and, according to the learned Captain Wilford, it is the celeſtial north pole of the Hindoos, round which they place the garden of Indra, and deſcribe it as the ſeat of delights.

|| The code of Gentoo laws, translated by Mr. Halhead, I am informed, is a compilation from the different commentaries on Menu, who was "the grandſon of Bramah, the firſt of created beings," and whoſe work, as tranſlated by Sir William Jones, is the ground of all Hindoo juriſprudence.

¶ As an inconteſtible proof that the Birmans acknowledge the ſuperior antiquity of the Cingaleze, and the reception of their religion and laws from that quarter, the King of Ava has ſent, within theſe few years, at ſeparate times, two meſſengers, perſons of learning and reſpectability, to Ceylon, to procure the original books on which their tenets are founded; and, in one inſtance, the Birman miniſter made an official application to the governor-general of India, to protect and aſſiſt the perſon charged with the commiſſion.

my opinion, is diſtinguiſhed above any other Hindoo commentary for perſpicuity and good ſenſe; it provides ſpecifically for almoſt every ſpecies of crime that can be committed, and adds a copious chapter of precedents and deciſions to guide the inexperienced in caſes where there is doubt and difficulty. Trial by ordeal and imprecation are the only abſurd paſſages in the book; but on the ſubject of women it is, to an European, offenſively indecent: like the immortal Menu, it tells the Prince and the magiſtrates their duty, in language auſtere, manly, and energetic; and the exhortation at the cloſe is at once noble and pious; the following extracts will ſerve as a ſpecimen.

"A country may be ſaid to reſemble milk, in which oppreſſion is like to water; when water is mingled with milk its ſweetneſs immediately vaniſhes: in the ſame manner oppreſſion deſtroys a fair and flouriſhing country. The royal Surkaab * will only inhabit the cleareſt ſtream; ſo a Prince can never proſper in a diſtracted empire. By drinking pure milk the body is ſtrengthened and the palate is gratified; but when mingled with water, pleaſure no longer is found, and the ſprings of health gradually decline.

"A wiſe Prince reſembles a ſharp ſword, which at a ſingle ſtroke cuts through a pillar with ſuch keenneſs that the fabric ſtill remains unſhaken; with equal keenneſs his diſcernment will penetrate advice.

"A wiſe Prince is dear to his people, as the phyſician is to the ſick man; as light to thoſe that are in darkneſs; as unexpected ſight to the eyes of the blind; as is the full moon on a wintry night, and milk to the infant from the breaſt of its mother."

The commentator then proceeds to denounce tremendous judgments againſt an oppreſſive Prince and a corrupt judge; the latter is thus curiouſly menaced:

"The puniſhment of his crimes, who judges iniquitouſly and decides falſely, ſhall be greater than though he had ſlain one thouſand women, one hundred prieſts, or one thouſand horſes."

The book concludes as follows:

"Thus have the learned ſpoken, and thus have the wiſe decreed, that litigation may ceaſe among men, and contention be baniſhed the land: and let all magiſtrates and judges expound the laws as they are herein written; and to the extent of their underſtandings, and according to the dictates of their conſcience, pronounce judgment agreeably to the tenor of this book: let the welfare of their country, and the benefit of their fellow-creatures be their continual ſtudy, and the ſole object of their attention: let them ever be mindful of the ſupreme dignity of the Roulah † and the Bramins, and pay them that reverence which is due to their ſacred characters: let them obſerve becoming reſpect towards all men, and they ſhall ſhield the weak from oppreſſion, ſupport the helpleſs, and, in particular caſes, mitigate the ſeverity of avenging juſtice."

"It ſhall be the duty of a Prince, and the magiſtrates of a Prince, wiſely to regulate the internal police of the empire, to aſſiſt and befriend the peaſants, merchants, farmers, and thoſe who follow trades, that they may daily increaſe in worldly wealth and happineſs; they ſhall promote all works of charity, encourage the opulent to relieve the poor, and liberally contribute to pious and laudable purpoſes; and whatſoever good works ſhall be promoted by their influence and example, whatſover ſhall be given in charity, and whatſover benefit ſhall accrue to mankind from their endeavours, it ſhall all be preſerved in the records of heaven, one-ſixth part of which, though the deeds be

* Bittern. Surkaab is a Perſian term, uſed by the Mahommedan translator.

† The Arracan name for Rhahaan.

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the deeds, of others yet ſhall it be aſcribed unto them; and at the laſt day, at the ſolemn and awful hour of judgment, the recording ſpirit ſhall produce them, inſcribed on the adamantine tablet of human actions. But, on the other hand, if the proſperity of the nation be neglected; if juſtice be ſuffered to lie dormant; if tumults ariſe and robberies are committed; if rapine and foul aſſaſſination ſtalk along the plains, all crimes that ſhall be thus perpetrated through their remiſſneſs, one-ſixth part ſhall be brought to their account, and fall with weighty vengeance on their heads; the dreadful conſequences of which ſurpaſs the power of tongue to utter, or of pen to expreſs."

Laws thus dictated by religion are, I believe, in general, conſcientiouſly adminiſtered. The criminal juriſprudence of the Birmans is lenient in particular caſes, but rigorous in others: whoever is found guilty of an undue aſſumption of power, or of any crime that indicates a treaſonable intent, is puniſhed by the ſevereſt tortures. The firſt commiſſion of theft does not incur the penalty of death, unleſs the amount ſtolen be above 800 kiat, or tackal, about 100l., or attended with circumſtances of atrocity, ſuch as murder or mutilation. In the former caſe, the culprit has a round mark imprinted on each cheek by gunpowder and punctuation, and on his breaſt the word thief, with the article ſtolen; for the ſecond offence he is deprived of an arm; but the third inevitably produces capital puniſhment: decapitation is the mode by which criminals ſuffer, in the performance of which the Birman executioners are exceedingly ſkilful.

The city of Ummerapoora is divided into four diſtinct ſubordinate juriſdictions, in each of which a Maywoon preſides. This officer, who in the provinces is a viceroy, in the metropolis reſembles a mayor, and holds a civil and criminal court of juſtice; in capital caſes he tranſmits the evidence in writing, with his opinion, to the lotoo, or grand chamber of conſultation, where the council of ſtate aſſembles; the council, after cloſe examination into the documents, reports upon them to the King, who either pardons the offender, or orders execution of the ſentence: the Maywoon is obliged to attend in perſon, and ſee the puniſhment carried into effect.

Civil ſuits may be transferred from the courts of the Maywoons to the lotoo; this removal, however, is attended with a heavy expence. There are regular eſtabliſhed lawyers, who conduct cauſes, and plead; eight only are licenſed to plead in the lotoo; they are called Ameendozaan: the uſual fee is five tackal, equal to 16s.; but the government has large profits on all ſuits that are brought into court.

There is no country of the eaſt in which the royal eſtabliſhment is arranged with more minute attention than in the Birman court; it is ſplendid without being waſteful, and numerous without confuſion; the moſt diſtinguiſhed members, when I was at the capital were, the Sovereign, his principal Queen, entitled Nandoh Praw, by whom he has not any ſons; his ſecond wife Myack Nandoh, by whom he has two ſons; the Engy Teekien *, or Prince Royal, and Pêe Teekien, or Prince of Prome. The princes of Tongho, Baſſien, and Pagahm, are by favourite concubines. Meedah Praw is a Princeſs of high dignity, and mother of the chief Queen. The Prince Royal is married, and has a ſon and two daughters, all young; the ſon takes precedence of his uncles, the crown deſcending to the male heirs in a direct line. Theſe were the principal perſonages of the Birman royal family.

Next in rank to the Princes of the blood royal, are the Woongees †, or chief miniſters of ſtate. The eſtabliſhed number is four, but the place of one has long been vacant: theſe form the great ruling council of the nation; they ſit in the lotoo, or imperial

* Often called Engy Praw.

† Woon ſignifies burthen; the compound word implies, bearer of the great burthen.

hall of conſultation every day, except on the Birman ſabbath, from twelve till three or four o'clock, or later, as there happens to be buſineſs; they iſſue mandates to the Maywoons, or viceroys of the different provinces; they controul every department of the ſtate, and, in fact, govern the empire, ſubject always to the pleaſure of the King, whoſe will is abſolute, and power undefined.

To aſſiſt in the adminiſtration of affairs, four officers called Woondocks, are aſſociated with the Woongees, but of far inferior authority; they ſit in the lotoo in a deliberative capacity, having no vote: they give their opinions, and may record their diſſent from any meaſure that is propoſed; but the Woongees decide: the Woondocks, however, are frequently employed to carry into execution buſineſs of great public importance.

Four Attawoons, or miniſters of the interior, poſſeſs a great degree of influence that ſometimes counteracts with ſucceſs the views and wiſhes of the Woongees; theſe the King ſelects to be his privy counſellors, from their talents, and the opinion he entertains of their integrity; they have acceſs to him at all times; a privilege which the principal Woongee does not enjoy.

There are four chief ſecretaries, called Sere-dogees, who have numerous writers or inferior Serees under them.

Four Nachaangee ſit in the lotoo, take notes, and report whatever is tranſacted.

Four Sandohgaan regulate all ceremonials, introduce ſtrangers of rank into the royal preſence, and are the bearers of meſſuages from the council of ſtate to the King.

There are nine Sandozains, or readers, whoſe buſineſs it is to read all official writings, petitions, &c. Every document in which the public is concerned, or that is brought before the council in the lotoo, is read aloud.

The four Maywoons already mentioned, are reſtricted to the magiſterial ſuperintendance of their reſpective quarters of the city; they have nothing farther to do with the lotoo, than to obey the commands they receive from thence.

The Aſſaywoon, or paymaſter-general, is alſo an officer of high importance; the place is at preſent held by one of the Woongees, who is called Aſſay Woongee.

There are ſeveral other officers of diſtinction, who bear no oſtenſible ſhare in the adminiſtration of public affairs, ſuch as the Daywoon, or King's armour-bearer; the Chaingeewoon, or maſter of the elephants; alſo the Woons of the Queen's houſehold, and that of the Prince royal. Each of the junior Princes has a diſtinct eſtabliſhment.

In the Birman government there are no hereditary dignities or employments; all honours and offices, on the demiſe of the poſſeſſor, revert to the crown.

The tſaloe, or chain, is the badge of the order of nobility, of which there are different degrees, diſtinguiſhed by the number of ſtrings or ſmall chains that compoſe the ornament; the ſtrings are faſtened by boſſes where they unite: three of open chain-work is the loweſt rank; three of neatly twiſted wire is the next; then of ſix, of nine, and of twelve: no ſubject is ever honoured with a higher degree then twelve; the King alone wears twenty-four.

It has already been noticed, that almoſt every article of uſe, as well as ornament, particularly in their dreſs, indicates the rank of the owner; the ſhape of the beetle-box, which is carried by an attendant after a Birman of diſtinction wherever he goes, his ear-rings, cap of ceremony, horſe furniture, even the metal of which his ſpitting-pot and drinking-cup are made (which if of gold denote him to be a man of high conſideration), all are indicative of the gradations of ſociety; and woe be unto him that aſſumes the inſignia of a degree which is not his legitimate right!

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The court dreſs of the Birman nobility is very becoming; it conſiſts of a long robe, either of flowered ſatin or velvet, reaching to the ankles, with an open collar and looſe ſleeves; over this there is a ſcarf, or flowing mantle that hangs from the ſhoulders; and on their heads they wear high caps made of velvet, either plain or of ſilk embroidered with flowers of gold, according to the rank of the wearer. Ear-rings are a part of male dreſs; perſons of condition uſe tubes of gold about three inches long, and as thick as a large quill, which expands at one end like the mouth of a ſpeaking trumpet; others wear a heavy maſs of gold beaten into a plate, and rolled up; this lump of metal forms a large orifice in the lobe of the ear, and drags it down by the weight to the extent ſometimes of two inches. The women likewiſe have their diſtinguiſhing paraphernalia: their hair is tied in a bunch at the top of the head, and bound round with a fillet, the embroidery and ornaments of which expreſs their reſpective ranks; a ſhort ſhift reaches to the pit of the ſtomach, is drawn tight by ſtrings, and ſupports the breaſts; over that is a looſe jacket with cloſe ſleeves; round their waiſt they roll a long piece of ſilk, or cloth, which reaching to their feet, and ſometimes trailing on the ground, encircles them twice, and is then tucked in. When women of condition go abroad, they put on a ſilk ſaſh, reſembling a long ſhawl, which croſſes their boſom, and is thrown over the ſhoulders, gracefully flowing on each ſide. The loweſt claſs of females often wear only a ſingle garment, in the form of a ſheet, which, wrapped round the body, and tucked in under the arm, croſſes their breaſts, which it ſcarcely conceals, and deſcends to their ankles; thus, when they walk, the bottom of the cloth, where it overlaps, is neceſſarily opened by the protruſion of the leg, and diſplays to a ſide view as high as the middle of the thigh; ſuch an expoſure, in the opinion of an European, bears an indecent appearance, although it excites no ſuch idea in the people themſelves. There is an idle and diſguſting ſtory related by ſome writers, reſpecting the origin of this faſhion, which being wholly unfounded, does not deſerve repetition: it has been the eſtabliſhed national mode of dreſs from time immemorial; and every woman, when walking, muſt ſhew great part of her leg, as what may be called their petticoat is always open in front, inſtead of being cloſed by a ſeam.

Women, in full dreſs, ſtain the palms of their hands and their nails of a red colour, for which they uſe a vegetable juice, and ſtrew on their boſoms powder of ſandal wood, or of a bark called Sunneca, with which ſome rub their faces. Both men and women tinge the edges of their eyelids and their teeth with black; this latter operation gives to their mouths a very unſeemly appearance in the eyes of an European, which is not diminiſhed by their being conſtantly filled with beetle leaf. Men of rank wear, in common dreſs, a tight coat, with long ſleeves made of muſlin, or of extremely fine nankeen, which is manufactured in the country; alſo a ſilk wrapper that encircles the waiſt: the working claſs are uſually naked to the middle, but in the cold ſeaſon a mantle or veſt of European broad cloth is highly prized.

The Birmans in their features bear a nearer reſemblance to the Chineſe than to the natives of Hindoſtan. The women eſpecially in the northern part of the empire, are fairer than Hindoo females, but not ſo delicately formed; they are, however, well made, and in general inclined to corpulence: their hair is black, coarſe, and long. The men are not tall in ſtature, but active and athletic; they have a very youthful appearance, from the cuſtom of plucking their beards inſtead of uſing the razor: they tattoo their thighs and arms into various fantaſtic ſhapes and figures, which they believe operate as a charm againſt the weapons of their enemies. Neither the men nor the women are ſo cleanly in their perſons as the Hindoos of India, among whom

whom diurnal ablution is a religious as well as a moral duty, Girls are taught, at an early age, to turn their arms in such a manner as to make them appear distorted: when the arm is extended the elbow is inverted, the inside of the joint being protruded, and the external part bending inwards; from this cause, the pendant arm in the plates seems as if it were broken: the representation is, nevertheless, perfectly faithful.

Marriages among the Birmans are not contracted until the parties attain the age of puberty: the contract is purely civil; the ecclesiastical jurisdiction having nothing to do with it. The law prohibits polygamy, and recognizes but one wife, who is denominated Mica; concubinage, however, is admitted to an unlimited extent. A man may repudiate his wife under particular circumstances, but the process is attended with a heavy expence. Concubines, living in the same house with the legitimate wife, are, by law, obliged to perform menial services for her, and when she goes abroad they attend her, bearing her water-flaggon, beetle-box, fan, &c. When a husband dies, his concubines, if bound in servitude to him, become the property of the surviving widow, unless he shall have emancipated them by a specific act previous to his decease. When a young man is desirous to espouse a girl, his mother, or nearest female relation, first makes the proposal in private; if the suit be well received, a party of his friends proceed to the house of the parents of the maiden, with whom they adjust the dotal portion. On the morning of the bridal day the bridegroom sends to the lady three loongees, or lower garments, three tubbecks, or sashes, and three pieces of white muslin; such jewels also, ear-rings and bracelets, as his circumstances will admit: a feast is prepared by the parents of the bride, and formal writings are executed: the new-married couple eat out of the same dish, the bridegroom presents the bride with some læpack, or pickled tea, which she accepts and returns the compliment: thus ends the ceremony without any of that subsequent riot * and resistance on the part of the young lady and her female friends, with which the Sumatrian damsels oppose the privileges of an ardent bridegroom.

When a man dies intestate, three-fourths of his property go to his children born in wedlock, but not in equal proportions; and one-fourth to the widow, who is the guardian both of the property and the children until the latter attain the age of maturity. A Birman funeral is solemnized with much religious parade, and external demonstration of grief: the corpse is carried on a bier, on men's shoulders; the procession moves slowly; the relations attend in mourning; and women, hired for the occasion, precede the body and chant a dirge-like air. The Birmans burn their dead, unless the deceased is a pauper, in which case he is either buried or cast into the river, as the ceremony of burning is very expensive. The bier is placed on a funeral pile six or eight feet high, made of billets of dried wood laid across, with intervals to admit a circulation of air, and increase the flame. The Rhahaans walk round the pile, reciting prayers to Gaudma, until the fire reaches the body, when the whole is quickly reduced to ashes: the bones are afterwards gathered and deposited in a grave. Persons of high distinction, such as the Seredaw, or chief ecclesiastic of a province, a Maywoon, a Woongee, or a member of the royal family, are embalmed, and their remains preserved six weeks or two months after decease, before they are committed to the funeral pile: during this period the body is laid in state in some kioum or religious building; but at the capital it is placed in a sacred saloon, beautifully ornamented with gilding, and exclusively appropriated to that pious purpose.

* See Marsden's Account of Sumatra, p. 230.

I was told, that honey is the principal ingredient made uſe of to preſerve the body from putrefaction.

Of the population of the Birman dominions I could only form a concluſion from the information I received of the number of cities, towns, and villages in the empire; theſe, I was aſſured by a perſon who might be ſuppoſed to know, and had no motive for deceiving me, amount to eight thouſand, not including the recent addition of Arracan. If this be true, which I have no reaſon to doubt, and we ſuppoſe each town, on an average, to contain three hundred houſes, and each houſe ſix perſons, the reſult will determine the population at fourteen millions four hundred thouſand. Few of the inhabitants live in ſolitary habitations; they moſtly form themſelves into ſmall ſocieties, and their dwellings thus collected compoſe their ruas, or villages; if, therefore, we reckon their numbers, including Arracan, at ſeventeen millions, the calculation may not be widely erroneous; I believe it rather falls ſhort of, than exceeds the truth. After all, however, it is mere conjecture, as I have no better data for my guidance than what I have related.

With regard to the revenue of the Birman ſtate, I confeſs myſelf to be without the means of forming even a rough eſtimate of the amount. According to the ſacred law in the chapter which treats of the duties of a monarch, Dhaſameda *, or a tenth of all produce, is the proportion which is to be exacted as the authorized due of the government; and one-tenth is the amount of the King's duty on all foreign goods imported into his dominions. The revenue ariſing from the cuſtoms on imports, and from internal produce, is moſtly taken in kind; a ſmall part of which is converted into caſh, the reſt is diſtributed, as received, in lieu of ſalaries, to the various dependants of the court. Princes of the blood, high officers of ſtate, and provincial governors, receive grants of provinces, cities, villages, and farms, to ſupport their dignity, and as a remuneration of their ſervices: the rents of theſe aſſignments they collect for their own benefit. Money, except on preſſing emergency, is never diſburſed from the royal coffers; to one man the fees of an office are allotted; to another a ſtation where certain impoſts are collected; a third has land; each in proportion to the importance of his reſpective employment: by theſe donations, they are not only bound in their own perſonal ſervitude, but likewiſe in that of all their dependants; they are called ſlaves of the King, and in turn their vaſſals are denominated ſlaves to them: the condition of theſe grants include alſo ſervices of war, as well as the duties of office. Thus the Birman government exhibits almoſt a faithful picture of Europe in the darker ages, when, on the decline of the Roman empire, the principles of feodal dependence were eſtabliſhed by barbarians from the north.

Although it ſeems difficult, and perhaps impoſſible, under ſuch a ſyſtem, to aſcertain, in any ſtandard currency, the amount of the royal revenue, yet the riches which the Birman monarch is ſaid to poſſeſs are immenſe; a ſuppoſition that may readily be admitted, when it is conſidered that a very ſmall ſhare of what enters his exchequer returns into circulation. The hoarding of money is a favourite maxim of oriental ſtate policy; an eaſtern potentate cannot be brought to comprehend that the diffuſion of property among his ſubjects is a ſurer ſource of wealth to himſelf, and of ſecurity to his throne, than the poſſeſſion of Lydian treaſures, locked up in vaults, and concealed in ſecret receſſes, contrived by ſordid avarice and fooliſh cunning.

* See Appendix.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII. — *Military Eſtabliſhment; — Infantry; — Caſſay Cavalry; — Artificers. — War-boats. — Gunpowder long known; — Weapons. — Food. — Climate. — Soil. Produce. — Minerals. — Precious Stones. — Commerce. — Currency. — Weights. — Meaſures. — Character of the Natives: — not jealous of their Women: — ferocious in War. — Beggars unknown. — Animals. — Diviſion of Time. — Muſic. — Language. — Extent of the Empire. — Rivers.*

THE Birmans may be termed a nation of ſoldiers, every man in the kingdom being liable to be called upon for his military ſervices; and war is deemed the moſt honourable occupation: the regular military eſtabliſhment of the Birmans is, nevertheleſs, very inconſiderable, not exceeding the numbers of which the royal guard is compoſed, and ſuch as are neceſſary to preſerve the police of the capital. When an army is to be raiſed, a mandate iſſues from the golden palace, to all viceroys of provinces, and miougees of diſtricts, requiring a certain number of men to be at a general rendezvous on an appointed day, under command ſometimes of the viceroy himſelf, but oftener that of an inferior officer: the levy is proportioned to the population of the province, or diſtrict, eſtimated from the number of regiſtered houſes that it contains. The provincial court determines the burthen which each houſe is to bear; commonly every two, three, or four houſes are to furniſh among them one recruit, or to pay 300 tackal in money, about 40*l.* or 45*l.*; this recruit is ſupplied with arms, ammunition, and, I believe, with a certain daily allowance of grain from government, but is not entitled to pay. The families of theſe conſcripts are carefully retained in the diſtrict which they inhabit, as hoſtages for the good conduct of their relation. In caſe of deſertion or treachery, the innocent wife, children, and parents of the guilty perſon, are dragged to execution without the leaſt remorſe or pity; even cowardice ſubjects the family of the delinquent to capital puniſhment. This barbarous law, which is rigorouſly enforced, muſt have a powerful effect in ſecuring the allegiance of the troops, and of impelling them to vigorous exertion; and it is, perhaps, the only ſure mode of inciting to enterpriſes of danger, men who are not actuated by any innate ſenſe of honour, and who do not feel any national pride.

Infantry and cavalry compoſe the regular guards of the king; the former are armed with muſkets and ſabres, the latter are provided with a ſpear about ſeven or eight feet long, which they manage on horſeback with great dexterity, ſeldom requiring or making uſe of any other weapon. The infantry are not uniformly clothed; I heard various accounts of their numbers: 700 do conſtant duty within the precincts, and at the ſeveral gates of the palace: I think that, on the day of my public reception, I ſaw about 2000, and have no doubt that all the troops in the city were paraded on that occaſion. I was told that there were only 300 cavalry in Ummerapoora, but that 2000 were ſcattered, in ſmall detachments, throughout the neighbouring diſtricts. All the troopers in the king's ſervice are natives of Caſſay, who are much better horſemen than the Birmans. Mr. Wood, who ſaw ſome of them at exerciſe, informed me, that they nearly reſembled thoſe whom he had met with in Aſſam; they ride, like all orientals, with ſhort ſtirrups and a looſe rein; their ſaddle is hard and high, and two large circular flaps of ſtrong leather hang down on each ſide, painted or gilded, according to the quality of the rider. Their dreſs is not unbecoming; they wear a tight coat, with ſkirts reaching down to the middle of the thigh; and on their head a turban of cloth, rolled hard and plaited, which forms a high cone, that bends backwards in a graceful manner. The horſes of Ava are ſmall, but very hardy and active; contrary

to the practice of other eaſtern countries, they caſtrate their horſes, and are thus enabled to maintain them with little trouble and expence, and can alſo turn a number looſe in a field together, without any riſk of their injuring one another. Horſes are frequently exported in timber ſhips bound for Madras, and other parts of the coaſt, where they are diſpoſed of to conſiderable advantage.

The government of Ava is extremely attentive to provide, in times of peace, for the contingencies of war; the royal magazines, I was told, could furniſh 20,000 fire-locks, which, if they reſembled the ſpecimens I ſaw, cannot be very formidable; theſe have been imported, at different periods, into the country, by ſhips trading to Rangoon and other parts of the empire, and are either of French manufacture, or condemned muſkets from the Engliſh arſenals in India. The Birmans are very fond of their arms, of which they take great care; their gunſmiths, who are all natives of Caſſay, keep them in repair; but they are in general ſo bad as to be out of the power of art to render them ſerviceable. I ſaw a tolerably good fowling-piece, which they ſaid was entirely the work of a Caſſay artificer; this, however, was allowed to be an extraordinary effort of genius: the perſon who ſhewed it to me preſented me, at the ſame time, with a bamboo, which threw out a ſhort ſpear of iron by means of a ſpring; it was executed by the maker of the gun, and ſeemed to be formed after a model of an Engliſh walking-ſtick, that contained a concealed ſpike; the imitation evinced much ingenuity, although the workmanſhip was coarſe, and the iron badly poliſhed.

By far the moſt reſpectable part of the Birman military force is their eſtabliſhment of war-boats. Every town of note, in the vicinity of the river, is obliged to furniſh a certain number of men, and one or more boats, in proportion to the magnitude of the place. I was informed, that the king can command, at a very ſhort notice, 500 of theſe veſſels: they are conſtructed out of the ſolid trunk of the teak tree, which is excavated partly by fire, and partly by cutting; the largeſt are from eighty to one hundred feet long, but the breadth ſeldom exceeds eight feet, and even this ſpace is produced by artificially extending the ſides after the trunk has been hollowed. They carry from fifty to ſixty rowers, who uſe ſhort oars that work on a ſpindle; the prow is ſolid, and has a flat ſurface, on which, when they go to war, a piece of ordnance is mounted, a ſix, a nine, or even a twelve pounder; the gun carriage is ſecured by ſtrong laſhings to ſtrong bolts on each ſide, and ſwivels are frequently fixed on the curvature of the ſtern.

Each rower is provided with a ſword and a lance, which are placed by his ſide whilſt he plies the oars. Beſides the boatmen, there are uſually thirty ſoldiers on board, who are armed with muſkets: thus prepared, they go in fleets to meet the foe, and, when in ſight, draw up in a line, preſenting their prows to the enemy. Their attack is extremely impetuous; they advance with great rapidity, and ſing a war-ſong, at once to encourage their people, daunt their adverſaries, and regulate the ſtrokes of their oars: they generally endeavour to grapple, and when that is effected, the action becomes very ſevere, as theſe people are endued with great courage, ſtrength, and activity. In times of peace, they are fond of exerciſing in their boats, and I have often been entertained with the dexterity they diſplay in the management of them. The veſſels being low in the water, their greateſt danger is that of being run down by a larger boat ſtriking on their broadſide, a misfortune which the ſteerſman is taught to dread, and to avoid, above all others. It is ſurpriſing to ſee the facility with which they ſteer, and elude each other in their mock combats. The rowers are alſo practiſed to row backwards, and impel the veſſel with the ſtern foremoſt: this is the mode of retreat, by means of which the artillery ſtill bears upon their opponent. The

largeſt of the war-boats do not draw more than three feet water. When a perſon of rank is on board, there is a ſort of moving tilt or canopy for his particular accommodation, placed ſometimes in the centre, and ſometimes on the prow. The ſides of the boat are either gilt as far as the water's edge, or plain, according to the rank of the perſon it carries. Gilded boats are only permitted to princes of the blood, or to perſons holding the higheſt ſtations, ſuch as a Maywoon of a province, and a miniſter of ſtate.

It is by no means improbable, that the uſe of gunpowder was well known in India before its effects were diſcovered in the weſt; yet there is not any reaſon to believe that the natives of Ava applied it to the purpoſe of muſquetry, till Europeans inſtructed them in the art. According to Indian accounts, cannon were fabricated in the eaſt long before the æra of European conqueſt; their artillery, however, was not capable of being tranſported with facility, or at all uſed in the field: they were made of iron bars beaten into a cylindrical form, rudely put together, but of great ſtrength and enormous weight, from which, when raiſed on a rampart or tower, they threw huge ſtones to annoy the enemy. The muſket was firſt introduced into the Pegue and Ava countries by the Portugueze, and is an implement of war which the inhabitants unwiſely prefer to their own native weapons, the ſpear and ſabre; a partiality that is highly prejudicial to themſelves, for nothing can be leſs formidable than ſuch fire-arms as they poſſeſs, or have the means of procuring. The proper indigenous weapons of the country are the ſpear, the javelin, which is thrown from the hand, the croſs-bow, and the ſabre; the latter is uſed by the Birmans not only as an implement of war, but is likewiſe applied to various purpoſes as an inſtrument of manual labour; with this the peaſant fells trees, ſhapes timbers, cuts bamboos, or defends himſelf againſt an enemy and wild beaſts; he never travels without it, and generally, when on a journey, carries a ſhield on his left arm: they encumber themſelves with leſs baggage than perhaps any other people; and are ſatisfied with a ſcanty portion of the hardeſt fare.

In their food, the Birmans, compared with the Indians, are groſs and uncleanly. Although their religion forbids the ſlaughter of animals in general, yet they apply the interdiction only to thoſe that are domeſticated; all game is eagerly ſought after, and in many places it is publicly ſold; reptiles alſo, ſuch as lizards, guanas, and ſnakes, conſtitute a part of the ſubſiſtence of the lower claſſes. During our voyage up the river, the boatmen, after we had brought-to, uſed frequently to hunt for camelions and lizards among the thickets. They are extremely fond of vegetables; at thoſe places where garden greens were not to be procured, they gathered wild ſorrel, and ſometimes ſubſtituted the tender leaves of trees; theſe, boiled with rice, and moiſtened with a little oil, or ſeaſoned with gnapee, or pickled ſprat, compoſe a meal with which a Birman peaſant or boatman is ſatisfied; the higher ranks, however, live with more delicacy, although their fare is never very ſumptuous.

The climate of every part of the Birman empire which I have viſited, bore teſtimony to its ſalubrity, by the beſt poſſible criterion, the appearance and vigour of the natives. The ſeaſons are regular, and the extremes of heat and cold are ſeldom experienced; at leaſt, the duration of that intenſe heat which immediately precedes the commencement of the rainy ſeaſon is ſo ſhort, that it incommodes but for a very little time. During our reſidence in the country we loſt only one man by diſeaſe; another * met an accidental death; in wandering through the woods he became the prey of a tiger.

* This unfortunate man belonged to the Sea-Horſe.

The

The ſoil of the ſouthern provinces of the Birman empire is remarkably fertile, and produces as luxuriant crops of rice as are to be found in the fineſt parts of Bengal. Farther northward the country becomes irregular and mountainous; but the plains and valleys, particularly near the river, are exceedingly fruitful; they yield good wheat, and the various kinds of ſmall grain which grow in Hindoſtan; as likewiſe legumes, and moſt of the eſculent vegetables of India. Sugar canes, tobacco of a ſuperior quality, indigo, cotton, and the different tropical fruits, in perfection, are all indigenous products of this favoured land.

Beſides the teak tree, which grows in many parts of the Birman empire, as well to the north of Ummerapoora, as in the ſouthern country, there is almoſt every deſcription of timber that is know in India. Dr. Buchanan, in one of his afternoon excurſions, perceived a large log of fir, which, his attendant informed him, had been waſhed down by the torrents from a mountainous part of the country, four days' journey northward of the capital, where it grows in abundance, and of conſiderable magnitude: the natives call it Tænyo; they extract the turpentine, which they turn to uſe, but conſider the wood of little value, on account of its ſoftneſs. If they could be prevailed upon to tranſport it to Rangoon, it might prove a beneficial material to the navigation of India. Top-gallant maſts and yards made of teak are thought to be too heavy. European and American ſpars are often bought for theſe purpoſes at a very exorbitant price, an inconvenience which the fir of Ava, if conveyed to the market, would probably obviate.

The kingdom of Ava abounds in minerals; ſix days' journey from Bamoo, near the frontiers of China, there are mines of gold and ſilver, called Badouem: there are alſo mines of gold, ſilver, rubies, and ſapphires at preſent open on a mountain near the Keenduem, called Woobolootaun; but the moſt valuable, and thoſe which produce the fineſt jewels, are in the vicinity of the capital, nearly oppoſite to Keoummeoum. Precious ſtones are found in ſeveral other parts of the empire. The inferior minerals, ſuch as contain iron, tin, lead, antimony, arſenic, ſulphur, &c. are met with in great abundance; amber, of a conſiſtence unuſually pure and pellucid, is dug up in large quantities near the river; gold, likewiſe, is diſcovered in the ſandy beds of ſtreams which deſcend from the mountains. Between the Keenduem and the Irrawaddy, to the northward, there is a ſmall river called Shoe Lien Kioup, or the ſtream of Golden Sand.

Diamonds and emeralds are not produced in any part of the Ava empire; but it affords amethyſts, garnets, very beautiful chryſolites, jaſper, loadſtone, and marble; the quarries of the latter are only a few miles from Ummerapoora; it is equal in quality to the fineſt marble of Italy, and admits of a poliſh that renders it almoſt tranſparent. Blocks of any ſize that it is poſſible to tranſport might be procured, but the ſale is prohibited; nor is it allowed to be carried away without a ſpecial order. Images of Gaudma being chiefly compoſed of this material, it is on that account held ſacred. Birmans may not purchaſe the marble in a maſs, but are ſuffered and indeed encouraged to buy figures of the deities ready made. Exportation of their gods out of the kingdom is ſtrictly forbidden. The city of Chagain is the principal manufactory of theſe marble divinities.

An extenſive trade is carried on between the capital of the Birman dominions and Yunan in China. The principal article of export from Ava is cotton, of which I was informed there are two kinds, one of a brown colour, of which nankeens are made, the other white, like the cotton of India; I did not ſee any of the former. This commodity is tranſported up the Irrawaddy in large boats, as far as Bamoo, where it is bartered at the common jee, or mart, with Chineſe merchants, and conveyed by the

latter, partly by land, and partly by water, into the Chineſe dominions. Amber, ivory, precious ſtones, beetle nut, and the edible neſts brought from the eaſtern Archipelago, are alſo articles of commerce: In return, the Birmans procure raw and wrought ſilks, velvets, gold leaf, preſerves, paper, and ſome utenſils of hard ware.

The commerce between the capital and the ſouthern parts of the empire is facilitated by the noble river that waters the country; its principal obects are the neceſſaries of life; ſeveral thouſand boats are annually employed in tranſporting rice from the lower provinces, to ſupply Ummerapoora, and the northern diſtricts; ſalt and gnapee may likewiſe be reckoned under the ſame head. Articles of foreign importation are moſtly conveyed up the Irrawaddy; a few are introduced by way of Arracan, and carried over the mountains on the head of coolies, or labourers; European broad cloth, a ſmall quantity of hardware, coarſe Bengal muſlins, Coſſembuzar ſilk handkerchiefs, China-ware, which will not admit of land-carriage, and glaſs, are the principal commodities. Cocoa-nuts alſo, brought from the Nicobar Iſlands, where they are of uncommon excellence, are looked upon as a delicacy, and bear a high price: merchants carry down ſilver, lac, precious ſtones, and ſome other articles to no great amount. A conſiderable ſum of money is annually laid out at the capital in the purchaſe of marble ſtatues of Gaudma, which are all fabricated in the diſtrict of Chagain, oppoſite Awa-haung, or ancient Ava: they are not permitted to be made at any other place.

The Birmans, like the Chineſe, have no coin; ſilver in bullion, and lead, are the current monies of the country; weight and purity are, of courſe, the ſtandard of value, and in the a ſcertainment of both the natives are exceedingly ſcrupulous and expert. What foreigners call a tackal, properly kiat, is the moſt general piece of ſilver in circulation: it weighs ten penny-weights ten grains and three-fourths; its ſubdiviſions are, the tubbee, two of which make one moo; two moo one math; four math one tackal, and one hundred tackal compoſe one viſs. Money-ſcales and weights are all fabricated at the capital, where they are ſtamped, and afterwards circulated throughout the empire; the uſe of any others is prohibited.

Rice is ſold by a meaſure called tayndaung, or baſket, the weight is ſixteen viſs, about fifty-ſix pounds. There are many ſubdiviſions of meaſurement. The average price of rice at the capital is onetackal, rather more than half-a-crown, for a baſket and a half. At Rangoon and Martaban one tackal will purchaſe four or five baſkets.

The bankers, called by foreigners Pymon, are likewiſe workers in ſilver, and aſſayers of metal: this is a claſs of people very numerous, and indiſpenſably neceſſary, as no ſtranger can undertake either to pay or receive money without having it firſt examined. Every merchant has a banker of this deſcription, with whom he lodges all his caſh, and who, for receiving and paying, gets an eſtabliſhed commiſſion of one per cent.; in conſideration of which he is reſponſible for the quality of what goes through his hands; and in no inſtance did I ever hear of a breach of truſt committed by one of theſe bankers. The quantity of alloy varies in the ſilver current in different parts of the empire; at Rangoon it is adulterated twenty-five per cent.; at Ummerapoora, pure, or what is called flowered ſilver, is moſt common; in this latter all royal dues are paid. The ſeveral modifications are as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Rouni, or pure ſilver. | |
| Rounika. | 5 per cent. of alloy. |
| Rounizee, | 10 per cent. |
| Rouaſſee, | 20 per cent. |
| Moowadzoo, | 25 per cent. |
| Woombo, | 30 per cent. |

Any

Any perſon may have his ſilver either purified or depreciated to whatever ſtandard he chooſes; the neareſt ſilverſmith will be glad to perform the work, free from charge for his labour, as the bringer by the operation muſt loſe a trifle, which the artiſt gains: the ſmall quantity of metal that adheres to the crucible is his profit. I was informed, that the ſilverſmith can ſell theſe crucibles afterwards to refiners for forty tackals a thouſand, and that an adequate gain accrues to the purchaſer from the metal extracted from the pot after it is broken.

The Birman meaſures of length are, a paul-gaut, or inch, eighteen of which compoſe the taim, or cubit.

The ſaundaung, or royal cubit *, equal to twenty-two inches.

The dha, or bamboo, which conſiſts of ſeven royal cubits; 1000 dha make one Birman league, or dain, nearly equal to two Britiſh miles and two furlongs; the league is alſo ſubdivided into tenths. The Birmans keep their accounts in decimals, after the manner of the Chineſe.

It has already been noticed, that the general diſpoſition of the Birmans is ſtrikingly contraſted with that of the natives of India, from whom they are ſeparated only by a narrow range of mountains, in many places admitting of an eaſy intercourſe. Notwithſtanding the ſmall extent of this barrier, the phyſical difference between the nations could ſcarcely be greater, had they been ſituated at the oppoſite extremities of the globe. The Birmans are a lively, inquiſitive race, active, iraſcible, and impatient; the character of their Bengal neighbours is too well known as the reverſe to need any delineation; the unworthy paſſion of jealouſy, which prompts moſt nations of the eaſt to immure their women within the walls of an haram, and ſurround them with guards, ſeems to have ſcarcely any influence over the minds of this extraordinary and more liberal people. Birman wives and daughters are not concealed from the ſight of men, and are ſuffered to have as free intercourſe with each other as the rules of European ſociety admit: but in other reſpects women have juſt reaſon to complain of their treatment; they are conſidered as not belonging to the ſame ſcale of the creation as men, and even the law ſtamps a degrading diſtinction between the ſexes; the evidence of a woman is not received as of equal weight with that of a man, and a woman is not ſuffered to aſcend the ſteps of a court of juſtice, but is obliged to deliver her teſtimony on the outſide of the roof. The cuſtom of ſelling their women to ſtrangers, which has before been adverted to, is confined to the loweſt claſſes of ſociety, and is perhaps oftener the conſequence of heavy pecuniary embarraſſment, than an act of inclination: it is not, however, conſidered as ſhameful, nor is the female diſhonoured; partly perhaps from this cauſe, and partly from their habits of education, women ſurrender themſelves the victims of this barbarous cuſtom with apparent reſignation. It is alſo ſaid, that they are very ſeldom unfaithful to their foreign maſters; indeed they are often eſſentially uſeful, particularly to thoſe who trade, by keeping their accounts and tranſacting their buſineſs: but when a man departs from the country, he is not ſuffered to carry his temporary wife along with him; on that point the law is exceedingly rigorous: every ſhip, before ſhe receives her clearance, is diligently ſearched by the officers of the cuſtom-houſe: even if their vigilance were to be eluded, the woman would be quickly miſſed; and it would be ſoon diſcovered in what veſſel ſhe had gone, nor could that ſhip ever return to a Birman port but under penalty of confiſcation of the property, and the infliction of a heavy fine and impriſonment on the maſter: female children alſo, born of a Birman mother, are not ſuffered to be taken

* This cubit varies according to the will of the monarch.

away

Engraved by George Cooke.

A Rhahan or Priest.

A Man & Woman of the Tribe of Mountaineers called Kayn.

Engraved by George Cooke.

A Woongee or Member of the Chief Council & his Wife.

A Seredogee or Secretary of State.

(in their dress of ceremony.)

away. Men are permitted to emigrate : but they think that the expatriation of women would impoverish the ſtate, by diminiſhing the ſources of its population.

One vice is uſually the parent of another : the Birmans, being exempt from that of jealouſy, do not reſort to the diabolical practice of emaſculating male children, to educate them as ſpies over their women. Chaſtity, they know, is more ſafely guarded by principles of honour and attachment than by moats or caſtles. When Arracan was conquered by the Birmans, ſeveral eunuchs were made priſoners, belonging to the prince of the country, who had adopted that degenerate cuſtom of Mahomedan growth. Theſe people are maintained by the Birman monarch rather as memorials of his conqueſt, than for any ſervices they are required to perform. Infidelity is not a characteriſtic of Birman wives ; in general they have too much employment to leave leiſure for the corruption of their minds. A woman of the higheſt rank ſeldom ſits in idleneſs at home ; her female ſervants, like thoſe of Grecian dames of antiquity, ply " the various labours of the loom," whilſt the miſtreſs ſuperintends and directs their induſtry. On the occaſion of a formal viſit to the mother of the preſent queen, we obſerved, in one of the galleries of her palace, three or four looms at work, wrought by the damſels of her houſehold. Weaving is chiefly a female occupation. Moſt Birman families make all the cotton and ſilk cloth that is required for their domeſtic conſumption.

The Birmans, in ſome points of their diſpoſition, diſplay the ferocity of barbarians, and in others, all the humanity and tenderneſs of poliſhed life : they inflict the moſt ſavage vengeance on their enemies ; as invaders, deſolation marks their track, for they ſpare neither ſex nor age : but at home they aſſume a different character ; there they manifeſt benevolence, by extending aid to the infirm, the aged, and the ſick : filial piety is inculcated as a ſacred precept, and its duties are religiouſly obſerved. A common beggar is no where to be ſeen : every individual is certain of receiving ſuſtenance, which, if he cannot procure it by his own labour, is provided for him by others.

During the ſeveral excurſions which we made into the country, we did not perceive any of the feathered tribe that were peculiar to this part of the world, or that were not to be met with in India, the ornithology of which is already well known. The Henza, the ſymbol of the Birman nation, as the eagle was of the Roman empire, is a ſpecies of wild fowl, called in India the Braminy gooſe ; but the natives of Ava do not deify the bird. Of the beaſts of Ava, the only one that I ſaw, with which I was unacquainted, was the ichneumon, or the rat of Pharaoh, called by the natives Ounbaii. It is a ſingular circumſtance, that there ſhould not be ſuch an animal as the jackal in the Ava dominions, conſidering that they are ſo numerous in the adjoining country. Pegue abounds in elephants ; for though they are to be met with in other parts of the empire, that ſeems to be their favourite abode. One of His Birman Majeſty's titles is, Lord of the White Elephant, and of all the Elephants in the World.

The Birmans divide their time as follows :

The ſpace in which the finger can be raiſed and depreſſed is called charazi ; ten charazi make one piaan ; ſix piaan one bizana (about a minute). The day, of twenty-four hours, commencing at noon, is divided into eight portions, or yettee, of three urs each, thus denominated :

Moon Yettee, or noon.
Loung Yettee, 3 P. M.
Lay Yettee, 6 P. M.

Gneah Yettee, 9 P. M.
Gneah Gnek Yettee, midnight.
Gneah Laghee Loung Yettee, 3 in the morning.
Mioh Ling Yettee, 6 A. M.
Gneah Tek Yettee, 9 A. M.

Theſe diviſions of time are aſcertained by a machine reſembling the hour-glaſs, and ſometimes by a perforated pan placed in a tub of water: they are announced by a ſtroke on an oblong drum, which is always kept near the dwelling of the chief magiſtrate of the city, town, or village; it is commonly raiſed on a high bamboo ſtage, with a roof of mats to protect it from the weather.

The edifice at the royal palace for the reception of this inſtrument is of maſonry, and very lofty, whence the ſound is ſaid to be diſtinctly conveyed to the remoteſt extremes of the city.

The Birman year is divided into twelve months, which, ſtrictly ſpeaking, cannot be called ſynodical, although they comprehend the ſame number of days. A revolution of the moon, in paſſing from one conjunction with the ſun to another, is performed in 29 days, 12 hours, and 44 minutes; but the Birman lunations conſiſt of 29 and 30 days, alternate, which cauſes a difference between the Newtonian and Birman lunar account of 8 hours and 48 minutes. The Birman months are as follow:

| | Days. |
|---|---|
| Tagoo contains | 29 |
| Kayoung | 30 |
| Nay Young | 29 |
| Wazoo | 30 |
| Wagoung | 29 |
| Toozelien | 30 |
| Sandaing Guite | 29 |
| Tazoung Moang | 30 |
| Gnadoh | 29 |
| Peeazoo | 30 |
| Taboodway | 29 |
| Taboung | 30 |
| | 354 |

In order to complete a ſolar revolution, they intercalate in every third year a month of 30 days, which is called Toodeo Wazoo; in this third year the months of Tagoo and Nay Young have each 30 days inſtead of 29; they likewiſe ſuppreſs or paſs over a day, which, if reckoned, would either be the 31ſt Taboung, or the 1ſt of Tagoo: by theſe means the number of days in three ſolar years is thus computed:

| | Days. |
|---|---|
| Three lunar years, of 354 days each | 1062 |
| Intercalary month in the third year | 30 |
| Two intercalary days in Tagoo and Nay Young | 2 |
| Suppreſſed, or paſſed over at the end of the year | 1 |
| | 1095 |

This

This computation correſponds, in the number of days, with three years; every fourth year, however, will occaſion the difference of a day, on account of our biſſextile or leap-year; of this the Birmans are fully ſenſible, as well as of many other defects in their manner of reckoning: to remedy the confuſion likely to enſue from ſuch erroneous calculations, their ſtyle or mode has frequently been altered by arbitrary authority. His preſent Birman Majeſty, however, is ſo deſirous to aſcertain and eſtabliſh, by accurate tables, a permanent and unvarying meaſurement of time, that he made an application to the late governor-general of India to ſend to his capital a Bramin well verſed in aſtronomy, to aſſiſt the deliberations of his council of profeſſors, among whom His Majeſty always preſides in perſon, and he is ſaid to be no inconſiderable proficient in the ſcience of aſtronomy.

The manner in which the Birman month is ſubdivided, I imagine, is peculiar to their nation: inſtead of reckoning the days progreſſively from the commencement to the cloſe of the month, they advance no farther than the full moon, from which they recede by retrogreſſive enumeration until the month is finiſhed.

Thus the new moon is called,

Lahzan terrait gnay, or firſt day of the increaſing moon.
Lahzan gnerait gnay, ſecond day, &c.
Lahzan loungrait gnay, third day, &c.
Lahzan layrait gnay, fourth day, &c.
Lahzan narait gnay, fifth day, &c.
Lahzan kioukrait gnay, ſixth day, &c.
Lahzan koonrait gnay, ſeventh day, &c.
Lahzan ſheaſeddainrait gnay, eighth day, &c.
Lahzan karait gnay, ninth day, &c.
Lahzan ſayrait gnay, tenth day, &c.
Lahzan ſay terrait gnay, eleventh day, &c.
Lahzan ſay-generrait gnay, twelfth day, &c.
Lahzan ſay ſoungrait gnay, thirteenth day, &c.
Lahzan taſſay ſayrait gnay, fourteenth day, &c.
Lah bee, fifteenth day, &c.
Lah bee-goo terrait gnay, or the firſt day of the decreaſing moon.

The ſeventeenth, eighteenth, &c. correſpond with the ſecond and third of the increaſing moon, ſubſtituting Lah Bee-goo for Lahzan. The laſt day of the month, whether of twenty-nine or thirty days, is called Lah gnay.

The Birman month is divided into four weeks of ſeven days each; the days are diſtinguiſhed by the following names:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Tamaing nuaye, | | Sunday, the firſt day of the Birman week. |
| Talain lah, | - | Monday. |
| Aing gah, | - | Tueſday. |
| Boodt-hoo, | - | Wedneſday. |
| Keah-ſubbeday, | | Thurſday. |
| Zoup keah, | - | Friday. |
| Sunnay, | - | Saturday. |

The eighth day of the increaſing moon, the fifteenth or full moon, the eighth of the decreaſing moon, and the laſt day of the moon, are religiouſly obſerved by Birmans as ſacred feſtivals. On theſe hebdominal holidays no public buſineſs is tranſacted

in the Rhoom : mercantile dealings are ſuſpended ; handicraft is forbidden ; and the ſtrictly pious take no ſuſtenance between the riſing and the ſetting of the ſun ; but this latter inſtance of ſelf-denial is not very common, and, as I underſtood, is rarely practiſed, except in the metropolis, where the appearance of ſanctity is ſometimes aſſumed as a ladder by which the crafty attempt to climb to promotion. The ſovereign himſelf is a great favourer of the auſterities of the Birman religion ; and his chief miniſter, or Woongee, has for many years, on a Birman ſabbath, abſtained from food ſo long as the ſun continues above the horizon.

The Birmans are extremely fond both of poetry and muſic ; they call the former Yeddoo : when repeated by a ſcholar, it flows ſoft and meaſured to the ear ; it is ſometimes in ſucceſſive, and often in alternate rhimes. A line is called Tageoung ; a ſtanza, Tubbouk. They have epic as well as religious poems of high celebrity, and they are fond of reciting, in heroic numbers, the exploits of their kings and generals. I was informed, that the proweſs of Alompra is recorded in verſes not unworthy of a monarch.

Muſic is a ſcience which is held in conſiderable eſtimation throughout the Birman empire, and is cultivated at the preſent day more generally than in India, notwithſtanding it is there termed, as by the ancient Greeks, the language of the gods. The royal library of Ummerapoora is ſaid to contain many valuable treatiſes on the art. Some of the profeſſional muſicians diſplay conſiderable ſkill and execution, and the ſofter airs are pleaſing even to an ear unaccuſtomed to ſuch melody. The principal inſtruments are a Soum, or harp, made of light wood, hollowed and varniſhed, in ſhape ſomewhat like a canoe with a deck ; at the extremity a piece of hard wood is neatly faſtened, which tapers to the end, and riſing curves over the body of the harp ; from this curvature the ſtrings, uſually made of wire, are extended to a bridge on the belly of the inſtrument : there are two ſounding holes, one on each ſide of the bridge. The ſize of the Soum varies from two to five feet in length.

The Turr reſembles our violin ; it has only three ſtrings, and is played on with a bow. I at firſt imagined it had been of European introduction, and brought to Pegue by the Portugueze ; but I was aſſured it was an original inſtrument of the country.

The Pullaway is a common flagelet.

The Kyezoup is a collection of cymbals, which are ſuſpended in a bamboo frame ; theſe cymbals varying in ſize, produce modulated gradations of ſounds ; there were eighteen in the Kyezoup that I ſaw.

The Patola, or guitar, is a curious inſtrument ; it is the exact form of a crocodile in miniature ; the body of which is hollow, with ſounding holes on the back ; three ſtrings of wire extend from the ſhoulder to the tail, and are ſupported on bridges at each extremity ; the ſtrings are tuned by means of pegs in the tail, to which they are faſtened ; it is played on by the finger, and is generally uſed to accompany the voice.

The Boundaw is a collection of drums, oblong in form, and varying in ſize, which are ſuſpended perpendicularly in a wooden frame by leather thongs. The whole machine is about five feet in diameter, and four feet high. The performer ſtands in the centre, and beats on the drums with a ſmall ſtick. This inſtrument is always introduced when there is a full band, and is much uſed in proceſſions, being carried by two men, whilſt the performer ſhuffles along in the inſide, playing as he goes.

The Heem is the pipe of Pan, formed of ſeveral reeds neatly joined together, and ſounded by a common mouth-piece ; when played with ſkill, it produces a very plaintive melody.

Theſe are the principal inſtruments of muſic in uſe among the Birmans. Dr. Buchanan

Buchanan purchaſed a complete concert ſet for fifty-four tackal, which is about five or ſix guineas. Melody has charms for all mankind: among the boatmen that rowed my barge, I doubt whether there was one who did not poſſeſs an inſtrument of ſome ſort; he who could procure no better, had what we call a Jew's harp, with which he delighted to beguile half an hour of a cool evening, after a day of hard labour under a burning ſun.

Of the ancient Pallis*, whoſe language conſtitutes at the preſent day the ſacred text of Ava, Pegue, and Siam, as well as of ſeveral other countries eaſtward of the Ganges; and of their migration from India to the banks of the Cali, the Nile of Ethiopia, we have but very imperfect information. As a nation, they have long ago ceaſed to exiſt: they are ſaid to have poſſeſſed, in former times, a dominion ſtretching from the Indus as far as Siam, and to have been conquered by the Rajaputras, who changed the name of their country from Paliſthan to Rajaputra. In the old books of the Hindoos they are called Paliputras, and it may, I think, be concluded, that they were the Palibothri of the ancients.

It has been the opinion of ſome of the moſt enlightened writers † on the languages of the Eaſt, that the Pali, the ſacred language of the prieſts of Boodh, is nearly allied to the Shanſcrit of the Bramins; and there certainly is much of that holy idiom engrafted on the vulgar language of Ava, by the introduction of the Hindoo religion. The character in common uſe throughout Ava and Pegue is a round Nagari, derived from the ſquare Pali, or religious text; it is formed of circles and ſegments of circles, variouſly diſpoſed and combined, whilſt the Pali, which is ſolely applied to the purpoſes of religion, is a ſquare letter, chiefly conſiſting of right angles.

The Birman language contains thirty-three ſimple ſounds, to repreſent which their alphabet, commonly called kagye kague, conſiſts of an equal number of diſtinct characters, excluſive of various marks and contractions, that ſupply the place of long and ſhort vowels, dipthongs, &c. Theſe are explained and enumerated in ſeparate ſeries in the Birman ſpelling-book, entitled kaynboungie, in which every poſſible combination is given and exemplified.

It ſhould be obſerved here, that there is no repreſentation of the vowel correſponding with our ſhort *ă*, as from the frequent occurrence of that ſound in the middle and at the end of words, it was found convenient to omit it in writing; it is nevertheleſs to be pronounced after every ſimple ſound or conſonant not ſupplied with another vowel, unleſs it be forbidden by a mark of eliſion placed over the letter, or excluded by the junction of two or more conſonants, in the form of a compound character. Theſe ſingularities, I am informed by Mr. Wilkins, are common to all the alphabets of the Hindoo claſs.

The Birmans write from left to right, and though they leave no diſtinguiſhing ſpace between their words, they mark the pauſes of a ſentence and the full ſtops. Their letters are diſtinct, and their manuſcripts are in general very beautiful.

* In Captain Wilford's elaborate and learned Diſſertation on Egypt and the Nile, from the ancient books of the Hindoos, there is the following paſſage:

"The hiſtory of the Pallis cannot fail to be intereſting, eſpecially as it will be found much connected with that of Europe; and I hope ſoon to be ſupplied with materials for a full account of them. Even their miſerable remains in India muſt excite compaſſion, when we conſider how great they once were, and from what height they fell, through the intolerant zeal and ſuperſtition of their neighbours. Their features are peculiar, and their language different, but perhaps not radically, from that of the other Hindoos. Their villages are ſtill called Palli." Aſiat. Reſearch. vol. iii.

† Captain Wilford on Egypt and the Nile. Loubere's Account of Siam. Chambers on the Ruins of Mavalipuram. Aſiat. Reſearch. vol. i.

The

The common books of the Birmans, like thoſe of the Hindoos, particularly of ſuch as inhabit the ſouthern parts of India, are compoſed of the palmyra leaf, on which the letters are engraved with a ſtylus; but the Birmans far excel the Braminical Hindoos in the neatneſs of the execution, and in the ornamental part of their volumes. In every kioum, or monaſtery, there is a library or repoſitory of books, uſually kept in lacquered cheſts. Books in the Pali text, are ſometimes compoſed of thin ſtripes of bamboo, delicately plaited, and varniſhed over in ſuch a manner as to form a ſmooth and hard ſurface upon a leaf of any dimenſions; this ſurface is afterwards gilded, and the ſacred letters are traced upon it in black and ſhining japan. The margin is illumined by wreaths and figures of gold on a red, green, or black ground.

In the recitation of poetry the language is exceedingly melodious; even the proſe of common converſation appears to be meaſured, and the concluding word of each ſentence is lengthened by a muſical cadence, that marks the period to the ear of a perſon wholly unacquainted with the meaning.

The annexed plate exhibits the ſimple elementary characters, with the ſound that each expreſſes, and the name in the Birman tongue: this name has an appropriate meaning, ſuch as "great ka," "ſpiral ka," "circular za," &c. but ſome of theſe characters are very rarely uſed, ſuch as No. 4, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 19, 23, and 32.

To this alphabet is added the Shanſcrit elementary character, analogous to each of the Birman characters; alſo the Birman cyphers, and a ſpecimen of the ancient Pali, taken from a very beautiful manuſcript in my poſſeſſion, which contains an account of the ceremony uſed in the conſecration of Rhahaans. *

It is difficult to aſcertain with preciſion the exact limits of the Birman empire. Dr. Buchanan, who accompanied me, ſought for geographical information with the moſt diligent inquiry; he procured, but not without conſiderable trouble and expence, ſketches of every part of the Birman territories; and he has tranſmitted the materials which he thus collected to the Eaſt India Company. Thoſe ſketches, however, being contained in various and detached pieces, not forming any connected body, nor yet reduced to a graduated ſcale, can hardly be brought into the ſhape of a regular map without the aid of ſome further communications; they are nevertheleſs documents of much intrinſic value and importance; it is therefore to be hoped that, with the aid of ſome additional lights, a vacuum on the terreſtrial globe will, ere long, be filled up, and a portion of the earth delineated, which heretofore has been very imperfectly known. On a probable calculation from Dr. Buchanan's papers of the extent of the preſent Birman empire, it appears to include the ſpace between the 9th and 26th degrees of north latitude, and between the 92d and 107th degrees of longitude eaſt of Greenwich, about 1050 geographical miles in length, and 600 in breadth: theſe are the aſcertainable limits, taken from the Birman accounts; but it is probable that their dominions ſtretch ſtill farther to the north. It ſhould, however, be remarked, that the breadth often varies, and is in many places very inconſiderable on what is called the eaſtern peninſula.

* I am indebted for the Shanſcrit character to the kindneſs of my friend Mr. Wilkins.

CHAP. XIII.—*Permiſſion granted to make Aſtronomical Obſervations.—Meſſage from the King.—River riſes.—Preſent of Wheat.—Bees.—Honey.—Bengal Painter employed at Court.—Mode of catching wild Elephants.—King ſolicitous to introduce the Art of Glaſs-making.—Attentions from Viceroys to foreign Miniſters.—Letters arrive from Bengal.—Our People healthy;—Chineſe the reverſe:—the Cauſe.—Ceremony arranged;—Proceſſion;—Manner of Entrance;—Introduction into the Lotoo, or Grand Council Hall.—Deſcription of the Court;—its Magnificence.—King not preſent.—Queſtions propoſed.—Banquet.—Formalities obſerved in returning.*

THE occurrences that took place in the interval between our arrival and the 30th of Auguſt, the day appointed for our formal introduction, were not of ſufficient importance to require a minute relation. We enjoyed whatever perſonal convenience the country could ſupply; and I gladly embraced every opportunity to evince the moſt implicit confidence; which I am induced to think was productive of beneficial conſequences. To my public character, as will appear in the ſequel, the conduct of the Birman court was punctilious and haughty, even to inſufferable arrogance; but my accommodation and ſecurity as an individual were attended to with all the urbanity that could be expected from the moſt poliſhed ſtate of Europe.

Geography is the foundation of all hiſtorical knowledge, without which hiſtory becomes little better than romance. Having hitherto found the moſt authentic geographical information that I could obtain reſpecting countries eaſtward of the Ganges to be extremely erroneous, I was on that account more particularly deſirous to determine the true ſituation of the capital of Ava; eſpecially as I had now a favourable opportunity of profiting by the aſſiſtance of a gentleman of high profeſſional talents. It ſeemed expedient, however, to obtain the ſanction of the Birman government, before I authoriſed Mr. Wood to commence aſtronomical obſervations; and, in reply to an application I made through the Maywoon of Pegue, I received the moſt liberal acquieſcence; a compliment that was afterwards enhanced by a gracious meſſage from His Birman Majeſty, deſiring to know, according to our calculation, the exact time when the expected eclipſe of the moon was to take place, and, as it was partial, what portion of the lunar body would be in ſhade? Mr. Wood ſatisfied him in both particulars, and we were informed that the King, on comparing Mr. Wood's account with his own predictions (for he is ſaid to be himſelf an adept in the ſcience), diſcovered only a ſlight difference in the ſegment of the moon which was to be obſcured. Mr. Wood's knowledge procured him conſiderable reſpect among the better informed natives, but it excited the terror of the vulgar. Being obliged at night to leave the grove and go out on the plain, in order to have a diſtinct view of the heavenly bodies, the peaſants that inhabited the neighbouring villages believed him to be a necromancer, and his teleſcope and time-keeper inſtruments of magic: in their wonder they ſometimes crowded about him ſo as to diſturb his operations; but it was nothing more than harmleſs curioſity; they wanted to diſcover by what means he held communication with the Natts, the ſupernatural and inviſible agents of the air.

The river, which had now riſen to its utmoſt height, had encroached ſo much on the grove, as to threaten a general inundation; and we began to think it not improbable that we ſhould be obliged ſome night haſtily to change our reſidence from

the houſe to the boats. The cauſe of the ſwelling of the waters was not apparent, as there had not fallen with us a ſufficient quantity of rain to produce the ſmalleſt alteration in the body of the river: the Birmans, however, who knew the exact limit to which it would riſe, laughed at our propoſing to make arrangements for a ſudden embarkation, and aſſured us that, within the memory of man, the floods had never ſurpaſſed a certain boundary.

Although, from the nature of the grounds in the neighbourhood of our dwelling, rice was the only grain that could be cultivated, we underſtood that on the other ſide of the lake near the city, there were extenſive fields of wheat, which, from the ſamples brought to us, ſeemed to be equal in quality to the fineſt growth of England. The market price at Ummerapoora was one tackal, nearly half a crown, for a taindaung, or baſket weighing about fifty-ſix pounds; but we had no occaſion to purchaſe any, as the proviſion made by the commiſſary of government, and the preſents from thoſe who viſited us, kept our ſtore-room full. Every perſon who came brought ſomething, either fruit, flowers, a plate of fine rice, of wheat, or ſome ſimilar mark of reſpect. In return, I treated thoſe of the higher order with tea and ſweetmeats; of the former they were extremely fond; and I can truly ſay, that from ten in the morning until evening, the tea equipage was never unemployed. An old man who acted as commiſſary, and lived in the rhoom adjacent to our dwelling, whoſe title was Keywoon, brought all the females of his family to ſee us; they produced as their offering, freſh honeycombs hanging from the branches of the bamboo tree; the honey was dropping from the boughs into pans. I was told that the bees were wild in the woods, and in ſuch plenty that wax formed a ſtaple article of commerce. The natives have a mode of gathering the honey without deſtroying the inſect. The ſoldiers of the guard and our domeſtics continued to receive two tackal, at ſtated periods, in addition to their allowance of rice; and beetle-leaf was to be had freſh from gardens belonging to the adjacent villages. In one of theſe plantations, which very much reſembled an Engliſh hop-garden, I ſaw a man watering his plants by means of a wheel, which raiſed water out of a well from a conſiderable depth. The machine was conſtructed with much ingenuity.

The reputation that my Bengal draughtſman had acquired by his botanical drawings, performed under the inſpection of Dr. Buchanan, having come to the knowledge of His Birman Majeſty, or, in the Birman phraſe, having reached the Golden Ears, the King was pleaſed to deſire a ſpecimen of his ſkill, and ſent over a painting on glaſs, executed by a Siameſe artiſt in his own ſervice, ſignifying his royal will that it ſhould be copied upon paper. This picture, which was a tolerable performance, repreſented the mode of catching wild elephants in the foreſts. It was thus deſcribed to me: the hunters, mounted on tame elephants that are trained to the buſineſs, by lying flat on their backs, introduce themſelves unnoticed into a wild herd, and take an opportunity to caſt a running nooſe in the track of the one that is meant to be ſecured. The other end of the rope is faſtened to the body of the tame elephant, who immediately throws the wild one down; a battle then enſues, in which the trained elephant, being aſſiſted by its aſſociates, ſoon overpowers the inhabitant of the woods, who is deſerted by all the others; it is afterwards borne away a priſoner, faſt bound to two of its captors, whilſt another moves on at its head, and a fourth urges it behind. In a few weeks, by proper diſcipline, the animal becomes docile, and ſubmits to its fate. Thoſe that are taken in the manner delineated in the plate, I was told, are for the moſt part females. Male elephants are uſually enticed by the blandiſhments

of

of the females *, trained for the purpoſe, into an encloſure or keddah, from whence they cannot extricate themſelves, and are eaſily ſecured. My painter performed the taſk ſo much to His Majeſty's ſatisfaction, that a requeſt was made for his further ſervices, in executing a drawing of a celebrated image of Gaudma, in which I willingly acquieſced. He was employed on it a week, and when it was finiſhed, His Majeſty condeſcended to expreſs his approbation of the performance, which was certainly much ſuperior to any thing that his own painter could produce.

Among the articles of foreign trade which had found their way into the Birman country, nothing was held in higher eſtimation than the European glaſs-ware, imported into Rangoon from the Britiſh ſettlements in India. The art of vitrification has long been known and practiſed in moſt countries of the eaſt; but no where can they make a pure tranſparant ſubſtance, like that which is brought from Europe. The Birman monarch, who is a great admirer of the manufacture, was particularly deſirous to introduce it into his dominions; and ſuppoſing that every Engliſhman muſt be verſed in the knowledge of making whatever comes from his own country, he ſent a meſſage to requeſt that I would furniſh his artificers with ſuch inſtructions as might enable them to fabricate glaſs of a quality equal to what was made in England. Unluckily, none of us happened to be ſkilled in the myſtery of a glaſs-houſe; all, therefore, that we could do, was to explain the principles of the art, which Dr. Buchanan obligingly undertook; and in order to facilitate the acquirement, and guide them in the practice, I lent them the Encyclopædia Britannica, and pointed out the article where the proceſs is fully explained. Baba-Sheen and the Armenian interpreter tranſlated it into the Birman tongue; but I much fear that the theory alone, conveyed in terms of ſcience, will not, without practical experience, advance them very far in an art which His Birman Majeſty is ſo laudably ſolicitous to bring to perfection among his ſubjects.

It is a matter too remarkable to paſs unnoticed, that of the numbers who did me the honour of a viſit, there was not one that had any ſhare in the adminiſtration of public affairs, the Woondock that met me at Pagahm excepted, who, though of diſtinguiſhed rank, is but an inferior miniſter: none of the Woongees or Attawoons condeſcended to pay me the compliment. The Maywoon of Pegue ſometimes honoured me with his company: his official conſequence, however, was here diminiſhed into inſignificance, notwithſtanding he was of the higheſt order, except one, of nobility, wearing a tzaloe of nine ſtrings.

When a public miniſter is delegated from a foreign power to the Birman court, it is the eſtabliſhed cuſtom for the Maywoon, or governor of the frontier province which the miniſter firſt enters, to provide for his ſafe conveyance to the capital, and to attend to his convenience ſo long as he continues to reſide in the country; a ſervice which he is frequently obliged to perform in perſon, as in the preſent caſe of the Engliſh deputation. The governor of Bamoo, the province bordering on Yunan, performed the office to our Chineſe neighbours with the utmoſt kindneſs and urbanity, and in his frequent viſits to them took the opportunity of calling upon me. He was a ſenſible man, exceedingly courteous in his manner and addreſs. He ſaid that he had been twice to Pekin in the capacity of legate before he obtained his preſent ſtation; and deſcribed the journey as very fatiguing, but, at the proper ſeaſon, not at all

* For a more ample deſcription of the manner of catching wild elephants in Tipura, near the mountains that divide Bengal from the Birman dominions, ſee a Paper by John Corſe, Eſq. in the third volume of the Aſiatic Reſearches. The practice of Pegue differs ſomewhat from that of the Bengal hunters.

perilous; he was upwards of three months in performing it. The road from the frontiers of the province of Bamoo until he penetrated far into Manchegee, or Yunan, lay through mountains: during the laſt thirty days he travelled in a boat on canals and rivers. He informed me that there were two languages ſpoken in China: one the Tirroup or native Chineſe; the other the Tarrait or Tartar tongue: the latter is the language of the conquerors. The Birmans have not liberty to paſs at will into the Chineſe territory, nor the Chineſe into that of the Birmans; but the governor has power to grant paſſports. He gave me an impreſſion of the chop, or ſeal, which he was accuſtomed to affix to ſuch papers, and likewiſe promiſed me a chart of his route to Pekin, which he afterwards preſented to me. I had various occaſions to acknowledge the attention and kindneſs of this truly well bred and intelligent man, who ſeemed to have profited from his travels, and to have overcome that affected reſerve which is the national characteriſtic of a Birman courtier.

On the 15th of Auguſt, the arrival of a meſſenger from Rangoon, ſent by Captain Thomas, as the bearer of letters and newſpapers that had been brought from Calcutta, diffuſed among us that ſatisfaction which they only who have been in remote countries, and long abſent from their friends, can truly eſtimate; it was the firſt communication we had received ſince our departure from Bengal, and the ſituation of affairs in Europe was at that time extremely intereſting.

In addition to the comfort we experienced from living at eaſe, and having every want liberally ſupplied, our gratitude was due to providence for the ineſtimable bleſſing of health, which we enjoyed to a degree that fully evinced the ſalubrity of the climate; not a ſymptom of ſickneſs, in a ſingle inſtance excepted, had manifeſted itſelf among our people; but this was not the caſe with our Chineſe neighbours: they were leſs fortunate; a dyſentery, which had early attacked the ſenior member of the embaſſy, began to ſpread among his domeſtics; and although they were not numerous, we heard of frequent deaths and of general illneſs among them. As no doubt could be entertained of the healthineſs of the ſituation we were in, their malady was to be aſcribed to ſome other cauſe than the atmoſphere. The governor of Bamoo, however, explained the matter very ſenſibly, by obſerving, that the ſickneſs under which they alone laboured, entirely originated in their own indolence, and in the pernicious diet that they uſed. The Chineſe are ſaid to be naturally great lovers of ſwine's fleſh; and theſe perſonages poſſeſſed all the partiality of their country for that unclean animal; they had erected a pig-ſtye within the incloſure of their dwelling, where they fed pork for their own table, and, as a matter of compliment, ſometimes ſent a joint of the meat to me; but though it ſeemed to be good, we could not bring ourſelves to uſe it. In addition to the ill effects of ſuch groſs food, they took no exerciſe, and drank immoderately of ſhouchow, a fiery and deleterious ſpirit. The governor of Bamoo, who accounted for the cauſe of their ailment, condemned their ſenſuality, which, he ſaid, he had in vain endeavoured to correct by advice and perſuaſion. At length the principal legate became ſo ſeriouſly ill that his life was judged to be in danger: the governor, anxious for the preſervation of a perſon whoſe ſafety was in ſome degree entruſted to his care, with a humanity that did him honour, applied to me for medical aſſiſtance. Dr. Buchanan willingly accompanied him to the the ſick man's chamber, and on examining his patient immediately perceived that the caſe was deſperate. He was an emaciated old man, reduced by a diſeaſe of ſuch long continuance as to leave no proſpect of recovery: medicines, however, were adminiſtered, which, though they afforded but a temporary relief, raiſed a fallacious hope in the breaſt of the ſufferer, who expreſſed the utmoſt anxiety to be able to attend

attend on the day appointed for our public reception, at which time the Chineſe deputies were likewiſe to be introduced: they had before been admitted to an informal audience of the King, when the court was at Meengoung, ſoon after their firſt arrival, where His Majeſty met them as though by chance. It is not uſual for the King to receive public miniſters ceremoniouſly, except in the metropolis.

As the time approached that was appointed for our public entry into Ummerapoora, which as yet we had only viewed from our reſidence on the oppoſite bank of the lake, I judged it proper to make ſome inquiry reſpecting the ceremonials uſually obſerved on ſuch occaſions, and the exterior forms of homage that would be required. I wiſhed alſo to aſcertain the relative degree of rank that would be granted to the agent of the Governor-general of India; and as I was officially given to underſtand that the Chineſe deputies were to be introduced on the ſame day, I urged my right to precedence, on the thorough perſuaſion that they did not conſtitute an imperial embaſſy, but were merely a provincial legation, although probably ſanctioned by the monarch of China.

The neceſſity of aſcertaining theſe points became evident, from the ſcrupulous regard to external forms which the Birmans manifeſted upon every occaſion. The Maywoon of Pegue being the channel of my official communication, I received through him, in reply to my firſt applicaton, a general aſſurance of due attention, but an equivocal anſwer with reſpect to the Chineſe. Repeating the requiſition for ſatisfactory particulars, I was informed that I ſhould be allowed parity of rank with the nobility of the court, and that precedence over the Chineſe deputies would be granted to me. With thoſe aſſurances I remained ſatisfied.

On the 29th of Auguſt, the day preceding that of our formal introduction, I received a meſſage, deſiring to know what number of attendants I meant to take with me, and to ſpecify the rank they bore, particularly that of the pundit, the moonſhee, and painter. I was at the ſame time acquainted, that it was not cuſtomary to admit armed men into the palace, a form to which I readily aſſented. Late in the evening, another meſſage was brought to inform me, that the profeſſion of Dr. Buchanan was held by the Birmans in a leſs dignified eſtimation than it bore among us; and that it was unuſual, on ſuch ſolemn occaſions, to receive a perſon of his ſtation into the lotoo, or great council hall. I took ſome pains to vindicate the dignity of the liberal and enlightened profeſſion of medicine, and explained to them, that there was no monarch of Europe who did not conſider a phyſician as worthy to hold a place in the moſt diſtinguiſhed ranks of ſociety. This difficulty was at length conquered; they agreed to receive the Doctor, but ſtipulated that he ſhould ride on horſeback in the proceſſion, and not be indulged with an elephant; a privilege which, they ſaid, was granted only to perſons of the higheſt conſequence.

Preparatory to our viſit, the preſents intended for His Majeſty were carefully aſſorted, and put into ſeparate boxes: they were both handſome and coſtly, conſiſting of various kinds of European and Indian articles, ſuch as mirrors, cut glaſs, fire-arms, broad cloths, embroidered muſlins, and Indian ſilks, all of the fineſt quality that could be procured; among other things there was a Shanſcrit manuſcript, ſuperbly illumined, and written with beautiful minuteneſs; it was a copy of the Bagwaat Geeta, incloſed in a caſe of gold, and deſigned as a perſonal compliment from Sir John Shore, the Governor-general to His Birman Majeſty: there was alſo an electrical machine, of the effects of which ſome of the Birmans were not ignorant *. The boxes were covered with red ſatin, and faſtened to poles, for the convenience of being carried on men's

* An electrifying machine had been introduced ſeveral years ago by a Frenchman.

ſhoulders. Every matter was arranged on the day before the ceremony was to take place.

On the 30th of Auguſt we took an early breakfaſt, and about eight o'clock a Sere-dogee, or ſecretary of the lotoo, came to acquaint us that boats were prepared to convey us acroſs the lake. Our domeſtics had received orders to hold themſelves in readineſs, dreſſed in the livery of the embaſſy, and the guard was paraded without arms. The preſents having been ſent before, we walked to the water-ſide attended by Baba-Sheen, the Sere-dogee, and ſeveral inferior officers: at the ſame time the two junior members of the Chineſe miſſion, the ſenior being now at the point of death, came forth from the gate of their incloſure, attended by a retinue comparatively very ſmall. We found three war-boats at the bank ready to receive us; theſe boats were ſufficiently capacious for the number they were deſtined to contain: the largeſt was of fifty oars, but they were not above one-third manned, probably with a view to our accommodation, as the veſſels are ſo narrow that perſons unaccuſtomed to them cannot ſit between the rowers without inconvenience: it did not, however, eſcape our notice that they were quite plain, without either gilding or paint. We were about twenty minutes in rowing to the oppoſite ſide of the lake, and found a crowd of people collected near the water's edge to ſee us land. The place where we landed appeared to be nearly a mile, in a direct line below the fort, the ſouthern walls of which are waſhed by the lake when the waters are ſwollen. Three elephants and ſeveral horſes were waiting to convey us, and ſome Birman officers of inferior conſequence attended at the bank, dreſſed in their robes and caps of ceremony. The furniture of the animals we were to ride was far from being ſuperb. Men of rank in the Birman empire always guide their own elephants, and ſit on the neck, in the ſame manner that the drivers or mohaats do in India: owing to this cuſtom, they are unprovided with thoſe commodious ſeats in which an Indian gentleman repoſes at eaſe on the back of this noble beaſt, whilſt the government of it is entruſted to another perſon. A large wicker baſket, ſomewhat reſembling the body of an open carriage, but ſmaller, without any elevated ſeat, and covered with carpets at the bottom, was faſtened on the back of the elephant by means of iron chains that paſſed under his belly, and were prevented from chafing him by tanned ox-hides. This equipage was neither comfortable nor elegant; but as I had not learned how to manage an elephant and ride between his ears, there was no alternative; I was obliged either to take what was provided, or ſubmit to a leſs dignified conveyance. The drivers, inſtead of making the beaſt kneel down to receive his rider, as is the cuſtom in other countries, drove him up to a temporary ſtage that had been erected for the purpoſe of mounting. Each of the Chineſe deputies was alſo honoured with an elephant. Mr. Wood and Dr. Buchanan rode on handſome ſpirited horſes, of the ſmall Pegue breed, which had been prepared for them, and were equipped with much better furniture than was aſſigned to the elephants. The Birman ſaddles, however, not being well calculated for the eaſe of an European rider, two of Engliſh manufacture, which we had brought with us, were ſubſtituted in their ſtead. The moonſhee, the pundit, and the painter, were likewiſe permitted to ride on horſeback. After we had adjuſted the ceremonial of mounting, the proceſſion was marſhalled in the following order:

A Sandohgaan, or maſter of the ceremonies, on horſeback;
An Oniroupſeree, or regiſter of ſtrangers, on horſeback;
A Letzounſeree, or regiſter of preſents, on horſeback,
dreſſed in their official robes and caps;

Soldiers that compoſed the eſcort;
The elephant of the repreſentative of the Governor-General;
Mr. Wood, and Dr. Buchanan, on horſeback;
Baba-Sheen, as chief Interpreter;
The Chineſe Deputies, on elephants, preceded by their ſervants, bearing flags.
A Woondock, or ſecond counſellor of ſtate;
Two Terrezogees, or officers who hold judiciary ſtations.

The ſervants of the embaſſy walked on each ſide, two by two; and a number of conſtables attended, with long white rods, to keep off the populace.

The proceſſion being thus arranged, we commenced our march, keeping a moderate pace, ſo as not to diſtreſs the bearers of the preſents. After proceeding a ſhort way, we entered a wide and handſome ſtreet that was paved with brick: the houſes on each ſide were low, built of wood, and covered with tiles; they had been evidently prepared for the occaſion, being freſh whitewaſhed, and decorated with boughs and flowers; the ſhops, which are uſually open towards the ſtreet, diſplayed their beſt goods. In front of each houſe was a ſlight latticed railing of bamboo, advanced into the ſtreet, to the diſtance of three or four feet; over this ſpace was ſpread a ſhade of bamboo mats, that reached from the eaves of the houſes to the railing, forming a ſort of covered balcony, every one of which was crowded with ſpectators, men and women indiſcriminately. Boys ſat on the tops of the houſes, and the ſtreets were ſo thronged as to leave only a ſufficient ſpace for the proceſſion to move without interruption; but what rendered the ſcene moſt remarkable was, the poſture which the multitude preſerved; every perſon, as ſoon as we came in ſight ſquatted on his hams, and continued in that attitude until we had paſſed by: this was an indication of high reſpect. Throughout the crowd there was no diſturbance nor any extraordinary noiſe; the populace looked up and gazed in ſilence, nor did they attempt to follow us, but were ſatisfied with a tranſient view. The pagwaats, or conſtables, armed with long rods, ſometimes affected to ſtrike thoſe who were moſt forward, in order to make them recede; but in this act they humanely avoided hurting any one, generally directing the blow to the ground cloſe to thoſe whom they intended to remove. Thus we paſſed through ſeveral wide ſtreets running in a ſtraight direction, and often croſſed by others at right angles. We perceived only two brick houſes, and theſe we were informed belonged to foreigners. Contiguous to the fort was a ſmall ſtreet, entirely occupied by the ſhops of ſilverſmiths, who exhibited their wares in the open balcony, and diſplayed a great variety of Birman utenſils in plate. The diſtance from the landing-place to this ſtreet we computed to be two miles. Immediately after we croſſed the ditch of the fort, which was wide, deep, and faced with brick, but had little water in it: the paſſage was over a cauſeway formed on a mound of earth, in which there was a chaſm of about ten feet to carry off the rain, and acroſs this a ſtrong bridge of planks was laid. Between the bridge and the foot of the wall there was a ſpace, eighty or a hundred feet wide, on which two redoubts were raiſed to defend the paſſage of the ditch: the rampart, faced by a wall of brick, was about twenty feet high, excluſive of the parapet, which had embraſures for cannon, and apertures for muſquetry. Small demi-baſtions projected at regular diſtances beyond the wall, but they did not appear to contain ſufficient ſpace to admit of heavy ordnance. The body of the rampart was compoſed of earth, ſuſtained externally and within by ſtrong walls; the gate was maſſive, with a wicket in it; and the fort altogether, conſidered as an eaſtern fortification, was reſpectable, but inſufficient to reſiſt the approaches of an enemy ſkilled in the ſcience of war. The Birmans, however,

ever, believe it to be impregnable; they put their truſt in the height and ſolidity of their wall, which they conceive to be ſtrong enough to reſiſt all aſſaults, independant of the cover of a glacis, or any other advanced work than the ditch. I did not attempt to mortify their pride by telling them a diſagreeable truth, that a battery of half a dozen cannon would, in a few hours, reduce their walls to a heap of ruins; and indeed if I had told them ſo, it is probable they might not have credited the information.

We entered by the weſtern gate: there was little diſtinction between the houſes in the fort and thoſe of the city, except that the dwellings of perſons of official conſequence, and the members of the royal family, who reſided within the walls, were ſurrounded by a wooden partition that incloſed a court. We paſſed, making ſeveral angles in our way, through a market ſupplied with rice, pulſe, and other vegetables, but ſaw neither meat nor fiſh. At the diſtance of two ſhort ſtreets from the palace, we came to a ſpot where bamboo ſtages were erected for us to alight, ſimilar to thoſe at the landing-place; here we diſmounted, and walked in the ſame order as we had rode. Coming to the top of a ſhort ſtreet leading down to the palace, we were deſired by the Sandohgaan, or maſter of the ceremonies, through Baba-Sheen, to ſtop and make obeiſance to the reſidence of majeſty, by a gentle inclination of the body, and raiſing the hand to the head, as they did; a deſire with which I complied, although I conceived the diſtance ſo great as hardly to require that mark of reſpect. When we had proceeded two or three hundred yards farther, the Sandohgaan repeated the ceremony of bowing, to which I offered no objection; nor ſhould I have felt the ſmalleſt reluctance in complying, had not the manner of the Sandohgaan been what I conſidered extremely diſreſpectful. Thus we proceeded, until we came to the rhoom, which was a lofty hall, raiſed four or five feet from the ground, and open on all ſides; it was ſituated about a hundred yards from the gate of the palace court, on the left hand, and in the centre of a ſpacious area. Putting off our ſhoes we entered the ſaloon, and ſat down on carpets that were ſpread for us, with our faces towards the palace gate; here the preſents were depoſited, whilſt the Chineſe deputies took their places on the other ſide.

It was now about ten o'clock, and the Woondock intimated that we muſt wait until all the princes of the royal family arrived, before it would be proper for us to enter: we had ſat but a ſhort time, when the Prince of Pegahm, the junior of the King's ſons in point of rank though not in years, being born of a different mother, made his appearance. He was mounted on the neck of a very fine elephant, which he guided himſelf, ſitting on a ſcarlet cloth embroidered with gold, whilſt a ſervant behind, on the back of the animal, ſcreened him from the ſun with a gilded paraſol. About fifty muſqueteers led the way; theſe were followed by a number of halberdiers, carrying ſpears with gilded ſhafts, and decorated with gold taſſels. Six or eight officers of his houſehold (each of the King's ſons have a ſeparate eſtabliſhment) came next, dreſſed in velvet robes with embroidered caps, and chains of gold depending from the left ſhoulder to the right ſide; theſe immediately preceded the Prince's elephant; another body of ſpearmen, with his palanquin of ſtate, cloſed the proceſſion. On entering the gate, he gave to one of his attendants a poliſhed iron hook, with which he governed his elephant; as not any thing that can be uſed as a weapon is ſuffered to be brought within the precincts of the palace, not even by His Majeſty's ſons. The Prince's eſcort halted without the gate, and the greater number of his attendants were ſtopped, thoſe only being admitted who were of higher rank, together with the men who carried his large beetle-box of gold, and his flaggon of water, which are brought rather for ſtate than for refreſhment. When the Prince had alighted, his elephant returned, and all the attend-

ants

ants ranged themſelves in the area between the rhoom and the palace gate. Soon after the Prince of Pegahm had entered, the Prince of Tongho, the next in precedence, appeared; he was attended by a ſuite nearly ſimilar to that of his brother; and in ſucceſſion came the Princes of Baſſein and of Prome: the Engy Teekein, or heir apparent, came laſt; when he arrived it was twelve o'clock, which the great drum that proclaims the hours ſounded from a lofty tower near the palace. The ſtate in which the latter perſonage made his public entrance was highly ſuperb, and becoming his elevated ſtation. He was preceded by a numerous body guard of infantry, conſiſting of four or five hundred men, armed with muſquets, who marched in regular files, and were uniformly clothed and accoutred. Next came a party of Caſſay troopers, habited in their fanciful dreſs, with high conical caps bending backwards. We were told that through reſpect they had alighted from their horſes nearly at the ſame place where we had diſmounted. Twenty or thirty men followed theſe, holding long gilded wands: then came eighteen or twenty military officers of rank, with gilded helmets; next, the civil officers of his houſehold and his council, wearing the tzaloe, or chain of nobility, and arrayed in their robes and caps of ſtate, varied according to their reſpective ranks. The Prince, borne on men's ſhoulders, in a very rich palanquin, but without any canopy, followed; he was ſcreened from the ſun by a large gilded fan, ſupported by a nobleman; and on each ſide of his palanquin walked ſix Caſſay aſtrologers, of the Braminical ſect, dreſſed in white gowns and white caps ſtudded with ſtars of gold; cloſe behind, his ſervants carried his water flaggon, and a gold beetle-box, of a ſize which appeared to be no inconſiderable load for a man. Several elephants and led horſes with rich houſings came after; ſome inferior officers, and a body of ſpearmen, with three companies of muſqueteers, one clothed in blue, another in green, and a third in red, concluded the proceſſion.

In every part of this oſtentatious parade perfect regularity was maintained, which conſiderably increaſed the effect. All things ſeemed to have been carefully prediſpoſed and properly arranged. If it was leſs ſplendid than imperial Delhi in the days of Mogul magnificence, it was far more decorous than any court of Hindoſtan at the preſent day. The rabble was not tumultuous, the attendants and ſoldiery were ſilent, and every man ſeemed to know his own place. No noiſy heralds, as is the cuſtom in India, ran before, vociferating titles, and overturning people in their way. The diſplay of this day was ſolemn and dignified, and I doubt much whether, in any other capital, ſuch multitudes could be brought together with ſo little confuſion; as, beſides the attendants and the military, there were many thouſands of ſpectators.

Our delay in the rhoom had now been protracted to two hours, a circumſtance which, though it gratified our curioſity with a moſt novel and intereſting ſpectacle, yet could not be conſidered as a mark of reſpect, eſpecially as we had not the company of any perſon of diſtinguiſhed rank, the junior Woondock excepted, who ſtayed with us but a very ſhort time. The attendance of the Maywoon of Pegue was, according to the uſage of the country, on this occaſion our undoubted right; and the example of the viceroy of Bamoo, who paid that compliment to the Chineſe deputies, placed the omiſſion in a more ſtriking point of view, whilſt the ſingular character of the people put it out of my power to attribute the neglect to chance or to caſual inadvertency.

A few minutes after the Engy Teekien, or Prince Royal had entered, we received a ſummons, in compliance with which we proceeded from the rhoom, obſerving the ſame order as before; the preſents carried in front, and the members of the Chineſe embaſſay following the Engliſh deputation. As we proceeded, the Sandohgaan was exceedingly

exceedingly troubleſome, by calling on us to make frequent ſuperfluous obeiſances whilſt his manner of requiring them was conſpicuouſly uncivil. I checked his inſolence by obſerving, through Baba-Sheen, that if he wiſhed me to proceed, he muſt alter his tone and demeanour. This reproof, however, had only a momentary effect; he ſoon reſumed his arrogant behaviour, which he repeated throughout the day whenever opportunity offered.

On approaching the gate, the greater part of our attendants were ſtopped, and not permitted to follow us; and we were deſired to put off our ſhoes, with which we immediately complied.

The area we now entered was ſpacious, and contained the lotoo, or grand hall of conſultation and of audience, where the Woongees meet in council, and where affairs of ſtate are diſcuſſed and determined. Within this incloſure there is an inner court, ſeparated by a brick wall, which comprehends the palace, and all the buildings annexed to the royal reſidence. Within the gate a troop of tumblers were performing their feats, while dancing girls were exhibiting their graces in the open air, and on the bare ground, to the ſound of no very harmonious muſic. We were next uſhered up a flight of ſtairs, into a very noble ſaloon, or open hall, called the lotoo, where the court was aſſembled in all the pomp that Birman grandeur could diſplay. On entering this hall, a ſtranger cannot fail to be ſurpriſed at the magnificence of its appearance: it is ſupported by ſeventy-ſeven pillars, diſpoſed in eleven rows, each conſiſting of ſeven. The ſpace between the pillars I judged to be about twelve feet, except the central row, which was probably two feet wider. The roof of the building is compoſed of diſtinct ſtages, the higheſt in the centre. The row of pillars that ſupported the middle, or moſt lofty roof, we judged to be thirty-five or forty feet in height; the others gradually diminiſh as they approach the extremities of the building, and thoſe which ſuſtain the balcony are not more than twelve or fourteen feet. At the farther part of the hall there is a high gilded lattice, extending quite acroſs the building, and in the centre of the lattice is a gilded door, which, when opened, diſplays the throne; this door is elevated five or ſix feet from the floor, ſo that the throne muſt be aſcended by means of ſteps at the back, which are not viſible, nor is the ſeat of the throne to be ſeen, except when the King comes in perſon to the lotoo. At the bottom of the lattice there is a gilt baluſtrade, three or four feet high, in which the umbrellas, and ſeveral other inſignia of ſtate, were depoſited. The royal colour is white, and the umbrellas were made of ſilk of that colour, richly beſpangled with gold. Within this magnificent ſaloon were ſeated, on their inverted legs, all the Princes and the principal nobility of the Birman empire, each perſon in the place appropriated to his particular rank and ſtation: proximity to the throne is, of courſe, the moſt honourable ſituation; and this ſtation was occupied by the Princes of the blood, the Woongees, the Attawoons, and other great officers of ſtate. The Engy Teekien (or heir apparent) ſat on a ſmall ſtool, about ſix inches high; the other Princes on fine mats. The ſpace between the central pillars that front the throne is always left vacant, for this curious reaſon, that His Majeſty's eyes may not be obliged to behold thoſe whom he does not mean to honour with a look. The place allotted for us was next to this unoccupied part, but we afterwards diſcovered that the Chineſe deputies had taken poſſeſſion of thoſe ſeats which, according to the etiquette that had been agreed upon, the Engliſh gentlemen were to have occupied. So trivial a circumſtance would not have merited attention, had it not been followed by circumſtances which left no room to ſuppoſe, that any act relating to external forms was either accidental or unpremeditated on the part of thoſe who regulated the ceremonials.

After

After we had taken poſſeſſion of mats that had been ſpread for us, it was civilly intimated, that we ought not to protrude the ſoles of our feet towards the ſeat of majeſty, but ſhould endeavour to ſit in the poſture that was obſerved by thoſe around us. With this deſire we would readily have complied if it had been in our power, but we had not yet learned to ſit upon our own legs: the flexibility of muſcles which the Birmans, and indeed all the natives of India, poſſeſs, is ſuch as cannot be acquired by Europeans. A Birman, when he ſits, ſeldom touches the ſeat with his poſteriors, but is ſupported by his heels. It is ſcarcely practicable for an European, dreſſed in cloſe garments, to place himſelf in ſuch an attitude: and if he were able, it would be out of his power to continue long in it. We inverted our legs as much as poſſible, and the awkwardneſs with which we did this excited a ſmile from ſome; not a word, however, was uttered, and our endeavours, I thought, ſeemed to give ſatisfaction. In a few minutes eight Bramins, dreſſed in white ſacerdotal gowns, and ſilk caps of the ſame colour, ſtudded with gold, aſſembled round the foot of the throne, within the baluſtrade, and recited a long prayer in not unpleaſing recitative; this ceremony laſted a quarter of an hour. When they had withdrawn, the letter from the governor-general which I delivered to a Woondock, was placed on a ſilver tray in front of the railing, and a Sandohgaan, or reader, advanced into the vacant ſpace, and made three proſtrations, touching the ground each time with his forehead: he then read, or rather chaunted, in a loud voice, what I underſtood was a Birman tranſlation of the letter. When this was done, the reader repeated his proſtrations, and next proclaimed a liſt of the preſents for the King. Theſe ſeveral readings being finiſhed, he repeated his obeiſances and retired: after an interval of a few minutes, an officer, entitled Nakhaangee, advanced, and propoſed a queſtion to me, as if from His Majeſty: on receiving my anſwer he withdrew, as it might be ſuppoſed to communicate the reply, and returned in an adequate time to aſk another: thus he put three ſeparate queſtions to me, which were as follows: "You come from a diſtant country; how long is it ſince you arrived? How were the King, Queen, and Royal Family of England, when the laſt accounts came from thence? Was England at peace or war with other nations? and was your country in a ſtate of diſturbance?"

The latter queſtion alone contained more than words of compliment and ceremony, and coming in ſuch a ſolemn manner, required a clear and determinate anſwer on my part. I replied in the Perſian language—"That Great Britain was at enmity with France; that the continent of Europe was the ſeat of war; but that the kingdom of England enjoyed perfect tranquillity, which it was not probable would be diſturbed." This interrogation ſeemed to indicate, that the Birmans had received impreſſions of our ſituation in Europe from no very favourable quarter; and I had afterwards occaſion to know, that the unremitting and reſtleſs induſtry of French propagators had pervaded even this remote region; and that though, in ſuch a country, they dare not avow their equalizing principles, they left no art unpractiſed, through the means of their emiſſaries, to inſinuate doubts, excite fears, and create diſtruſt of the Engliſh.

Theſe were all the queſtions that were propoſed; neither the Chineſe, nor any other perſon, being interrogated. In a few minutes after my laſt reply had been conveyed, a very handſome deſert was brought in and ſet before us; it conſiſted of a variety of ſweetmeats, as well China as Birman; læpack, or pickled tea-leaf, and beetle, formed part of the entertainment, which was ſerved up in ſilver, china, and glaſs-ware: there appeared to be not leſs than a hundred different ſmall diſhes: we taſted of a few, and found ſome of them very palatable; but none of the courtiers partook, or moved from their places. About half an hour had elapſed, when we were informed by the San-

dohgaan that there was no occaſion for us to remain any longer. The non-appearance of His Majeſty was a conſiderable diſappointment, as I had been taught to expect that he would have received the governor-general's letter in perſon: it was not, however, until ſome time afterwards, that I was made acquainted with the true reaſon of his abſence.

When we roſe to leave the Lotoo, the Sandohgaan deſired us to make three obeiſances to the throne, by a ſlight inclination of the body, and raiſing the right hand to the head; we were then reconducted to the ſaloon, where we were informed it was neceſſary we ſhould remain until the princes came forth from the palace, and had got upon their elephants, as their etiquette did not allow any perſon, on ſuch occaſions, to mount before the members of the royal family; we accordingly took our places in this hall as before: ſhortly afterwards the court broke up, with as much form and parade as it had aſſembled.

The ceremony of departure differed from that of entrance: the Engy Teekien came out firſt, who went in laſt; next followed the other members of the royal family in rotation, and after them came the Chobwaas, or petty tributary princes: theſe are perſonages who, before the Birmans had extended their conqueſts over the vaſt territory they now poſſeſs, had held ſmall independent ſovereignties, which they were able to maintain ſo long as the balance of power continued doubtful between the Birmans, Peguers, and Siameſe; but the decided ſucceſs that has attended the Birman arms ſince the acceſſion of the preſent family, having deprived them of their independence, their countries are now reduced to ſubordinate provinces of the Birman empire. As many of their governors as confidence could be placed in, and who were willing to take the oath of allegiance to their conquerors, were continued in the management of their former poſſeſſions, and are obliged to make an annual viſit to the capital, to pay homage in perſon at the golden feet. The moderation, as well as the policy of this meaſure, is ſaid to have fully anſwered the ends that were propoſed.

As ſoon as the royal family had departed, we returned to the place where we had left our elephants, and proceeded home; with this difference, that the Chineſe deputies, who had followed us to the palace, preceded us in our return; a circumſtance which, in addition to ſeveral others, gave me cauſe to attribute want of ingenuouſneſs to thoſe who had the management of the ceremonials. My claim of precedence had been unconditionally ſtipulated and admitted; a precedence, which the certainty that the Chineſe deputies conſtituted only a provincial miſſion of very inferior conſideration, gave me an undoubted title to demand.

With a people leſs attentive to punctilio, or leſs regardful of the privileges and external indications of rank, I ſhould certainly not have conſidered it neceſſary to controvert matters of no intrinſic moment in themſelves, but which, when intended to produce an effect on the minds of thoſe who can only judge from appearances, become, to a perſon in a public capacity, of real importance. Every occurrence of this day, and every object that preſented itſelf, evinced the previous care that had been beſtowed on the minuteſt points of etiquette: the utmoſt ſplendour of the court had been diſplayed on the occaſion; and I was credibly informed, that the non-appearance of His Majeſty was neither cuſtomary when a foreign miniſter from a ſovereign ſtate was introduced, nor owing to any accidental prevention: but that it was a matter predetermined, in order to afford a pretext for ſpreading abroad that the repreſentative of the Engliſh nation had delivered his diſpatches, and rendered tribute (for ſo they denominated the preſents), without being honoured by an interview of their King. Theſe apparent indications of arrogance, which were not diminiſhed by the unworthy artifice,

artifice, of making me believe that His Majeſty was to have received in perſon the letter from the governor general, as coming from a ſovereign and an equal power, gave me reaſonable grounds to be diſſatisfied with the manner in which the ceremonials had been conducted, and made me ſuſpect the real light in which it was the wiſh of the court that I ſhould be conſidered. As nothing degrading to my public character, however, had yet been avowed, I refrained from any formal declaration of my ſentiments till ſubſequent circumſtances confirmed my conjectures, and rendered an explanation unavoidable.

We did not arrive at our dwelling in the grove till paſt three o'clock. In our way home the ſpectators were few, in compariſon with the numbers collected to gaze at us when we went. The day had been oppreſſively hot; we were nevertheleſs highly gratified by the ſcene we had beheld, which was uncommonly ſplendid, and in every reſpect ſuited to the dignity of an imperial court. The evening, however, proved cool; and refreſhing breezes recompenſed us for the ſultrineſs of the day, the tranſactions of which ſupplied an intereſting topic of converſation until the hour of repoſe.

CHAP. XIV. *Preſents expected by the principal Officers:—of trivial Value:—Matter of Form.—Viſit the Engy Teekien.—Conduct of the Public Officers more reſpectful.—Splendour of the Court.—Engy Teekien.—Ceremony at departing.—Chobwas, or tributary Princes.—Meedaw Praw,—a Princeſs of high Dignity:—her Court—venerable Perſon: Curioſity:—Politeneſs.—Viſit to the Princes of Prome;—of Baſſien;—of Tongho;—and of Pegahm.—Reception at their reſpective Courts.—View the Piedigaut Tiek, or Royal Library.—Noiſes renewed by the Chineſe.—Effects of Deſpotiſm.—Pride of the Miniſters.—Inſurmountable Difficulty in a point of Etiquette.—Politeneſs of the Governor of Bamoo.—Viſit to the Seredaw Poundagee Praw, or Arch Prieſt.—Magnificent Kioum.—Numerous religious Buildings.—Knebang Kioum,—a beautiful Building,—to what Purpoſe applied.—A Kioum of extraordinary Splendour.—Viſit the Arracan Gaudma;—enthuſiaſtic Adoration of the Multitude.—Chounda, or Place of Accommodation for Strangers.—Partake of Refreſhment.—Return.—Deſcription of the Port of Ummerapoora.*

THE next morning, Auguſt 31ſt, the Shawbunder of Rangoon, and Baba-Sheen, waited on us with information, that as our formal introduction was now paſt, I might command elephants and horſes to go whereſoever I pleaſed; and that they had received an order to attend and to ſhew me whatever was moſt worthy the notice of a ſtranger. They intimated alſo, that the Engy Teekien, or heir apparent, was to hold a court on the following day for the purpoſe of our introduction, and that our attendance would be expected about the hour of noon. Theſe inſtructions they had received from the Maywoon of Pegue; to whom I wrote in reply, that as the ſtipulated formalities, which had been agreed to by all parties, had been infringed on the preceding day, it became neceſſary, before I could accept of the Prince's invitation, to receive a poſitive aſſurance that they would be better obſerved on this occaſion. I likewiſe repreſented the conduct of the Sandhougaan as obvionſly diſreſpectful, and hoped that he would not be allowed to officiate again on our introduction; but, above all, I deſired to be explicitly informed, whether or not the Engy Teekien purpoſed to appear in perſon, without which I could not poſſibly think of attending his court.

To this letter I received a civil reply in the Perſian language, aſſuring me that ſome part of what to me ſeemed objectionable, originated in miſtake; that the Sandohgaan ſhould

ſhould be confined for his improper conduct; and that the Prince intended to receive me in perſon: theſe aſſurances, coming from ſuch a quarter, were perfectly ſatisfactory.

Since my arrival I had been apprized of a circumſtance, of which I was before unaware, that it was cuſtomary for a perſon in a public capacity to preſent ſomething of the manufacture of his country, or ſome rarity, to each member of the royal family to whom he is introduced; it was likewiſe uſual, though not indiſpenſably neceſſary, to pay the ſame compliment to the chief miniſters and the principal officers of the court. This preſent, being no more than a piece or two of muſlin, or ſilk, was too trifling to be regarded by the individuals for its value: it was, nevertheleſs, expected, and the omiſſion would be conſidered as unhandſome: in addition, therefore, to the things that I had brought with me, I gave directions to purchaſe ſuch articles, of European and Indian manufacture, as were moſt eſteemed, and could be procured; theſe I allotted agreeably to the inſtructions of Baba-Sheen and the Shawbunder, who were ſo good as to acquaint me with the eſtabliſhed forms, and the proportion to be preſented to each perſon.

At nine o'clock on the firſt of September we croſſed the river, nearly with the ſame attendance as on the former day. In conſequence of an application I had made to the Maywoon of Pegue, elephants were now provided for Mr. Wood and Dr. Buchanan. This was a circumſtance which neither the gentlemen themſelves nor I ſhould have deemed of ſufficient importance to deſerve any attention, had not the junior members of the Chineſe embaſſy been ſupplied with them; but as theſe people paid ſuch ſtrict attention to the minuteſt article expreſſive of relative rank, I did not think it right that the gentlemen with me ſhould be conſidered in a degree inferior to the ſubordinate members of a provincial delegation, of which, an acquieſcence, in a leſs dignified mode of conveyance than the Chineſe were allowed, would, on my part, have been a tacit admiſſion.

We proceeded through the city by the route we purſued before, with the preſents carried in front, and obſerving the ſame order of proceſſion. Many of the houſes were decorated with flower-pots and garlands, but the ſpectators were by no means ſo numerous as when we made our firſt entrance. We diſmounted at the top of a ſtreet within a few hundred yards of the ſurrounding wall of the Prince's palace, where ſtages had been erected for our convenience; from thence we were conducted to the rhoom, which was ſituated a little to the right hand of the principal gate; there was another building of a ſimilar kind oppoſite to us, which we were informed was uſed only for trials, and the tranſaction of public buſineſs; but the one that we occupied, was appropriated to ceremony and ſtate. In the formalities of this day, a much more reſpectful demeanour was preſerved towards us, than on the former occaſion, and we ſat in the rhoom with better company. Two Woondocks, the maſter of the elephants, and ſome other officers bearing emblems of rank, attended us; another Sandohgaan alſo officiated in the ceremonials, and behaved very differently from the perſon whoſe manners had been ſo offenſive, and whom I did not obſerve at court on this day. This conduct fully compenſated for the former incivility, though perhaps the Sandohgaan did not receive any ſevere reprehenſion for what he had done.

The King of the Birmans, who ſeems to have a parental fondneſs for all his children is ſaid to be particularly attached to the Engy Teekien, or eldeſt Prince; and with a liberal policy has granted him a ſhare of the government almoſt equal to what he himſelf exerciſes. The eſtabliſhment of the heir apparent is becoming his high

ſtation and future expectations; and his Woon, or chief miniſter, ſtands among the foremoſt of the Birman nobles in reputation for wiſdom and integrity.

There was little in the etiquette of this day different from that of the viſit to His Majeſty: we waited in the rhoom until all the younger Princes had arrived, which they did, as before, in rotation, beginning with the junior. The members of the royal family went within the gate, before they alighted from their elephants and palanquins; but the miniſters and the nobility diſmounted on the outſide, and proceeded on foot. After each perſon had entered, the gate was immediately cloſed, and opened as ſoon as another viſitant preſented himſelf. When we advanced to the gate, we expected it would have inſtantly been thrown open to admit us; a delay, however, occurred, which at firſt I was inclined to attribute to ſome accidental circumſtance: but after I had waited ſome minutes under a burning ſun, finding that there was an unneceſſary and apparently a ſtudied protraction, I turned round and walked towards the rhoom; on this the door was immediately opened, and the interior court, on the right hand of the gate, as we entered, diſplayed ſeveral men dancing in maſquerade, and on the left was a band of muſicians, and a ſet of dancing girls without maſks. A little farther on were two handſome houſes; one of maſonry, with doors and windows cloſely reſembling Gothic ſtructure, flat roofed, and of a peculiar but far from inelegant conſtruction; the other was of wood. We were conducted to the latter, and aſcended into a capacious ſaloon, open on three ſides. Here we found the court aſſembled, nearly in the ſame manner as at the lotoo. The hall conſiſted of ſix rows of pillars, ſeven in each row; but there was neither gilding nor paint beſtowed upon them, ſuch ornaments being ſtrictly confined to the ſovereign and the prieſthood. The naked pillars gave a very rude appearance to the apartment, which was diſadvantageouſly contraſted with the brilliant dreſſes of the courtiers. We occupied the ſame relative poſition to the reſt of the aſſembly as at the lotoo, with this difference, that the gentlemen of the Engliſh miſſion had the place aſſigned to them, which the Chineſe deputies, either through miſtake, or deſign, poſſeſſed on the former day. At one end of the ſaloon, againſt a wainſcot, ſtood the Prince's ſofa of ſtate, covered with embroidered cloth, and on each ſide were ranged ſeveral utenſils of gold of a very large ſize; ſuch as his beetle-box, cup, ſpitting-pot, and water-flaggon: above the ſofa there was a window in the wainſcot, ſix or eight feet from the ground, with folding ſhutters, that were cloſed when we entered the hall. Soon after we had taken our ſeats, four Bramins dreſſed in white ſacerdotal garments, chanted a prayer that laſted a quarter of an hour; their devotions being finiſhed, the window before mentioned ſuddenly opened, and diſcovered the Engy Teekien ſeated behind it. The courtiers immediately bent their bodies, and ſat in a crouching attitude, with their hands joined: the Engliſh gentlemen joined their hands like the reſt of the company. The Prince ſeemed to be about twenty-eight or thirty years of age, of an open countenance, and rather inclined to corpulency; but of his perſon we could not judge, as his head and ſhoulders only were viſible. His habit, as much as could be ſeen of it, ſhone with gold, and he wore on his head a pyramidical cap, that gliſtened exceedingly, but of its real richneſs we could not form any eſtimate, being at too great a diſtance. A liſt of the preſents were then recited in a loud voice by a reader kneeling in front of the ſofa; after which total ſilence prevailed throughout the aſſembly: not a word was ſpoken by the Prince; he noticed no one, but ſat erect and motionleſs, without appearing to look either to the right or the left. About a quarter of an hour elapſed in this dumb interview, when on a

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ſudden, by ſome agency inviſible to us, the window-ſhutters were cloſed, and we ſaw him no more.

A very handſome deſſert was then ſerved up on diſhes ſpread on gilded trays. We taſted of ſeveral things, and, when the repaſt was ended, returned to the rhoom, in which we remained until the royal family paſſed by. As much form was obſerved this day, as when the court aſſembled at the lotoo; and the demonſtrations of reſpect manifeſted towards the Engy Teekien, as well by his brothers as by inferior ſubjects, fell little ſhort of what is offered to the ſovereign himſelf, a circumſtance that ſtrikingly evinces the wiſdom and policy of the government. The chobwas, or petty Princes, who followed the royal family was this day very numerous: we were told, that there were altogether fifty-ſix chobwas dependent on the Birman ſtate; if this be true, their territories muſt be very inconſiderable. On the preſent occaſion the governor of of Bamoo walked amongſt them in proceſſion, from which we concluded that he was a temporary regent; a ſtation to which the King occaſionally appoints Birman officers, when the hereditary Prince of the country happens to be a minor, or incapable of the adminiſtration of public affairs.

The mother of the principal Queen, named Medaw Praw, has already been mentioned as a Princeſs of high dignity, venerable for her years, and illuſtrious from the affinity that ſhe bears to the royal family; her ſiſter had been the wife of the famous Alompra, the deliverer of his country; and, her daughter being eſpouſed to the reigning monarch, ſhe ſtands in the double relation of aunt and mother-in-law to the King. I had been apprized that a viſit to this lady would be an acceptable mark of reſpect to His Majeſty; and as the rank ſhe bore gave her precedence over all the ſons of the King except the heir apparent, it was proper that I ſhould wait upon her before I paid my reſpects to the junior Princes. I gladly embraced the opportunity which this offer gave me, to attend the drawing-room of an Aſiatic Princeſs, and promiſed myſelf much gratification from a ſight ſo uncommon among the jealous nations of the eaſt. When the ceremony at the palace of the Engy Teekien had ended, it was not more than two o'clock, and there was yet ſufficient time to wait upon the Medaw Praw, who, we were informed, had made preparations to receive us. Mounting our elephants, we went in form to attend her, and found her poſſeſſed of a very handſome manſion in the neighbourhood of the imperial palace; it was ſituated in the centre of a court, ſurrounded by a paliſade, at the gate of which there was a ſtage erected for our convenience in alighting. We entered the encloſure without any of the parade obſerved in our former viſits: at the bottom of the ſtairs we put off our ſhoes, and aſcended into a handſome hall, ſupported by ſeveral lofty pillars; at the farther end a portion of the floor was elevated ſix or eight inches, and ſeparated by a neat baluſtrade from the reſt of the room; within this ſpace, under a white canopy, was placed a large cuſhion of blue velvet fringed with gold, on a carpet covered with muſlin. There was a numerous aſſemblage of both ſexes, but particularly women, ſitting round the baluſtrade. As ſoon as we entered, a ſpace was immediately vacated for us to occupy, in front of the door and oppoſite to the cuſhion. After we had been ſeated a few minutes, the old lady came forth from an inner apartment, and walked ſlowly towards the elevated ſeat, ſupported by two female ſervants, whilſt another held up her train; her long white hair hung looſe upon her ſhoulders, but ſhe wore neither covering nor ornament upon her head. Her dreſs, which was extremely fine, without being gaudy, became her advanced years and high dignity; it conſiſted of a long robe of white muſlin, and over her ſhoulders

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was thrown a ſaſh of gauze, embroidered with ſprigs of gold. She advanced to where the cuſhion was placed, and took her ſeat on the carpet, ſupporting her head on her arm that reſted on the pillow, whilſt the two female attendants, neatly dreſſed, kneeling, one on each ſide fanned her with long gilded fans. Every perſon ſeemed to pay her profound reſpect, and when ſhe entered, both men and women bent their bodies in the attitude of ſubmiſſion. I had brought, as a token of my veneration, a ſtring of pearl and ſome fine muſlin. The Sandohgaan announced the offering, and enumerated the articles with a loud voice, entreating, in my name, her gracious acceptance of them. She looked at the Engliſh gentlemen with earneſtneſs, but ſeemed entirely to diſregard the Chineſe, although their dreſs was much more ſhowy than ours: her manner was on this occaſion extremely complaiſant, and ſhe aſked ſeveral queſtions, ſuch as, what were our names? how we were in health? what were our ages? On being informed, ſhe obligingly ſaid ſhe would pray that we might attain as great a longevity as herſelf; adding, that ſhe had reached her ſeventy-ſecond year. I did not perceive, amongſt the numerous company that attended, any of the junior Princes, or of the principal miniſters, although there were ſeveral perſonages of diſtinction. After ſhe had retired, a very handſome deſſert was ſerved up: the fruit and preſerves were delicious: whatever China could yield was united with the produce of their own country. Having taſted of various diſhes, we withdrew without any ceremony; and as none of the royal family were preſent, there was no neceſſity to delay our departure: we accordingly returned home, a good deal oppreſſed by the heat of the weather, and wearied by the repetition of tedious formalities.

On the two following days we viſited the Princes of Prome, of Baſſien, of Tongho, and of Pegahm, titles taken from the provinces over which they reſpectively preſide. Theſe brothers are not all by the ſame mother; the Prince of Prome alone being full brother to the Engy Teekien, or heir apparent. In the courſe of our viſits we had a better opportunity than before of viewing the ſtreets and buildings, the former of which were invariably laid out in ſtrait lines, croſſing each other at right angles. The houſes in general differed little from thoſe of Rangoon; they were all covered with tiles, and on the ridge of the roofs was a long range of earthen pots, filled with water, in readineſs to be broken in caſe of fire: the few houſes of brick and mortar which we ſaw were ſaid to belong to the members of the royal family. Rows of trees were planted in ſeveral ſtreets, five or ſix feet in front of the houſes, forming a ſhady walk for foot paſſengers. As the younger Princes do not aſſume the ſtate of royalty, our reception was much more gay and leſs ceremonious at their palaces, than at that of the Engy Teekien. At the palace of the Prince of Prome, or, as he is termed, the Pee Teekien, the preparations made for our entertainment were extremely ſplendid. When the gate of the incloſure was thrown open to admit us, we were ſurpriſed with a view of a lane of elephants on one ſide, and of horſes on the other; there were fifteen of the former, ſome of which ſurpaſſed in ſize and beauty any I had ever ſeen: the horſes were more numerous, and ſeveral of them very richly capariſoned. Paſſing through theſe, we came to an open ſpace, where rope-dancers and tumblers were performing in the open air. We ſtopped to look at them, but obſerved nothing remarkable in their feats; they were much inferior in agility to the tumblers of Southern India. One man, however, ſurpriſed us a good deal, by applying the point of a ſpear to his ſhoulder and reſting the other end againſt a pillar, thus puſhing on it, apparently with great force, until he bent and broke a thick ſhaft;

this he effected without piercing his own ſkin, which, though the ſpear was not very ſharp, muſt have been wonderfully firm to have reſiſted ſuch evident violence.

While we were viewing the ſports, a meſſage was brought from the Prince, to acquaint us that theſe people had been procured for our amuſement, and that after we had ſatisfied our curioſity he would be glad to ſee us. We immediately proceeded to the hall of reception, which was a handſome wooden building, but not ſo large as that of the elder brother. At the upper end there was a ſofa, curiouſly gilded, and decorated with pieces of mirror, diſpoſed in ſuch a manner as to produce a pleaſing effect. None of the royal family were preſent, and we did not obſerve any of the Woongees or Attawoons. A few minutes after we had taken our ſeats the Prince entered, ſplendidly dreſſed; he proceeded to his ſofa with much ſolemnity, and ſpoke only a few words. We were, as uſual, entertained with a handſome deſſert, of which the Prince himſelf ſolicited us to eat. As ſoon as he withdrew, our attention was called to a ſelect company of figure-dancers, who had commenced their performance in the virando, or balcony of the hall. This band of females did not at all diſcredit the feſtival of a Prince; three of the number were beautiful, and moved with graceful eaſe, in perfect harmony to the muſic: their outer dreſs was a flowing robe, made of tranſparent gauze, delicately embroidered with flowers of gold and ſilver, and a profuſion of gold chains encircled their necks and arms. We remained a quarter of an hour beholding this elegant ſpectacle, and then returned to the place where our elephants were waiting. The Prince of Prome is in perſon rather above the middle ſize; his age does not exceed twenty-ſeven or twenty-eight years; and, like his elder brother, his appearance promiſes future corpulency: his countenance is naturally cheerful and pleaſing, which, we were told, was the true index of his mind: he bears an excellent character, and is ſaid to be much eſteemed in the province over which he immediately preſides.

Our next viſit was to the Prince of Tongho, by whom we were received with every mark of attention. His dwelling was much inferior to thoſe of his elder brothers, and the attendance was comparatively ſmall; there were, however, a number of ſtate elephants paraded in the court-yard, and we paſſed through a line of muſqueteers, drawn up in ſingle files on each ſide. This military array had a very ſingular appearance; hardly any two were dreſſed alike, and ſome of them were without any other clothing, than a fillet that encircled their head, and a cloth rolled round their waiſt: through reſpect, they were all ſeated on their heels, ſome with their firelocks ſhouldered, and others with the butts reſting on the ground. Here alſo we found tumblers, muſicians, and dancers; and there were two carriages in waiting, handſomely gilded, with a pair of horſes harneſſed to each; theſe vehicles were of a light conſtruction, on four wheels, open at the ſides, and covered with a convex canopy. The Prince ſat on a gilded chair; he was a ſlender man, and appeared to be older than the Prince of Prome, whom he is ſaid not to reſemble in any particular. The power which this Prince poſſeſſes muſt be conſiderable, as his government, formerly the independent kingdom of Tongho, is rich, extenſive, and populous; and the fort of Tongho is, at the preſent day, deemed the ſtrongeſt in the empire. Perſons of rank, we obſerved, were here permitted to introduce their beetle-boxes and ſpitting-pots, which was not the caſe at any of the other courts. Our viſit being concluded, we returned home. The heat, during the early part of this day, had been very intenſe; but a refreſhing ſhower towards evening cooled the air, and rendered the night pleaſant. We were not ſurpriſed, when we came back, to learn that the ſenior of the Chineſe embaſſy had died during our abſence, as he had been ſo ill in the morning that his colleagues declined taking a ſhare in the ceremonials of the day.

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On the following day, at the cuſtomary hour, we croſſed the lake, and proceeded with the ſame attendants as before to the houſe of the Prince of Baſſien. His dwelling was very handſome, and the pillars of his hall, which the law prohibits him either to gild or paint, were covered with flowered ſatin. Many men of rank graced the aſſembly, and ſome who wore high military inſignia; but none of the royal family, or the principal miniſters were preſent. The Prince ſeemed a very awkward, baſhful youth, about ſeventeen years of age. The ſituation of his government, which extends along the ſea coaſt as far south as Cape Negrais, gives him the power either to obſtruct or aſſiſt, in a material degree, the merchants who trade to Baſſien; and ſhips being ſometimes obliged to take ſhelter in the Negrais river, during the adverſe monſoon, his people have frequent opportunities of affording aid to the diſtreſſed. After ſitting ſome minutes, and finding he was not inclined to begin a diſcourſe, I broke through the general ſilence, by addreſſing him in a complimentary manner, expreſſing acknowledgment of the kindneſs which had been extended by the officers of his government to Britiſh merchants and mariners, as well as my reliance on his future influence in their favour. I ſpoke in the language of Hindoſtan, and each ſentence was tranſlated by Baba-Sheen. The Prince was embarraſſed; he twice attempted to reply, but had not the power; two of his courtiers crept towards him, and, in a proſtrate attitude near the foot of his ſeat, ſuggeſted what they conceived he ought to ſay: their aid, however, was ineffectual; his Highneſs could not utter a connected ſentence. At length his Woon, or chief miniſter, relieved him, by making an appoſite reply in his name. Our entertainment was nearly the ſame as at the houſes of the other princes. From hence we went to the palace of the junior prince, entitled Pegahm Teekien; a tite derived from the ancient city of that name, which is the ſeat of his government. He ſeemed livelier than his brother whom we had juſt left, and his Woon was a very venerable perſonage. On this occaſion, the repaſt differed in one particular from any we had yet received; a roaſt fowl was introduced, no doubt in compliment to us; and as their religion does not forbid them to eat meat, but only prohibits the ſlaughter of animals for the purpoſes of food, there was no crime in the act of ſerving it up to us, or partaking of it themſelves: the only queſtion was, how the bird came to be deprived of life? to which, no doubt, an exculpatory anſwer could have been given. This, however, was a matter which it did not become us to diſcuſs; it was certainly a handſome and liberal teſtimony of their deſire to provide what they thought would be agreeable to their gueſts.

In addition to the band of dancing girls that performed here for our amuſement, there were two comedians, who recited paſſages; and exhibited various diſtortions of countenance; but they were far inferior to the inimitable performer we had ſeen at Pegue.

Having finiſhed our introductory viſits to the different members of the royal family, we had now leiſure to gratify curioſity, by viewing whatever the capital contained that was moſt deſerving the notice of ſtrangers. The day not being far advanced, we walked from the palace of the Prince of Pegahm, to ſee the Piedigaut Tiek, or royal library: it is ſituated at the north-weſt angle of the fort, in the centre of a court paved with broad flags, and cloſe to a very handſome kioum, or monaſtery. Before we entered the library we aſcended the kioum, and found the inſide correſpond with the external appearance; the building was ſpacious and richly gilded; the pillars, the ceiling, and the pannels were entirely covered with gold leaf; and the image of Gaudma ſhone with brilliant luſtre. A baluſtrade of wood, minutely and beautifully carved, protected the image from intruders. On the pannels of the walls

were repreſented figures of inferior agents of the divinity, and of proſtrate Rhahaans in the act of devotion: theſe were all ſhaped in fret-work in the wood, and were of no contemptible workmanſhip: a well wrought foliage of the ſame bordered the pannels. The image of Gaudma, in this kioum, was large, and made of marble; it was ſeated on a broad pedeſtal, entirely gilded; in front of which, within the baluſtrade, ſtood a handſome girandole of cut glaſs, of European manufacture: near the image was a gilded couch, which, we were informed, was the cuſtomary bed of the principal Rhahaan, or head of all the Birman prieſthood, when he choſe to paſs the night in the fort, which rarely happened. It was ſplendidly gilt; the bottom, however, was only a bare board: pillows were not wanting; for there were two, but they were made of wood. A mat ſpread on the floor is the higheſt luxury of repoſe in which the Rhahaans indulge.

From the kioum we proceeded to viſit the adjacent library; it is a large brick building, raiſed on a terrace, and covered by a roof of very compound ſtructure. It conſiſts of one ſquare room, with an incloſed virando, or gallery, ſurrounding it: this room was locked, and as we had not brought a ſpecial order for ſeeing it, the perſon who had the care of the library ſaid that he was not at liberty to open the doors, but aſſured us that there was nothing in the inſide different from what we might ſee in the virando, where a number of large cheſts, curiouſly ornamented with gilding and japan, were ranged in regular order, againſt the wall. I counted fifty, but there were many more, probably not leſs than a hundred. The books were regularly claſſed, and the contents of each cheſt were written in gold letters on the lid. The librarian opened two, and ſhewed me ſome very beautiful writing on thin leaves of ivory, the margins of which were ornamented with flowers of gold, neatly executed. I ſaw alſo ſome books written in the ancient Palli, the religious text. Every thing ſeemed to be arranged with perfect regularity, and I was informed that there were books upon divers ſubjects; more on divinity than on any other; but hiſtory, muſic, medicine, painting and romance, had their ſeparate treatiſes. The volumes were diſpoſed under diſtinct heads, regularly numbered; and if all the other cheſts were as well filled as thoſe that were ſubmitted to our inſpection, it is not improbable, that His Birman Majeſty may poſſeſs a more numerous library than any potentate from the banks of the Danube to the borders of China.

It was late when we returned home, and our repoſe was diſturbed by a renewal of the noiſes which the Chineſe were accuſtomed to make; they ſounded all night on loud gongs, the funeral knell of the departed embaſſador, uttering at intervals horrible cries and lamentations. One of the mourners imitated with his voice the howling of a dog ſo naturally that all the curs belonging to the boat people, and the Caſſay huts in our neighbourhood, joined in the chorus. Our proximity to theſe perſonages proved to us a ſource of great moleſtation.

About this time a ludicrous circumſtance happened, which only deſerves notice as it tends to illuſtrate the character of the people, and ſhews to what an abject ſtate deſpotic tyranny can debaſe the human mind. The Engy Teekien, or Prince royal, took a pleaſure in collecting foreign beaſts: among others he had procured male goats from almoſt every country of the eaſt. A flock of theſe, conſiſting of more than thirty, were ſent to feed on the borders of the lake, near our dwelling: we happened to have three or four ſhe-goats, that had been brought from Bengal for the ſake of their milk. Allured by the bleat of the females, the whole flock of males one night broke through the paling, and made a forcible irruption into our court: the ſuddenneſs of the attack, at ſuch an hour, ſurpriſed us not a little; I got up, and ordered the Birman guards that were poſted at the

gates, to drive them away, which they attempted to do by ſhouting at them, but without any effect, as the animals, ſome of which were very large, had now become furious, and after fighting with each other, began to ruſh through our houſes. I then deſired the Birmans to make uſe of ſticks; but this they poſitively refuſed, ſaying that the goats were "praws," or lords, meaning that they were ennobled by belonging to the Prince, and that no perſon dared, on any account, offer injury to them: having no other alternative, we armed our ſervants and the ſoldiers with large bamboos, who ſubdued theſe troubleſome invaders, though not without much difficulty, and ſome riſk, whilſt the Birmans lifted up their hands and eyes in aſtoniſhment at our temerity: the praws, however, were ſeverely beaten. Having at length got rid of them, I returned to reſt, and heard no more of the matter.

The intenſe heat of the three days ſpent in the formalities of viſiting the Princes, made me poſtpone any further ceremonials until the 6th of the month (September), which day was appointed to pay our reſpects to the Seredaw Poundagee Praw, or the arch prieſt of the Birman empire: in the intermediate time a difference of opinion aroſe in regard to the etiquette of compliments, in which I did not think myſelf at liberty to depart from what I conſidered an attention due to my public character.

The grand ruling council of the Birman nation has already been deſcribed as conſiſting of four chief members, entitled Woongees, and four junior members, called Woondocks, between whom there is a wide diſparity of rank. The place of third Woongee was vacant, and the junior bears very ſmall comparative importance with the two ſeniors, who, in fact, govern the empire. Theſe perſonages, whoſe power is ſo great, poſſeſs a correſponding degree of pride; the governors of provinces are in their eſteem men of little conſequence, and are often treated by theſe miniſters with exceſſive arrogance, which is not ſolely confined to thoſe whoſe ſituation and expectations place them in a ſtate of dependence, but is indiſcriminately extended to all; nor could I hope to be exempted from receiving a ſhare in common with others. I was informed, that after paying my reſpects to the Royal Family and the Seredaw, it was expected that I ſhould wait on the two ſenior Woongees, and offer them in perſon the cuſtomary preſents. I obſerved in anſwer, that I had no objection to paying theſe miniſters a mark of attention by the trifling preſent which uſage had eſtabliſhed; but to wait on them at their houſes, unleſs I received an aſſurance that my viſit would be returned, was a ceremony I begged leave to decline. This intimation I imagine was rather a diſappointment to them, as much pains were taken to induce me to alter my reſolution. I however refuſed to concede, but I offered to meet them at the houſe of the Maywoon of Pegue, a propoſal from which they diſſented, remarking, that to viſit me would be more eligible than to go to the Maywoon's houſe. I replied, that our formalities were not leſs ſtrict than theirs, and that I could no more relinquiſh my claim to the reſpect due to my public ſtation, than they could deſcend from their elevation; and I ſaw no remedy unleſs they themſelves choſe to apply that which was in their own power, and which they muſt be ſenſible I had a right to require. Finding that I was not inclined to yield, they requeſted, if I could not viſit them in perſon, that I would allow the other gentlemen to pay them the compliment; a deſire to which I readily acceded, as well from a wiſh to open a channel of communication, as to manifeſt on my part a conciliatory diſpoſition. Mr. Wood and Dr. Buchanan obligingly made no objection; I therefore anſwered that the gentlemen would wait on them, and expreſſed my regret that I was deprived of the ſame pleaſure.

During this interval of reſt the Governor of Bamoo frequently favoured me with a viſit, his buſineſs bringing him almoſt daily to the reſidence of the Chineſe. By his deſire I ſent them compliments of condolence, with a piece of coarſe white muſlin, which it ſeems is the etiquette on ſuch occaſions. On one of theſe days the Bamoo Governor brought with him the chart of his journey to Pekin, as he had formerly promiſed; it was delineated in a curious manner on a ſort of black paper commonly uſed by the Birmans, on which they write with a pencil made of ſteatite, or ſoap-ſtone. The places were diſtinctly marked; but not having any ſcale, the meaſurement was extremely confuſed, and ſo diſproportionate that it was impoſſible to judge of diſtances with any degree of preciſion. We could, however, trace his progreſs through the Chineſe dominions in the Jeſuits' map that is prefixed to Du Halde's account of China.

On the day appointed for our viſit to the Seredaw, we took boat at ſeven in the morning, and, attended by our uſual retinue, croſſed the lake; one of the ſurviving Chineſe alſo accompanied us. Baba-Sheen, the Shawbunder of Rangoon, and ſome Birman officers, met us on the oppoſite bank, where our elephants were waiting. When we approached the cauſeway or bridge, inſtead of croſſing it we turned to the left and proceeded cloſe to the ditch, parallel with the weſt face of the fort, till we came to the north-weſt angle. At this place the river approaches ſo near to the walls as to render a continuation of the ditch impracticable; we then went along the north ſide, paſſing on our left a handſome kioum crowned with a gilded piaſath, or ſpire, which we were told had been erected by Meedaw Praw, the venerable lady whom we had viſited. On arriving at the north-eaſt corner, we obſerved at ſome diſtance on the plain another religious edifice of diſtinguiſhed ſplendor, dignified by the title of Kioumdogee, or royal convent, where, we were informed, the Seredaw or chief prieſt intended to receive us, and not at his uſual reſidence, which was at a kioum about two miles farther. The articles I deſigned to preſent to him having been ſent forward to his cuſtomary abode, we were obliged to wait in an adjoining houſe until they could be brought back. Being prepared, we were conducted into a ſpacious court ſurrounded by a high brick wall, in the centre of which ſtood the kioum, an edifice not leſs extraordinary from the ſtyle of its architecture, than magnificent from its ornaments, and from the gold that was profuſely beſtowed on every part. It was compoſed entirely of wood, and the roofs, riſing one above another in five diſtinct ſtories, diminiſhed in ſize as they advanced in height, each roof being ſurrounded by a cornice curiouſly carved and richly gilded. The body of the building, elevated twelve feet from the ground, was ſupported on large timbers driven into the earth after the manner of piles, of which there were probably one hundred and fifty to ſuſtain the immenſe weight of the ſuperſtructure. On aſcending the ſtairs we were not leſs pleaſed than ſurpriſed at the ſplendid appearance which the inſide diſplayed; a gilded baluſtrade, fantaſtically carved into various ſhapes and figures, encompaſſed the outſide of the platform. Within this there was a wide gallery that comprehended the entire circuit of the building, in which many devotees were ſtretched proſtrate on the floor. An inner railing opened into a noble hall, ſupported by colonnades of lofty pillars; the centre row was at leaſt fifty feet high, and gilded from the ſummit to within four feet of the baſe, which was lackered red. In the middle of the hall there was a gilded partition of open latticed work, fifteen or twenty feet high, which divided it into two parts, from north to ſouth. The ſpace between the pillars varied from twelve to ſixteen feet, and the number, including thoſe that ſupported the galleries, appeared to be not fewer than one hundred, which, as they approached the extremities, diminiſhed in height; the outermoſt row not exceeding fifteen

fifteen feet. The bottom of these was cased with sheet lead, as a defence against the weather. A marble image of Gaudma, gilded, and sitting on a golden throne, was placed in the centre of the partition; and in front of the idol, leaning against one of the pillars, we beheld the Seredaw sitting on a satin carpet. He was encompassed by a circle of Rhahaans, from whom he could be no other ways distinguished, than by his preserving an erect position; whilst the others bent their bodies in an attitude of respect, with their hands joined in a supplicating manner. On entering the hall, the Birmans and the Chinese who accompanied us prostrated themselves before the figure of Gaudma, after which they kneeled down and made their reverence to the Seredaw, touching the ground with their foreheads, whilst we took our seats on fine mats, that were spread at a little distance from him. He received us with much politeness, and in his looks and demeanour affected more liveliness and complaisance than any of the fraternity I had hitherto seen. His appearance denoted him to be about forty years of age; not meagre and austere as they generally are, but fat and jocular. I presented to him my offering, which consisted of a piece of yellow cloth, the sacerdotal colour; some sandal wood, and a few wax candles covered with gold leaf. He asked several questions respecting England, such as how long the voyage usually was from thence to India: being told this, he observed that we were an extraordinary people to wander so far from home. I noticed the magnificence of the kioum: he replied, that such sublunary matters did not attract his attention; he was on earth but as a hermit. I desired his prayers; he said they were daily offered up for the happiness of all mankind, but that he would recommend us to the particular protection of Gaudma. He made some observations on our appearance, which I did not understand, and he even smiled; a relaxation very unusual in a Rhahaan. We retired without ceremony, and, mounting our elephants, proceeded along a wide road leading to the northward, which soon brought us to an extensive plain, that seemed to stretch in an uninterrupted level to the foot of a range of mountains ten or twelve miles distant. The soil was a poor clay, and the pasturage indifferent. We saw at a distance some fields of grain, and understood, that capacious reservoirs had been constructed with great labour and expence, by order of the King, in the vicinity of the mountains, which enabled the inhabitants of the low countries to water the grounds, and render the earth productive in a season of drought. Several kioums and villages were scattered over the plain; but when we had advanced about two miles, religious edifices increased, beyond our power to calculate the number. The first that we entered was called Knebang kioum, or the kioum of immortality, from the centre of which rose a royal piasath, to the height of a hundred and fifty feet: the roofs were of the customary complicated structure, one above another. This was the place where the embalmed bodies of deceased Seredaws are laid in state: the building rested on a terrace of brick, and was not elevated on pillars, as kioums and dwelling-houses usually are. The hall was very handsome, about seventy feet square, surrounded by a wide gallery: the roof was sustained by thirty-six gilded pillars, the central forty feet in height. Mats were spread in different parts for the repose of the Rhahaans, and on each was placed a hard pillow; there was also a tray containing books on the duties of Rhahaans, on religion, and the forms of religious worship.

Having rested here for a short time, we next visited the kioum, which was the ordinary residence of the Seredaw. This building far exceeded, in size and splendour, any that we had before seen, and is perhaps the most magnificent of its kind in the universe; it is constructed entirely of wood, and resembles in the style of its structure and ornaments, that in which we had an interview with the Seredaw, but

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was much more ſpacious and lofty. The numerous rows of pillars, ſome of them ſixty feet high, all of which were covered with burniſhed gilding, had a wonderfully ſplendid effect: it would be difficult to convey, either in language or by pencil, an adequate deſcription of this extraordinary edifice. The profuſe expenditure of gilding on parts expoſed to the weather, as well as in the inſide, cannot fail to impreſs a ſtranger with aſtoniſhment at the richneſs of the decoration, although he may not approve of the taſte with which it is diſpoſed: I could not have formed in my imagination a diſplay more ſtrikingly magnificent. This kioum was alſo divided by a partition, which ſeparated it in the middle from north to ſouth. There was a ſmall room on one ſide made of gilded boards, which we were told was the bedchamber of the Seredaw. Mats were ſpread on the outſide for the attendant Rhahaans. The figure of Gaudma was made of copper, and an European girandole of cut-glaſs ſtood before his throne.

Leaving this building, we paſſed through many courts crowded with ſmaller temples and kioums. Several gigantic images of Rakuſs, the Hindoo demon, half beaſt, half human, made of braſs, were ſhewed to us, as compoſing a part of the ſpoils of Arracan. From theſe we were conducted to a magnificent temple which is erecting for the image of Gaudma, that was brought from the ſame country. The idol is made of poliſhed braſs, about ten feet high, and ſitting in the uſual poſture, on a pedeſtal within an arched receſs; the walls are gilded, and adorned with bits of different coloured mirrors, diſpoſed with much taſte. Peculiar ſanctity is aſcribed to this image, and devotees reſort from every part of the empire, to adore the Arracan Gaudma, which is not expoſed at all hours to the view of the vulgar. The doors of the receſs are only opened when perſons of particular conſequence come to viſit it, or at ſtated times, to indulge the populace. As we approached, a crowd of people thronged after us with tumultuous enthuſiaſm, ſtriving for admittance to offer up a prayer to this brazen repreſentative of the divinity. We ſoon turned from theſe wretched fanatics, and the object of their ſtupid adoration, to view the noble piaſath, or royal ſpire, that crowned the building, and attracted much more of our attention and reſpect, than an image, from which even the ſtatuary could claim no praiſe. The ſpire roſe in ſeven ſeparate ſtages above the roof of the kioum; and the gold leaf which had recently been applied, gliſtening in the ſun-beams, reflected a brilliant luſtre. This temple, with its auxiliary buildings, which are yet in an unfiniſhed ſtate, will, when completed, be the moſt elegant in the empire, though perhaps not ſo ſpacious as that which is the preſent reſidence of the Seredaw. From hence we were conducted to what is called the chounda, or place for the reception and repoſe of ſtrangers who come from a diſtance to offer up their devotions. It communicates on the north ſide with the great temple, and is alſo a very beautiful ſpecimen of Birman architecture; it comprehends five long galleries ſeparated by colonnades, each conſiſting of thirty-four pillars, or two hundred and four altogether; the two central rows were about twenty-five feet high, but the external ones did not exceed fourteen; they were painted of a deep crimſon ground, enlivened by feſtoons of gold leaf encircling them in a very fanciful and pleaſing manner, and in a ſtyle much more conformable to European taſte than an unvaried ſurface of gold. The ceiling likewiſe was embelliſhed with a profuſion of carved work, executed with great labour and minuteneſs. Meaſuring by our ſteps, we judged the length to be five hundred and ſeventy ſix feet, and the breadth of each diſtinct gallery about twelve; the central rather wider than thoſe on either ſide. A low railing extended along the outer pillars, to prevent improper perſons and dogs from defiling the place. It is

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built upon a terrace of brick, elevated three feet from the ground; and the floor is made of chunam, or fine ſtucco, compoſed of lime, pounded ſteatites, and oil, the coheſion of which forms a hard and ſmooth ſurface, that ſhines like marble *. Our conductor informed us, that this edifice had been lately erected at the ſole expence of the ſenior Woongee. It certainly reflects credit on the projector, and is an ornament to the country.

The heat of the day, which had now attained its greateſt force, and our having been in conſtant exerciſe from ſeven in the morning till two o'clock in the afternoon, rendered a place of repoſe extremely acceptable; and here we not only reſted ourſelves, but likewiſe found a plentiful collation prepared for us. Our conductors, aware that the attention of ſtrangers could not fail to be engaged for ſome hours by ſuch a multitude of new and ſtriking objects, thought it would be more prudent for us to wait under the ſhade of this hoſpitable roof till the afternoon, than expoſe ourſelves unneceſſarily to a burning ſun. We had brought with us, at the inſtance of our friends, wine, bread, and butter, and cold fowl, to which the Shawbunder had added a tureen of excellent vermicelli ſoup, and a tolerable good pillaw. We ſat down to our repaſt about two o'clock, and after it was finiſhed continued to recline upon our mats until evening, fanned by a cool and refreſhing breeze from the weſt, whilſt we converſed, and contemplated the ſcene around. The crowd of people, whom the novelty of our appearance had collected, were neither intruſive nor troubleſome. On ſuch an occaſion, in moſt other countries of the Eaſt, it is probable, that, from the prejudices of bigotry, we ſhould not have been ſuffered to depart without receiving ſome inſult, or remarking ſome indication of contempt; but here, notwithſtanding we entered their moſt ſanctified receſſes, we were every where treated with uniform civility. The preſence of thoſe who accompanied us had doubtleſs ſome influence in commanding the awe of the multitude; and if their reſpect was owing to this motive, it ſpeaks highly for the ſtate of their police; but I am inclined alſo to give them credit for a diſpoſition naturally kind and benevolent.

In the afternoon we returned home by the ſame road that we came; and our attention being leſs engaged than in the morning, we had a better opportunity to judge of the form and extent of the fortreſs, as we paſſed along the north ſide, from one end to the other †.

The fort of Ummerapoora is an exact ſquare: there are four principal gates, one in the centre of each face; there is alſo a ſmaller gate on each ſide of the great gate, equidiſtant between it and the angle of the fort, comprizing twelve gates in all. At each angle of the fort there is a large quadrangular baſtion, that projects conſiderably. There are alſo eleven ſmaller baſtions on each ſide, including thoſe that are over the gateways. Between each of theſe baſtions is extended a curtain about two hundred yards long. From this calculation, a ſide of the fort occupies two thouſand four hundred yards; the Birmans, however, called it four thouſand nine hundred royal cubits, which I conceive to be an exaggerated account. Every baſtion and gateway is covered by a tiled roof, ſupported on four pillars of wood, to prevent injury from the lodgement of rain.

At each corner of the fort there is a gilded temple, nearly one hundred feet in height, but ſo inſignificant, comparatively, with thoſe we had juſt ſeen, as not to attract particular notice.

* The reader may ſee a particular account of the chunam and its properties in Dr. Anderſon's "Recreations in Agriculture," &c.

† See a plan of the fort of Ummerapoora in the Map prefixed to this work.

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We could perceive, from our elephants, the roof of a range of buildings in the inside, parallel to the walls, and extending along one entire side of the fort, which our conductors said was the public granary and store-rooms.

We arrived at our grove half an hour after dark, wearied by the heat of the weather and the exercise of the day, but gratified to the highest degree with the multiplicity and extraordinary splendour of the objects we had seen. Much as we had heard of the magnificence of their religious buildings, our expectations had been more than fulfilled. The unbounded expenditure of gilding which they bestow on the outside of the roofs, as well as within, must exhaust immense sums. I was informed that the gold leaf is exceedingly pure, and bears exposure to the air for a long time, without suffering injury. The size or glue used to make it adhere is called seesee: it is the juice of the croton sebiferum, after undergoing a certain preparation. This is the only manner in which a people, naturally frugal and disinclined to luxury, seem to apply their superfluous wealth. It is to be lamented, that their edifices are in general composed of such a perishable material as wood, which, though of the most durable kind perhaps in the world, cannot last for many generations, or leave to posterity a monumental proof of the taste and magnificence of the national architecture.

CHAP. XV. — *Reason to hope for a prosperous Termination of the Embassy: — meet with strenuous Opposition: — on what Grounds. — Vessel arrives at Rangoon from Mauritius. — News from Europe unpleasant: — industriously propagated. — Mr. Wood visits the Woongees: — polite Reception. — Remarkable Circumstance. — Require to know His Majesty's Pleasure. — Day appointed for the Delivery of Presents from the Birman King. — Conversation at the Lotoo. — Arrogance of the Birman Court: — resolve to remonstrate: — uncivil Treatment. — Mr. Wood presents a written and solemn Declaration: — Ferment caused by it: — favourable Conclusion. — A Day appointed for our Reception by the King. — Liberal Return of Presents. — Different Articles. — Proceed to the Palace: — Introduction. — Hall of Audience. — The King: — his Dress: — Person: — Manner: — receive official Papers in the Rhoom. — Formality in conveying the King's Letter. — Return.*

WHILST we were thus passing our time in amusement, and the indulgence of our curiosity, the more important interests of the mission were not forgotten. The council, I was informed, had held frequent deliberations on some general propositions which I had submitted with a view to assist the mercantile interests of the two countries, and place commerce on a liberal and secure basis. I had reason given me to conclude, that my suggestions had met with a favourable reception, and I was likewise informed by an authority which I conceived to be competent, that it was intended to depute a Birman officer of distinction in an official capacity to Bengal, there to confirm, on the part of His Birman Majesty, the good understanding that was henceforth to subsist between the Court of Ummerapoora, and the Government General of India. Assurances of this nature, together with the attention paid to our private accommodation, induced me to hope for a favourable termination of the mission with which I was intrusted.

I soon found, however, that the attainment of these objects, which were obviously calculated to be of reciprocal advantage to British India and the Birman empire, was opposed by the indirect artifices of individuals possessing weight, whose interests might eventually be affected by any innovation, and who on that account sedulously fomented jealousy and distrust. I likewise learned, that the pride of the court had been early

awakened, by a repreſentation, that the government of Bengal being provincial, and the governor-general, from whom I derived my commiſſion, only the ſubject of a king, it would therefore be derogatory to the Birman monarch to treat on terms of equality with an adminiſtration that was ſubordinate, or to correſpond with any perſon beneath the dignity of a crowned head. It is doubtful however whether the Birman court would have manifeſted its ſentiments ſo unequivocally as to draw from me a formal explanation, had not circumſtances ſubſequently occurred, which ſerved to ſtrengthen its arrogance, and gave plauſibility to the repreſentations that had been fabricated to miſlead.

Matters were in this ſtate, when advice came of the arrival of a ſmall veſſel at Rangoon from the Iſle of France, under Birman colours, which brought an unfavourable account of the ſituation of affairs in Europe; exaggerating the diſappointment of the allies on the continent to a total defeat; and adding, that the Dutch and Spaniards having joined the republicans, the utter ruin of the Engliſh was not far diſtant. An obſcure agent maintained at Rangoon by the French, tranſmitted this information to a perſon of ſome official importance at the Birman capital, who immediately promulgated it with an addition, that a powerful fleet was on its voyage from France to India, and that four French ſhips of war were triumphantly cruizing in the Indian ſeas.

This intelligence, which was aſſerted with confidence, was diligently improved by the Armenian and Muſſulman merchants, who inſinuated that, if our preſent overtures ſprung not from treachery, they originated in fear; at the ſame time renewing a report, which had more than once been current, of a combination of all the powers of India to deprive Great Britain of her poſſeſſions in the Eaſt, and to expel all Europeans from thoſe ſhores, which they were repreſented to have firſt viſited as merchants, and afterwards invaded as uſurpers. Although the Birmans probably did not give implicit credit to the laſt mentioned rumour, yet the news from Europe co-operating with their own pride determined them to perſiſt in that arrogant aſſumption of ſuperiority, which had hitherto been manifeſted rather in their actions than by their words.

On the 7th of September, Mr. Wood, in conformity with the inſtructions he received, waited on the two ſenior Woongees, accompanied by Dr. Buchanan, and attended by a proportion of the public ſervants. On his return, he addreſſed an official letter to me, (Appendix, No. I.) by which it appears, that in his reception no part of the reſpect due to his public character was omitted; whilſt in the ſolicitude expreſſed for our perſonal welfare, there was diſplayed the refined politeneſs of a poliſhed court. The converſation that he held with the Woongees was nevertheleſs marked by a circumſtance which ſerved to indicate more pointedly the preciſe line that was intended to be drawn.

On the day of my public introduction at the lotoo, it was an omiſſion too remarkable to eſcape notice, that no enquiry whatever had been made reſpecting the Governor-general of India, nor in the converſations which I afterwards held with the ſeveral Princes was the name of the Governor-general once mentioned by them. Such however was not the caſe at the interview between Mr. Wood and the Woongees; theſe miniſters enquired particularly concerning Sir John Shore, and the younger Woongee deſired to be informed of the extent of the Governor-general's authority, which implied, on his part, either real or aſſumed ignorance. Theſe queſtions alſo, as appears from Mr. Wood's report, did not ariſe from the caſual ſuggeſtion of the moment, but were all preconcerted and methodically arranged; the inferences there-

fore to be deducted from them were grounds on which I might form a judgment; they conveyed something more than a presumption of the real sentiments entertained respecting the delegating authority under which I acted.

There being no plausible pretext for any longer delay, I pressed the Woongees to inform me what His Majesty's pleasure was, regarding the several points which I had submitted to his council; and intimated the necessity I was under of obeying the orders of my own government, by returning as speedily as was consistent with the objects for which I had been deputed. In reply to this application, I was apprized that the presents which His Birman Majesty designed to send to Bengal, in return for those he had received, would be prepared on the 19th of September, on which day, if I would come to the lotoo, they should be delivered to me, matters of business might be discussed, and I might fix on whatever day I thought proper to depart.

With this desire I willingly acquiesced, as affording me an opportunity of requiring to know His Majesty's real sentiments, as well as the motives that on their part gave rise to a conduct of so mysterious a nature.

Nothing passed in the interval, except that I received intimation through a private and respectable channel, that the court, although no objection would be formally stated, had come to a decided resolution of considering me as a person deputed from a provincial and subordinate power, and not as a representative of an equal and sovereign state; and that in pursuance of this estimation His Majesty did not intend to honour me with a personal audience of leave. Of the truth of this information I had no reason to doubt; but before I took any measures to undeceive the court in a public manner, I deemed it expedient to have an assumption so haughty and imperious verified by the highest authority.

On the 19th of September I proceeded to the lotoo, where I arrived about twelve o'clock, and found the council of state already assembled; the ministers and the attendant officers being all dressed in their robes and caps of ceremony. A few minutes after we had taken our seats, the presents were brought, consisting of three large boxes, covered with red cloth, and two elephant's teeth of considerable size. These I was desired to receive, in the name of the Birman King, for the English government: at the same time, two large rings were presented to me; one a single ruby set in gold, the other a sapphire, which I was requested to accept as a personal token of His Majesty's favour: a ring was also given to Mr. Wood, and another to Dr. Buchanan. When this ceremony was ended, I addressed myself in the Birman language to the Woongees, and desired to know whether there were any reasons which applied to my situation, that had induced His Majesty to decline honouring me with a personal audience; which compliment, I understood, was usually paid by their court to the deputies of all sovereign states. To this interrogation I received an equivocal reply; and on repeating it, they persisted in returning an evasive answer. I then desired to be informed, whether or not it was His Majesty's intention to receive me in person, before my departure, as the representative of the Governor-general. This question they said they could not answer, not knowing His Majesty's pleasure. I afterwards asked, whether the King preserved his intention of sending an authorized person from his court to Bengal, as had been intimated to me by what I conceived to be competent authority; and whether the suggestions, which I had submitted for the advancement and protection of commerce, had been taken into consideration. These several points, they said, were then under discussion, and would be speedily determined; they acquainted me at the same time, that if I would fix

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on any preciſe period for my departure, the neceſſary papers and letters ſhould be prepared and delivered to me two days previous to my ſetting out. I mentioned the 3d of October; they replied, that the letters ſhould be in readineſs by what I underſtood to be the 1ſt of October; but by ſome miſapprehenſion was the 30th of September; adding their hope that I would come to town on the 28th of September, the anniverſary of Sandaing-guite, a day on which all the nobility pay homage to His Majeſty. To their invitation I anſwered, that my having that honour muſt depend on circumſtances not yet aſcertained.

This interview left me little room to doubt of the eſtimation in which the Birman court held my public character, notwithſtanding it was judged adviſeable, from motives of policy, to avoid making any direct avowal of ſuch ſentiments. Proceeding upon this plan, they concealed all their acts and determinations with a veil of ambiguity, which it ſometimes was extremely difficult to penetrate.

Pride, the chief actuating principle of this arrogant court, was the ſource to which its conduct, in every tranſaction of a public nature, might ultimately be traced. The firſt object of their government is to impreſs on the minds of the people the moſt reverential awe of their own ſovereign, whoſe greatneſs they do not admit to be equalled by that of any monarch upon earth. Without attempting to diminiſh their veneration for their own Prince, it became my duty, from the mode that was adopted in the diſplay of his conſequence, to acquaint the miniſters, in terms which could not be miſconſtrued, that there was another power, at no great diſtance, which would not readily ſubſcribe to its own inferiority, or admit of any act in its negociations with other ſtates, which might either expreſs or imply an aſſumption of ſuperiority. It became neceſſary to inform them, that the Governor-general of India was not, in his relation to their court, or to that of any other eaſtern potentate, a ſubordinate provincial officer; but a perſonage in whom ſovereign authority over a widely extended empire was efficiently veſted; that, as the repreſentative of ſuch authority, I held an indiſputable claim to whatever conſideration was granted to the miniſters of other nations; and that the withholding it would be accounted an incivility ſo great, as probably to prevent the Engliſh government from making any future advances for the eſtabliſhment of a friendly and confidential intercourſe.

To convey a truth not leſs important for them to know than incumbent on me to declare, I determined to addreſs a letter to the principal Woongee and the council of ſtate, expreſſing my diſſatisfaction at the conduct which the Birman court had thought proper to obſerve in regard to my public character; to require an explanation of thoſe points which comprehended the objects of the embaſſy; and to demand, that I ſhould be received and acknowledged by the King in perſon as the repreſentative of an equal and ſovereign ſtate.

Had there even been room left for me to heſitate upon the adoption of this ſtep, the following circumſtances, which occurred immediately after my interview with the Woongees at the lotoo, would have decided me, in making a public declaration of my ſentiments on a mode of behaviour which exceeded even their uſual extent of official arrogance, and fell little ſhort of perſonal indignity.

The cuſtom, which impoſes an obligation on a foreign miniſtry, to pay a mark of reſpect by a trifling preſent to each member of the royal family to whom he is introduced, has already been noticed: this compliment I offered in perſon to the ſeveral Princes on the days of my preſentation; and, in order to manifeſt that it was not my deſire to withhold any attention conſiſtent with my ſituation to grant, ſoon after the viſits of ceremony were ended, I had directed my Moonſhee, or Perſian

ſecretary, to wait on each of the miniſters and the principal officers of the court, and requeſt in my name their acceptance of ſome rarity, the produce of Europe or of India. The gift to each individual was very trifling; a few yards of European broad cloth, an article of cut-glaſs, a piece of Bengal muſlin or of ſilk, was received as a polite and handſome teſtimonial of a friendly diſpoſition. Theſe civilities, I was informed, were, by a ſpecial mandate, ordered to be returned, by every perſon to whom the attention had been ſhewn, in ſome production of the Birman country, and of value equal to what had been beſtowed.

It being expected that I ſhould wait on the royal Princes to receive in perſon the remuneration which they deſigned to make for the preſents they had obtained, I ſent, on the 21ſt of September, a meſſage to the Engy Teekien, to acquaint him that, if it ſuited his convenience, I would pay my reſpects to him the following day, or poſtpone my viſit to any other that he might think proper to appoint: I likewiſe diſpatched a meſſenger with a ſimilar notification to the Prince of Prome. From the firſt I received a civil reply, excuſing himſelf from ſeeing me on account of the indiſpoſition of the Princeſs, who had lately been brought to bed; but acquainting me, that if I choſe to attend, the preſents for the Engliſh government would be delivered to me in the rhoom of his palace, or to any perſon whom I might appoint to receive them. I replied, that being debarred of the honour of ſeeing him, I would depute Mr. Wood to accept his preſents in the name of the Governor-general of India; from the Prince of Prome I had not the honour of an anſwer.

On the 22d, Mr. Wood waited on the Engy Teekien, and was received with much civility at the rhoom by his miniſters; the preſents were formally produced, and conveyed to our reſidence by the Prince's ſervants. As the Prince of Prome had not returned an anſwer to my meſſage, I imagined that ſome miſapprehenſion had occurred. Being deſirous of appearing to put the moſt favourable conſtruction on every part of their conduct, I requeſted Mr. Wood to ſend a meſſenger, when he went to the houſe of the Engy Teekien, to apprize the Prince of Prome that he meant afterwards to pay his reſpects to him. To this intimation was returned what Mr. Wood conſidered a ſatisfactory reply: and as ſoon as the firſt viſit was ended, he proceeded to the Prince of Prome's palace, where the treatment he received was extremely rude; after ſtanding for ſome time at the outer gate, expoſed to the ſun, he was informed that the Prince was not at home.

However deficient the members of the royal family might be in politeneſs to me, I determined not to ſuffer their example to influence my conduct towards them, or to neglect any mark of deference that was due to their illuſtrious rank. Meedaw Praw, the mother of the Queen, being a perſonage venerable from her age, and dignified from her high connections; her behaviour alſo on our introduction having been diſtinguiſhed by affability and politeneſs; I was, for theſe reaſons, deſirous of paying ſuch a character particular reſpect; and with that view ſent a complimentary meſſage to her, ſimilar to that which had been delivered to the two Princes: ſhe returned, in anſwer, that the next day would be perfectly convenient to her for my reception. I likewiſe intimated to the younger Princes my intention of paying them a viſit, to which they replied by a verbal compliment.

On the next day, the 23d, I proceeded in form to the houſe of Meedaw Praw at the appointed hour, and was received with ſufficient politeneſs by her Woon, or principal officer; there were ſeveral perſons of rank aſſembled in the hall when I entered. After we had been ſeated about a quarter of an hour, a perſon came forth from the inner apartment, and informed us that the Princeſs had gone to the palace

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to ſee the Queen her daughter, but would return in a few minutes. This I thought rather an extraordinary ſtep, as ſhe herſelf had determined the preciſe time when I was to come. Theſe minutes, however, were protracted to an hour: in the interval, pawn, fruit, and ſweetmeats were ſerved up. At length, when her miniſters perceived that my patience was exhauſted, and I would wait no longer, a meſſage was delivered to me from the Princeſs, excuſing her non-appearance on a plea of indiſpoſition; at the ſame time three gold rings, ſet with rubies and ſapphires, and ſeveral boxes, handſomely japanned and painted, were laid before me, and my acceptance of them deſired. A conduct marked by ſuch deliberate unpoliteneſs would have juſtified retaliation on my part, by a contemptuous rejection of her preſents; I however refrained from any farther indication of diſpleaſure, than withdrawing unceremoniouſly, without taking any notice of the boxes or rings, which were immediately conveyed to my reſidence by her ſervants. Having reaſon to apprehend that the junior Princes meant to obſerve a ſimilar line of conduct, I declined viſiting them, but ſent Mr. Wood to go through the ceremony of calling at their ſeparate houſes. As was expected, he ſaw not one of the Princes, but was received by their Woons, who, though they carefully refrained from abſolute rudeneſs, yet evinced in their conduct the utmoſt arrogance, under the cloak of ſupercilious civility.

Such ſtrange and unwarrantable inſolence could not be meaſured by any ſcale of true policy, and was hardly to be reconciled to reaſon or common ſenſe; nor could any part of their conduct be laid to the account of ignorance; for no people on earth better underſtand, or more pointedly obſerve, the minute punctilios of official form. No candid and determinate reply could be extorted from them on any point in which their vanity was concerned: what their court intended to concede, I underſtood, was to be granted, not as an equivalent for reciprocal privileges on our part, but as a boon, as an act of gratuitous condeſcenſion to me, in the character of a petitioner, bearing the tribute of homage from an inferior ſtate. Without the hardineſs to avow theſe principles, which a ſenſe of Britiſh power, and the proximity of the country, probably ſuppreſſed, they nevertheleſs acted upon them as an aſſumed fact, with a view to gratify their own pride, elude diſagreeable explanations, and reap all the advantages derivable from an intercourſe with Britiſh India, to which they certainly were far from being averſe, provided the correſpondence could be maintained upon their own terms.

In purſuance of my determination, I addreſſed the letter (Appendix, No. II.) to the chief Woongee and council of ſtate; and, to give it all the publicity that ſuch a declaration ought to have, I ſent Mr. Wood to deliver it in perſon to the miniſter, directing him afterwards to wait on the two junior Woongees, and apprize them formally of my having written a letter of ſuch a tenour.

Nor did I reſolve on this meaſure without maturely conſidering the effect it was likely to produce, as well as the neceſſity in which it originated. The court had evidently been embarraſſed, in the firſt ſtages of the buſineſs, and was undetermined in what manner to act; to this irreſolution I aſcribe the petty artifice of miſinforming me in matters of fact. The accounts from Europe certainly had great weight in influencing their conduct, and thoſe could only be diſcredited by my holding higher language than before: to have acquieſced in ſilence would have been conſtrued into at leaſt a preſumptive evidence of our weakneſs, whilſt the ſlight that was attempted to be caſt on the authority delegated to me, left no alternative but to endeavour to remove it by a temperate remonſtrance, ſuch as my letter was intended to convey, or to decline any further communication, and withdraw without ceremony. This

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latter ſtep was not to be taken under any provocation ſhort of perſonal injury, than which I believe nothing was farther from their intention. To enhance their own importance by the unworthy mode of leſſening that of others, ſeemed to be the ſole motive that actuated them, and which, as far as related to the government that I repreſented, it was clearly my duty to oppoſe.

My letter was written in the Engliſh and the Perſian languages* ; the intervention of holidays prevented the delivery of it before the 26th, when Mr. Wood waited on the principal Woongee, and preſented it in form ; he afterwards called upon the junior Woongees, and acquainted them of his having laid before the ſenior an addreſs which required their ſerious conſideration.

I imagine, that if this explicit avowal of my ſentiments had been made previouſly to our laſt-mentioned viſits to the members of the royal family, we ſhould have had leſs cauſe to complain of incivility. Such language, I believe, was not expected ; the court had aſſured itſelf that the ſtate of our affairs in Europe and in India was ſo critical, that we would tolerate yet greater arrogance of manner, rather than hazard the interruption of intercourſe, and give our enemies the advantage of an alliance which the native vanity of the Birmans rendered them not unwilling to over-rate.

Information was conveyed to me from a reſpectable quarter, that the fermentation which my remonſtrance excited in the council of the lotoo was by no means moderate : the Woongees, I was told, were divided in their opinions ; the diſcuſſion continued till twelve o'clock on the night of the 27th, when the reſult of their deliberations was laid before the King.

Whatever might have been their ſeparate ſentiments, the ultimate deciſion was temperate and wiſe. I was apprized late on the evening of the 28th, by a verbal communication from the Maywoon of Pegue, that on the day appointed for the delivery of the reply to the Governor-general's letter, I ſhould be formally received at the palace of the King, who would grant me a perſonal audience in the character to which I laid claim, and that the propoſitions which I had ſuggeſted, for the regulation and encouragement of commerce, had for the moſt part received His Majeſty's approbation.

I expreſſed, in anſwer, the ſatisfaction I felt from hearing a reſolution ſo creditable to themſelves ; but added, that as the letter I had written was a public and ſolemn declaration, I ſhould require more than a verbal aſſurance, before I could conſiſtently ſubject myſelf to a repetition of former diſappointments, and requeſted that he would take the trouble to reduce his obliging meſſage to writing : with this he readily complied by a ſhort note written in the Birman language.

The form of receiving the preſents, which were brought to me as a return for thoſe that had been given, occupied a conſiderable portion of the laſt days. One of

* It afforded me particular ſatisfaction to know, that the full purport and expreſſion of my letter could not fail to be conveyed, through the channel of either of theſe languages, to the Birman court. The Armenian interpreter of Engliſh, who had ſpent the greater part of his life in the Birman country, was a man eminently qualified for the taſk : he ſpoke, read, and wrote Engliſh, ſuperior to any perſon I ever knew who had not been in Great Britain. It is a ſingular fact, that the firſt verſion of the late Sir William Jones's Tranſlation of the Inſtitutes of Hindoo Law, ſhould be made in the Birman language. When I arrived at Ummerapoora, the Armenian had juſt completed the work, by command of His Birman Majeſty. This circumſtance offers no mean proof of the liberal and enlightened policy of a Prince, who, ſuperior to general prejudice, was willing to ſeek for information through a medium by which few other nations of the Eaſt will condeſcend to accept of knowledge, however beneficial the attainment might prove to themſelves.

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the three boxes that had been ſent by the King contained amber in large pieces, uncommonly pure; another, a maſs of ſtone of conſiderable ſize, in appearance reſembling the chryſopraſe; and the third, a large and beautiful group of cryſtals, riſing from a matrix of amethyſt, in the form of priſms, moſtly hexagonal or pentagonal, ſlightly ſtriated on the ſurface, and terminated at one end by a pyramid compoſed of three rhomboidal planes. It was a very curious production of nature, and doubtleſs, coming from ſuch a quarter, muſt have been accounted of great value. The preſent from the Engy Teekien conſiſted of ſix ruby and ſapphire rings, two elephant's teeth, ſeveral japanned boxes, and three horſes, ſmall, like all thoſe which the country produces, but extremely well formed; two were piebald, to match in a carriage; and the other was a bright bay. The principal Queen alſo, whoſe title is Nandoh Praw, and the ſecond Queen, called Myack Nandoh, ſent their ſeparate offerings, and added to ſeveral rings and ſpecimens of japanned ware, ſome handſome articles of plate, two large beetle-boxes, of emboſſed ſilver, two trays and two drinking cups of the ſame metal, the workmanſhip of which did not afford a favourable proof of the ſkill of their artiſts. Retributary donations were now brought in troubleſome abundance from every individual to whom the ſmalleſt gratification had been given; and in ſome inſtances the return far exceeded in value what had been received: my houſe was encumbered with all ſorts of Birman utenſils in painted and japanned ware, ſeveral of which were by no means of a portable ſize. I was alſo preſented with pieces of ſilk and cotton cloth, of different dimenſions and quality, in number not leſs than eighty or a hundred; alſo elephant's teeth, amber wrought into beads, fifty or ſixty pieces of plate formed into beetle-boxes, mugs, ſpitting-pots and cups; precious ſtones too conſtituted a very general gift, chiefly rubies and ſapphires in their native ſtate, rudely ſet in gold. I received from various perſons nearly a hundred of theſe ſtones, few of which were valuable, though ſome of the ſapphires, on being poliſhed by a lapidary, proved to have a very fine water. I muſt not, however, omit mentioning a beautiful ſpecimen of filagree, in a large ſilver beetle-box, which was preſented to me by one of the Attawoons; the workmanſhip was minutely delicate, and exquiſitely finiſhed; and, in order to enhance the value of the gift, the donor, with a politeneſs that could not be ſurpaſſed in any court, had his title engraven in Engliſh letters on the ſide of the box: a compliment ſo handſomely conveyed demanded my beſt acknowledgments, and I regretted exceedingly that the official character which I held denied me the perſonal acquaintance of this miniſter, as well as of ſome others, with whom I ſhould have been happy, under any other circumſtances, to have cultivated an intimacy.

On the 30th of September, the day appointed by His Birman Majeſty to receive the Engliſh gentlemen in the character of an imperial deputation, we croſſed the lake at ten o'clock in the morning, attended by our cuſtomary ſuite, and accompanied by Baba-Sheen and ſeveral Birman officers. We entered the fort, as uſual, by the weſtern gate, when, inſtead of paſſing, as on former occaſions, along the north ſide of the encloſure of the palace, to reach the ſtreet leading down to the lotoo, we now proceeded round by the ſouth, and in this new direction obſerved many more houſes of diſtinguiſhed ſtructure than by the other route. In our way we paſſed through a ſhort ſtreet, entirely compoſed of ſaddlers' and harneſs makers' ſhops. On alighting, we were conducted into the rhoom, to wait there until the Engy Teekien ſhould arrive, which he did preciſely at the hour of twelve. Several Chobwas, who were to be introduced on this day, had taken their ſeats in the rhoom

before we entered; each of them held a piece of ſilk or cotton cloth in his lap, deſigned, according to the eſtabliſhed etiquette, as a propitiatory offering to His Majeſty; and on the cloth was placed a ſaucer, containing a ſmall quantity of unboiled rice, which it ſeems is an indiſpenſable part of the ceremony. The Birman cuſtom differs in this particular from the uſage of Hindoſtan: a perſon, on his preſentation at the imperial court of Delhi, offers to the ſovereign an odd number of the gold coin commonly called Mohurs*, an even number being conſidered as inauſpicious; but the court of Ummerapoora, with a more delicate refinement, never permits an offering in money, but requires from a foreigner ſomething of the produce of his country, and from a ſubject ſome article of manufacture. The donation of rice is not, as in India, when preſented by Brahmins to the incarnations of Viſhnu, meant as an acknowledgment of divine attributes, but is merely deſigned as a recognition of the power of the monarch, and an acknowledgment of the property of the ſoil being veſted in him; a truth which is expreſſively declared, by offering him its moſt uſeful production. During our continuance in the rhoom, tea was ſerved to us; and when we advanced to the outer gate, we were not obliged to put off our ſhoes, but were permitted to wear them until we had reached the inner incloſure that ſeparates the court of the lotoo from that of the royal palace, within which not any nobleman of the court is allowed to go with his feet covered. There is a double partition wall dividing the two courts, with an intervening ſpace of ten or twelve feet, through which a gallery leads, that is appropriated excluſively to the uſe of the King when he chuſes to preſide in perſon in the lotoo.

On entering the gate, we perceived the royal ſaloon of ceremony in front of us, and the court aſſembled in all the parade of pomp and decoration. It was an open hall, ſupported by colonnades of pillars twenty in length, and only four in depth: we were conducted into it by a flight of ſteps, and, advancing, took our places next the ſpace oppoſite to the throne, which is always left vacant, as being in full view of His Majeſty. On our entrance, the baſement of the throne, as at the lotoo, was alone viſible, which we judged to be about five feet high; folding doors ſcreened the ſeat from our view. The throne, called Yazapalay, was richly gilded and carved; on each ſide a ſmall gallery, incloſed by a gilt baluſtrade, extended a few feet to the right and left, containing four umbrellas of ſtate; and on two tables, at the foot of the throne, were placed ſeveral large veſſels of gold, of various forms, and for different purpoſes: immediately over the throne, a ſplendid piaſath roſe in ſeven ſtages above the roofs of the building, crowned by a tee, or umbrella, from which a ſpiral rod was elevated above the whole.

We had been ſeated little more than a quarter of an hour, when the folding doors that concealed the ſeat opened with a loud noiſe, and diſcovered his Majeſty aſcending a flight of ſteps that led up to the throne from the inner apartment: he advanced but ſlowly, and ſeemed not to poſſeſs a free uſe of his limbs, being obliged to ſupport himſelf with his hands on the baluſtrade. I was informed, however, that this appearance of weakneſs did not proceed from any bodily infirmity, but from the weight of the regal habiliments in which he was clad; and if what we were told was true, that he carried on his dreſs fifteen viſs, upwards of fifty pounds avoirdupois of gold, his difficulty of aſcent was not ſurpriſing. On reaching the top he ſtood for a minute, as

* Mohur is a corrupt name given by Europeans to this coin. Aſhurfi is its proper term; Pagoda likewiſe, as applied to a coin, is an illegitimate word, of which the natives know nothing except on the authority of their conquerors.

though to take breath, and then ſat down on an embroidered cuſhion with his legs inverted. His crown was a high conical cap, richly ſtudded with precious ſtones; his fingers were covered with rings; and in his dreſs he bore the appearance of a man caſed in golden armour, whilſt a gilded, or probably a golden wing on each ſhoulder, did not add much lightneſs to his figure. His looks denoted him to be between fifty and ſixty years old, of a ſtrong make, in ſtature rather beneath the middle height, with hard features and of a dark complexion; yet the expreſſion of his countenance was not unpleaſing, and ſeemed, I thought, to indicate an intelligent and inquiring mind.

On the firſt appearance of His Majeſty, all the courtiers bent their bodies, and held their hands joined in an attitude of ſupplication. Nothing farther was required of us, than to lean a little forward, and to turn in our legs as much as we could; not any act being ſo unpolite, or contrary to etiquette, as to preſent the ſoles of the feet towards the face of a dignified perſon. Four Bramins, dreſſed in white caps and gowns, chanted the uſual prayer at the foot of the throne: a Nakhaan then advanced into the vacant ſpace before the King, and recited in a muſical cadence the name of each perſon who was to be introduced on that day, and of whoſe preſent, in the character of a ſuppliant, he entreated His Majeſty's acceptance. My offering conſiſted of two pieces of Benares gold brocade; Doctor Buchanan and Mr. Wood each preſented one. When our names were mentioned, we were ſeparately deſired to take a few grains of rice in our hands, and, joining them, to bow to the King as low as we conveniently could, with which we immediately complied. When this ceremony was finiſhed, the King uttered a few indiſtinct words, to convey, as I was informed, an order for inveſting ſome perſons preſent with the inſignia of a certain degree of nobility: the imperial mandate was inſtantly proclaimed aloud by heralds in the court. His Majeſty remained only a few minutes longer, and during that time looked at us attentively, but did not honour us with any verbal notice, or ſpeak at all, except to give the order before mentioned. When he roſe to depart, he manifeſted the ſame ſigns of infirmity as on his entrance; after he had withdrawn, the folding doors were cloſed, and the court broke up.

In deſcending, we took notice of two pieces of cannon, apparently nine-pounders, which were placed in the court, on either ſide of the ſtairs, to defend the entrance of the palace. Sheds protected them from the weather, and they were gilded all over: a royal carriage alſo was in waiting, of curious workmanſhip, and ornamented with a royal ſpire: there was a pair of horſes harneſſed to it, whoſe trappings gliſtened in the ſun.

We returned as uſual to the rhoom, where I underſtood that the letter from the King to the Governor-general of India was to be preſented to me, together with ſome other documents that comprehended the objects of the embaſſy. Soon after the members of the royal family had aſcended their elephants, the expected letter was brought from the lotoo on a tray, borne by a Nakhaan, incloſed in a caſe of wood japanned and covered with a ſcarlet cloth. The mode of offering it was not, I conceived, quite ſo ceremonious as the occaſion ſeemed to require; and the officer who was charged with the delivery indicated a reluctance to ſay that it was a letter from the King to the Governor-general of India. This circumſtance produced ſome difficulty, as, without being diſtinctly informed to whom the letter was directed, I declined accepting it. At length the interpreter, finding I would not receive it on other terms, delivered it in a ſuitable manner, with a declaration that it was a reply from his Birman Majeſty to the letter of the Britiſh Governor-general of India, and that a copy of a royal man-

date was annexed to it, granting to the Engliſh nation certain valuable immunities and privileges of trade.

Whilſt we were in the outer court, or that in which the lotoo is ſituated, we had an opportunity of viewing the immenſe piece of ordnance found in the fortreſs of Arracan when captured by the Engy Teekien, which was afterwards conveyed by water to adorn the capital of the conqueror, where it is now preſerved as a trophy, and is highly honoured, being gilded, and covered by a roof of a dignified order. It is formed of braſs, rudely manufactured; the length is thirty feet, the diameter at the muzzle two and a half, and the calibre meaſured ten inches; it is mounted on a low truck carriage ſupported by ſix wheels; near it lay a long rammer and ſponge ſtaff, and we perceived ſeveral ſhot made of hewn ſtone fitted to the calibre. It is remarkable, that moſt of the ſpoils which had been brought from Arracan were made of braſs; the image of Gaudma, the lions, the demons, and the gun, all tranſported from thence, are compoſed of that metal.

The diſcuſſion, on the ceremony of delivering the letter, being ended, we returned home, preceded by a Miouferee, or inferior ſecretary, on horſeback, bearing in due form the royal letter, and dreſſed in his cap and gown of office. When we had reached our reſidence, I immediately addreſſed the chief miniſter, to requeſt an official tranſlation of the letter in the Perſian language, alſo of the paper annexed to it; obſerving, that as public interpreters of that tongue were appointed by the court, and it being well underſtood by ſeveral perſons reſident at Ummerapoora, a medium of intercourſe could never be wanting, which would be equally intelligible and convenient to their government and to mine. Within two days I received a notification, that His Majeſty had given orders to ſupply me with the tranſlation I required.

CHAP. XVI. *Subſtance of official Papers. — Prepare to depart. — Chineſe Deputies: — take Leave preparatory to their Return. — Birman Books: — ſold clandeſtinely to Strangers. — A Man impriſoned. — Liberal Conduct of the Court. — Siameſe Painter. — Birman Feſtival: — the Court of the Queen attended by all the Women of Rank. — Illuminations. — Unceremonious Viſit to the Engy Teekien. — Embark on board our Boats: — delayed. — Letter from the principal Woongee to the Governor-General of India. — Ill Treatment ſuffered by one of our People. — Inſolence of the Followers of the Prince of Tongho. — Leave Ummerapoora. — Viſit Chagaing. — Deſcription of the Fort. — Oderua, or Pot Village. — Kieock, the great Manufactory of Birman Idols. — Temple of Commodoo Praw. — Fireworks. — Rockets of Extraordinary Magnitude. — Chagaing, an Emporium of Cotton. — Ancient Ava. — Temple of Logatherpoo Praw. — Stupendous Idol. — Sandaht, or Elephant Town. — Keenduem River. — Nioundoh. — Pegahm. — Civility of the Mioudogee, or Deputy Governor. — Ride to view the Ruins. — Curious Temple. — Art of turning Arches — loſt by the Birmans. — Reach the Town of Sillah Mew.*

THE intervention of holidays, together with the unavoidable delays of office, protracted the delivery of the Perſian tranſlations until the 14th of October; on which day the papers, properly authenticated, were brought from the lotoo, and delivered to me by an officer of government. In tranſlating theſe documents, I carefully collated the Perſian verſion with the Birman original, which I was enabled to do by the aſſiſtance of perſons on the ſpot who underſtood both languages, and found the Perſian to be as literal a tranſlation as the different idioms would admit.

The letter of his Birman Majeſty to the governor-general (Appendix, No. III.) is a curious ſpecimen of the extravagant phraſeology of oriental compoſition: a great part of it is the diction of the miniſter, which may be conſidered as the preamble of the letter. In this portion are enumerated the royal titles, the honours conferred on the Britiſh repreſentative, and the preſents that were delivered; it next details the heads of certain propoſitions, which I had made with a view to advance the commercial intereſts of both nations; His Majeſty then ſpeaks in his own perſon, and, in the pompous ſtyle of an order, ratifies immunities of conſiderable importance to Britiſh merchants and mariners.

The paper which accompanied the letter (Appendix, No. IV.) is an order delivered by the principal Woongee to carry into effect the imperial mandate, and is addreſſed to the Maywoon of Pegue in particular, as holding the juriſdiction of Rangoon, and to the governors of ſea-port towns in general. It however became neceſſary, in order to give full operation to His Majeſty's good intentions, to obtain ſeveral ſubſidiary papers, which, by expreſſing in clear detail the regular dues of government, and ſpecifying the authorized perquiſites of office, might prevent in future any arbitrary exactions, and put an end to impoſitions which had long been practiſed on Britiſh merchants trading to Birman ports, from whom loud complaints had at different times reached the ſupreme government. Theſe papers I found no difficulty in obtaining: it was determined by them, that all goods of Europe and Britiſh India manufacture, imported in Britiſh ſhips, ſhould be ſubject to a duty of ten per cent. to the King; the price of anchorage and pilotage, for ſhips of every rate, was determined; the fees of the provincial and port officers, charges for warehouſe room, for interpreters and clearance, the cuſtoms to be levied at each houſe of collection on goods conveying up the river, were accurately defined; and teak timber, to us by far the moſt valuable commodity which the country produces, was ordered to pay a duty of five per cent. *ad valorem*, at whatever port it might be ſhipped, and all further exactions on that article were prohibited. The ſeveral demands of the port and provincial officers on the maſters of ſhips, which had heretofore been paid in rouni, or pure ſilver, were directed to be taken in the currency of the place, which, at Rangoon, is mowadzo, or ſilver depreciated twenty-five per cent.

Theſe regulations, expreſſed in ſeparate inſtruments with clearneſs and preciſion, were equally liberal and ſatisfactory; and, on the part of the Birman government, were voluntarily granted, from a conviction of the equity on which they were founded, and the reciprocal advantages they were likely to produce. From two propoſitions which I offered, the court thought proper to withhold its acquieſcence; but it certainly was the intention of the King and his chief miniſters, that the articles which were thus conceded ſhould be carried into complete effect. Intercourſe, however, was not yet perfectly eſtabliſhed; many obſtacles ſtill impeded the way; the road was only opened, and ſucceſs depended on the diſcretion of thoſe who ſhould firſt purſue the track that was now pointed out.

Having thus obtained the objects for which I had been deputed, to an extent that equalled my utmoſt expectation, I prepared to depart. The waters of the great river had been ſubſiding for ſome time, by which the lake became ſo much reduced, that boats of burthen were obliged to leave it, and moor in the ſtream, the bar of ſand at the entrance of the lake being almoſt dry in the fair ſeaſon. The vaſt ſheet of water, which, by taking a circuitous direction, had, on our firſt arrival, induced us to conclude that we were on an iſland, was now diminiſhed to an inconſiderable ſurface, and left a large portion of land, which had recently been covered, in a ſtate adapted for the

the cultivation of rice. We obſerved the peaſants induſtriouſly employed in turning up the oozy ſoil, preparatory to the reception of ſeed; and it was now manifeſt, that the place of our reſidence, which, from the encroachment of the periodical waters, we had conſidered as low, was in fact an elevated and commanding ſituation.

Early in October, the Chineſe deputies, having fulfilled their diplomatic miſſion, left the grove, to return to their native country. They embarked on board commodious boats, in which I underſtood they were to travel for three weeks, and afterwards proſecute their route by land, until they got into the heart of the Chineſe dominions, where water carriage is facilitated by numerous canals. They expected to find the cold intenſe before their arrival at Pekin; a journey which they ſtated would require three months to perform. I preſented the ſenior, at his laſt viſit to me, with a wrapper of Engliſh broadcloth, which he remarked would be more comfortable in his journey among the cold hills of China, in the month of December, than his own garments of ſilk quilted with cotton. He apologized for not having any thing better to give me in return than ſome pieces of ſilk and a few fans; but his ſon, a promiſing youth of ſeventeen, who attended his father in quality of page, and who had been on more familiar terms with us than the natural gravity and public character of the ſeniors would allow to them, came to take leave of me juſt before his embarkation, and, obſerving that he ſhould probably never ſee me again, entreated my acceptance of his pillow and his purſe, as memorials of the ſon of Keeloree*. When I heſitated in receiving what were conveniencies to him, but uſeleſs to me, he ſeemed ſo much hurt, that I could not wound the feelings of the ingenuous youth, by rejecting his artleſs token of good will. I had given him at different times a few trifling gratifications, and he could not reconcile himſelf to depart without making ſome return. His pillow was a light lacquered box, about eighteen inches long, circular at top, and covered with a caſe of ſilk, ſo thickly quilted with cotton as to render it ſoft. In a box of this ſort, a Chineſe, when he makes a journey, uſually carries all his valuables; though unprovided with a lock, it is not eaſy to be opened, and the caſe is cloſely buttoned: thus a traveller ſecures all his property by ſleeping on it. This box was not empty; it contained the purſe † before mentioned, a ſteel and flint to light fire, and a bracelet and ring of agate, which the donor aſſured me were endued with certain cabaliſtic virtues, to protect the poſſeſſor from the perils of the road.

During the time that matters of buſineſs were under diſcuſſion, and the neceſſary papers preparing, Mr. Wood employed his leiſure hours in digeſting his ſurvey of the river, and in making aſtronomical obſervations; whilſt Doctor Buchanan, ever aſſiduous in the purſuit of knowledge, proſecuted botanical inquiries, and collected general information from every acceſſible ſource. Among other things, books in the Birman tongue were brought to him for ſale, on which the owners put what ſeemed to be a very exorbitant price; and, either from real or pretended apprehenſion, theſe venders of Birman literature always produced their wares in a clandeſtine manner; aſſigning as a reaſon, that if any perſon were diſcovered to have ſold books to a foreigner without permiſſion, he would be liable to a ſevere penalty. This aſſertion we were at firſt inclined to conſider rather as a pretext for enhancing the demand, than as founded on fact: one day, however, we underſtood that a man had actually been impriſoned for an offence of this nature, and was likely to ſuffer puniſhment.

* This I conceive to be rather a title than his real name.

† This purſe bore an exact reſemblance to the repreſentation in Sir George Staunton's work of the purſe which His Imperial Majeſty of China preſented to the ambaſſador's page, when the Britiſh embaſſy was formally introduced.

I immediately ſent a meſſage to the chief Woongee, apprizing him of the circumſtance, and deſiring to know whether it was illegal to ſell books to us; that if their law prohibited it, I ſhould reject ſuch as in future might be brought, and direct every perſon under my authority to do the ſame. The Woongee returned a civil meſſage, and the man was ſet at liberty. His Majeſty, being made acquainted with the affair, ſummoned, on the following day, the principal Rhahaans to attend his council, and ſubmitted to them, whether or not it was conſiſtent with Birman tenets, to grant books that treated of their hiſtory and laws to foreigners. The conclave, I was told, after ſolemn deliberation, determined in the affirmative; and added, that it was not only admiſſible, but laudable, for the diſſemination of knowledge. His Majeſty was thereupon pleaſed to order a handſome copy of the Razawayn, or Hiſtory of their Kings, and of the Dhermaſath, or Code of Laws, to be delivered to me from the royal library: each was contained in one large volume, written in a beautiful manner, and handſomely adorned with painting and gilding.

My Bengal draftsman, whoſe labours were principally dictated by Dr. Buchanan in the delineation of plants, met at Ummerapoora with a brother artiſt in a Siameſe painter, who was employed by the court. This man, though not ſo ſkilful as the perſon in my ſervice, was nevertheleſs of much utility; he furniſhed me with ſeveral drawings, deſcriptive of the coſtume of the country, which, though executed with little taſte, were finiſhed with the moſt perfect fidelity. Among other things, he brought me a repreſentation of the Shoepaundogee, or royal barge uſed by the King when he goes in ſtate on the water; the painter reported, that the length of the veſſel was a hundred cubits (more than one hundred and fifty feet): I ſaw it through a glaſs, but at too great a diſtance to obſerve more than the elevated ſtern, the royal piaſath in the centre, which occupied the place of a maſt, and the ſplendour of the gilding, with which it was entirely covered. The King poſſeſſes a great variety of boats: ſome of them we had an opportunity of viewing, but the Shoepaundogee is by far the moſt magnificent.

The Birman month of Sandaingguite, which had juſt expired, is a ſeaſon of univerſal feſtivity and rejoicing, and on the three terminating days ſolemn homage is paid to the King, to the Engy Teekien, and to the principal Queen. At the court of the latter, all the wives and daughters of the nobles pay their reſpects, unaccompanied by their huſbands or any male attendants; and in this aſſembly as much ſtate and ceremony are obſerved as at the court of His Majeſty. The rank, which each lady bears in right of her huſband, is expreſſed by her dreſs and ornaments; female priority being not leſs ſcrupulouſly maintained, than precedency amongſt men. We regretted extremely that their cuſtoms did not allow us to attend the Queen's court, in the ſame manner as that of her illuſtrious mother. Age and widowhood, it ſeems, gave the latter a privilege of receiving viſits from the other ſex, without violating decorum or incurring reproach.

During the fifteen days of this "decreaſing moon," the city was illuminated every night; lanterns made of different coloured tranſparent paper were ſuſpended from bamboo ſcaffolds, and diſpoſed in various ſhapes, which produced a pleaſing effect when ſeen from our reſidence on the oppoſite ſide of the lake. The ſuperior brilliancy of the lights at the palace was diſtinguiſhable above the reſt. The Birmans are ſingularly expert in the diſplay of fire-works of every deſcription.

On the 13th of October, I received a verbal meſſage from the Engy Teekien, that he ſhould be glad to ſee me on the following day, when he meant to lay aſide the parade

parade of ſtate, and honour me with an unceremonious reception. I embraced with pleaſure an opportunity of an interview unincumbered with the formalities of regal pomp, and, accompanied by a few attendants, proceeded on horſeback to his palace at the appointed time. As ſoon as my arrival was announced, I was immediately introduced without the previous ceremony of waiting in the rhoom. On this occaſion he did not, as formerly, exhibit himſelf from a caſement window like a pagod, but was ſeated at the upper end of the hall, upon a couch richly adorned with the cuſtomary ornaments. His dreſs was very ſimple; he wore a white veſt of fine muſlin, with a lower garment of ſilk, and his head was bound with an embroidered fillet. Several perſonages of rank were preſent, habited alſo in a plain manner, but diſtinguiſhed by their gold tzaloe, or chain of nobility. The deportment of the Prince at this interview was perfectly frank, and free from oſtentation; I was diſappointed, however, in his converſation; I expected that he would, by enquiring into the ſtate of the Britiſh provinces, and the cauſes of their proſperity, have ſought for information that might hereafter prove beneficial to the country over which he is one day preſumptively to reign. His diſcourſe took a quite different turn; he aſked only frivolous queſtions, and endeavoured to amuſe me by the prattle of two ſprightly children, his daughters. Half an hour having been ſpent in this trifling manner, I withdrew, and paid a viſit to the Maywoon of Pegue, who told me that it was his intention to accompany us back to Rangoon, where he would order every neceſſary to be provided for our convenience and accommodation.

The diſtance to which our boats were obliged to remove, rendered the tranſportation of our baggage a work of labour: after conveying it acroſs the lake, it was to be laden on carts, and drawn for two miles over what was now a plain of ſand, but at the time of our arrival had been a wide ſheet of water, navigated by veſſels of conſiderable burthen. The communication between the lake and the river was now completely cloſed.

On the 23d of October we began to ſend off our heavieſt articles. The commiſſary, or kyewoon, had taken care to provide a carriage and labourers, the expence of which we were not ſuffered to defray; what I gave to the people, was conſidered as a private gratification.

Having embarked moſt of our baggage, Mr. Wood and Dr. Buchanan, with a proportion of the attendants, left me early on the 25th, to go on board the boats: I remained until evening waiting for ſome papers which I expected from the city. Horſes were in readineſs for us to mount, on the oppoſite ſide of the lake.

On leaving Tounzemahn, as the boat puſhed from the ſhore, I looked back with pleaſure at the grove, under the ſhade of which we had reſided, and bade a glad but not unthankful adieu to an habitation where I had experienced kind hoſpitality, and ſpent three months in a manner that could not fail to impreſs me with a laſting recollection of the ſcene. To be placed in ſo ſingular and intereſting a ſituation, cannot often occur; nor can the images created by it be eaſily obliterated from the mind.

Riding acroſs the plain over which I had lately ſailed, I perceived that part of it was already under tillage, but the largeſt portion was left for paſture. During the inundation, canoes navigated between the houſes of the lower ſuburbs of the city, and all communication was maintained by water; but carts now plied in duſty lanes, and the foundations of the buildings were at leaſt fifteen feet above the level of the river. Our boats were at a creek called Sakyingua, where a number of trading veſſels

veſſels were alſo moored, ſome of them of conſiderable burthen. The noiſe of the boat-men on the bank, and the ſmoke from the fires which they made, rendered the ſituation by no means agreeable.

Various cauſes conſpired to detain us at Sakyingua creek until the 29th. In the interval I received a ſhort letter from the principal Woongee, directed to the Governor-general of India, containing a deſire of the King to procure certain religious books written in the Shanſcrit language; likewiſe that a Bramin, well verſed in aſtronomy, might be ſent from Bengal to his court, to inſtruct his own profeſſors of whoſe ignorance in that ſcience His Majeſty was fully ſenſible. The letter, however, laid as much ſtreſs on the purity of the preceptor's caſt as on the extent of his knowledge, and comprehended a curious addition to the requeſt, that a Bramin woman ſhould accompany the ſage, with a view, I imagine, of propagating a race of hereditary aſtronomers. I informed the Woongee, in reply, that Bramins of learning have an invincible diſlike to leave their native country, even for a limited period; but to emigrate with their families, I conceived, was an act to which no temptation would induce them: I added, that the principles of the Engliſh government did not allow of force being uſed, to compel a ſubject into exile, who had not by any crime forfeited the protection of the law. This, I dare ſay, was not very intelligible doctrine to the deſpotic monarch of Ava, and at all events muſt have been perfectly novel.

Whilſt we remained at this place, one of our people received ill treatment from the natives, which was remarkable, as being the firſt inſtance that had occurred. Dr. Buchanan, deſirous of enriching his collection of plants with every rare production of the country, uſed to employ a peaſant boy of Bengal to gather herbs for him, whom he every day ſent for that purpoſe into the fields. The followers of the Prince of Tongho happened to reſide in this quarter, a claſs of men notorious among Birmans for their inſolence and diſhoneſty: the lad unluckily chanced one day to meet a party of theſe ruffians, who took from him his knife, baſket and turban, and, threatening to put him to death, ſo frightened him that he botanized no more till we were out of their reach. I had before heard much of the ferocity of theſe people, who were very numerous; report made their numbers ten thouſand: they were always quarrelling with the followers of the other Princes, particularly thoſe of the Prince of Prome. It was ſaid, that the King had on one occaſion, whilſt we were at Ummerapoora, ſharply reprimanded his ſon, the Tongho Tekien, and confined his Woon, or miniſter, for not keeping his people in better ſubjection. I took no notice of their conduct; it was not expedient at my departure to make a public complaint of ſuch a petty outrage.

The river, which three months before had diſplayed an uninterrupted expanſe of ſeveral miles, was now broken into ſeparate ſtreams, ſurrounding numerous iſlands, which had juſt emerged from the inundation. The principal branch of the river, even in its diminiſhed ſtate, was a mile wide. Dr. Buchanan and I croſſed in a ſmall boat to an iſland where ſome fiſhermen and gardeners had begun to erect huts, in which they reſide until returning floods in the enſuing year force them to abandon their habitations. They ſeemed to have the means of comfortable livelihood; their gardens were already ſown with the ſweet potatoe, convolvulus batatas, pulſe, and brenjals, ſolanum melongena; the latter are uſually tranſplanted. The ſoil was extremely dry, notwithſtanding it had ſo recently been covered with water, and the paſturage was luxuriant. The inhabitants poſſeſſed cattle and poultry in abundance, and doubtleſs were ſupplied with excellent fiſh.

Early

Early on the 29th, the Maywoon of Pegue viſited me, in a very handſome war-boat gilded to the water's edge, accompanied by ſeveral others that were plain; he invited me on board, and we took our ſeats on the prow, which in Birman boats, is always the place of dignity. When we left the ſhore, the whole fleet puſhed off and followed us; the morning was fine, and the water ſmooth, whilſt the ſpires of Ummerapoora in our ſtern, the white temples and lofty hills of Chagaing oppoſite, and the fort of ancient Ava below, formed a very cheerful proſpect. We rowed to Chagaing, where, ſoon after our arrival, the Maywoon took leave of me, to return to the capital, having buſineſs to detain him a few days longer; he, however, promiſed to overtake us on the way down, his boats being better adapted than ours for expedition.

After dinner, Doctor Buchanan and I walked out to view the fort of Chagaing, which in the days of Namdoo Praw had been the ſeat of empire: we entered under a gateway, the arch of which was wide and well turned. This fort had nothing to diſtinguiſh it from others that have been already deſcribed; it was not nearly ſo large as that of Ummerapoora, or even equal in extent to the lines of ancient Ava, the defences were ſuffered to fall into ruins, and the houſes were meanly built among weeds and rubbiſh. We obſerved a well ſupplied herb market, which was attended wholly by women. Paſſing through the fort, we croſſed a narrow foſſe on a handſome wooden bridge, the length of which indicated, that during the monſoon, the inundation extended to a conſiderable diſtance; and a little farther, we came to the great road leading to the Meengoung. On our right, lay the low conical hills, whoſe ſummits crowned with white temples, form ſuch conſpicuous objects from the river. Advancing about a mile, we arrived at a village called Oderua, or Pot Village, from its being a manufactory of earthen-ware. The lateneſs of the evening prevented our further progreſs. We returned by a road that led to the left of the fort, paſſing in our way a neat village ſituated near the banks of the river.

By means of our horſes, we now enjoyed a convenience which in coming up we did not poſſeſs. A platform had been conſtructed in a broad boat, capable of containing five horſes: we brought three from the capital, and added two others on the way down: little trouble was occaſioned by embarking or landing them; the Birman grooms were expert, and the beaſts tractable. Early next morning we mounted, and purſued the route of the preceding evening. Numerous temples lined the road on either ſide, but one only of the number attracted particular notice; it was ſurrounded by a high brick wall, from which elephant's heads, formed of maſonry, were protruded in ſuch a manner as to give the wall an appearance of being ſupported on the backs of thoſe animals; the temple was a pyramid of brick, about one hundred feet high, ornamented with a gilded umbrella. Paſſing through Pot village, we came to a town called Kyeock Zeit, remarkable for being the great manufactory of marble idols, the inhabitants of which were ſtatuaries by trade. I ſaw thirty or forty large yards crowded with artiſts at work on images of various ſizes, but all of the ſame perſonage, Gaudma, ſitting croſs-legged on a pedeſtal. The quarries, whence the materials are procured, are only a few miles diſtant; the marble is brought hither in ſhapeleſs blocks; and after being faſhioned, the images are publicly ſold to thoſe who have grace enough to purchaſe them. The largeſt that I obſerved, a little exceeded the human ſize, the price of which they ſaid, was one hundred tackals, twelve or thirteen pounds, but ſome diminutive Gaudmas were to be diſpoſed of, as low as two or three tackals. The leedegee or ſteerſman of my boat, bought one

to

to protect us on the way down. The workmen were extremely civil and communicative; they would not part with their sacred commodity, I was told, to any except Birmans; but they answered our questions with good humour; and our curiosity neither excited surprise, nor gave umbrage. Their tools are simple; they shape the image with a chisel and mallet, and afterwards smooth it by freestone and water. Many of the idols were beautifully polished, which, I understood, was effected by rubbing the marble with three different sorts of stone; the first rough, the second finer, and the third such as hones are made of, the workmen afterwards use the palms of their hands. This operation gives it a transparent clearness, far surpassing the brightest polish of which European marble is susceptible. Such images as were designed for gilding did not receive so high a finishing.

Half a league further we came to where the temple of Kommodoo rears its massive and antique pile. This venerable and curious edifice stands on an eminence, which renders it a conspicuous object at the distance of many miles. It is composed of solid masonry without cavity of any sort, and in shape resembles a bell; there is a high railing of wood encircling it, twelve feet distant from the base; the circumference on the outside of the railing, by my measurement, was four hundred paces, perhaps three hundred and fifty yards, and the height did not appear less than three hundred feet; it ended in a clumsy cone, unadorned by a spire for the customary umbrella, and exhibited a striking contrast to the elegant and still larger temple of Shoemadoo; indeed, the style of its structure indicared, that it was built either by a people possessing totally different notions of architecture, or at a far more remote period; it was much the most inelegant and heavy building that we had seen in the country. The roof had once been richly gilded, and the remains of wooden galleries, from which the paint and gilding were not quite obliterated, lay scattered around; these ornaments had probably been often renewed since the first erection of the temple. Kommodoo was once celebrated for its sanctity, and is still held in great reverence; many devotees were sauntering round the hill, whilst others were prostrate at their devotions. The Birmans boast of the antiquity of this building; they ascribe its rise to supernatural agency, and fix its date further back than the Mosaic æra: these, however, were the tales of ignorance, to conceal the want of knowledge; but the traces of long duration were certainly evident, and from its size and form Kommodoo Praw seems likely to resist the effects of time for many ages.

From the site of Kommodoo, we had an extended view of the river winding through a rich and level country. A considerable lake lay to the southward; the plains were now cultivating, whilst numerous villages and herds of cattle denoted population and plenty. At a short distance from the foot of the hill was a long avenue formed by a double row of tamarind trees of uncommon statelineſs and beauty, under the shade of which a line of shops was erected on either side, where, besides provisions and cloth, utensils in brass-ware, and fireworks, were sold. On a green, a little way retired from the road, we observed a number of people employed in making rockets, the tubes of which were the solid trunks of trees bored after the manner of a pump; in some, the cavity of the cylinder was nine or ten inches in diameter, and the wood about two inches thick; the length of these tubes varied from twelve to twenty feet; they were filled with a composition of charcoal, saltpetre, and gunpowder, rammed in very hard. The enormous size of Birman rockets has already been noticed, in the account given of the fireworks of Pegue; but several that we saw here far exceeded those in magnitude. The large ones are fired from a high scaffold erected for the

purpoſe; bamboos faſtened together, of a length adapted to preſerve the poiſe, form the tail of the rocket; in this branch of pyrotechny the Birmans take particular delight, and are extremely ſkilful.

The day was now far advanced, and the ſun become powerful. Having ſatisfied our curioſity, we galloped back to our boats, a diſtance of about ſeven miles. I took notice, in my way, of frequent ſheds built at the ſide of the road, in which pots of water were placed for the refreſhment of travellers.

Chagaing is the principal emporium to which cotton is brought from all parts of the country, and where, after being cleaned, it is embarked for the China market: females perform the labour of clearing it from the ſeeds; this is effected by double cylinders turned by a lathe, which the woman works with her foot, whilſt ſhe ſupplies the cotton with her hands. I was told, that the moſt opulent merchant in the empire reſides at Chagaing, who deals ſolely in this article. In the afternoon we looſed our boats and dropped down to Ava on the oppoſite ſide.

Early on the following morning, I walked out to examine the ruins of this deſerted capital. The diſpoſition of its ſtreets and buildings nearly reſembled that of Ummerapoora at the preſent day. We could trace the ſeparate diviſions of the palace, amidſt heaps of rubbiſh overgrown by weeds and thorns: on the ſpot where but a few years ſince the lotoo ſtood, and juſtice was adminiſtered to a mighty empire, pulſe and Indian corn were now growing. Paſſing to the weſtward, among ruinous walls and fallen temples, we came upon a good road, and a miſerable old woman, "the ſad hiſtorian" and living emblem of the place, pointed out the way to Logatherpoo Praw, formerly the reſidence of the Seredaw, or high prieſt of the empire, where the coloſſal image of Gaudma was ſtill to be viewed.

The area on which the temple ſtands, is a ſquare ſurrounded by an arcade of maſonry; on each ſide, nine cubical towers are erected, and ſeveral buildings are comprehended within the ſpace encloſed by the arcade. The temple in which the ſtupendous idol is placed, differs from the other pyramidical buildings, by having an arched excavation that contains the image. On entering this dome, our ſurpriſe was greatly excited at beholding ſuch a monſtrous repreſentation of the divinity. It was a Gaudma of marble ſeated on a pedeſtal, in its cuſtomary poſition. The height of the idol, from the top of the head to the pedeſtal on which it ſat, was nearly twenty-four feet; the head was eight feet in diameter, and acroſs the breaſt it meaſured ten; the hands were from five to ſix feet long; the pedeſtal, which was alſo of marble, was raiſed eight feet from the ground. The neck and the left ſide of the image were gilded, but the right arm and ſhoulder remained uncovered. The Birmans aſſerted, that this, like every other Gaudma which I had ſeen of the ſame material, was compoſed of one entire block of marble; nor could we, on the cloſeſt inſpection, obſerve any junction of parts. If what they ſaid was true, it remains a matter of much curioſity, to diſcover how ſuch a ponderous maſs could be tranſported from its native bed, and raiſed in this place. The building had evidently been erected over the idol, as the entrance would ſcarcely admit the introduction of the head. No intelligent Birman happening to be with us, all that I could learn in anſwer to my inquiries, was, that the image had been placed there an hundred years ago, by a King named Podoo Sembuan. Whatever may be its real hiſtory, it is an extraordinary ſpecimen of idolatrous extravagance.

On our return, we perceived a man driving a cart drawn by a pair of oxen, which was filled with rubbiſh from the ruined buildings. I learnt that he was carrying the load to a neighbouring brook to waſh it, expecting to diſcover gold, ſilver, or ſome

article of value, which not unfrequently happencd. Old Ava is ſaid to be the reſort of numerous thieves, who find ſhelter and places of concealment among the decayed religious edifices.

Our reſearches being ended, we re-embarked and immediately got under way, the boatmen uſing their oars with juſt ſufficient force to accelerate in a ſlight degree our motion down a gently gliding current. The river, except in thoſe places where iſlands divided its ſtream, was above a mile wide. A little before ſun-ſet, we brought-to for the night on the left hand, under a high bank near the town of Sandaht, and in the evening we took our cuſtomary walk, which at this place was among lanes, ſeparated by hedge-rows, incloſing fields planted with pulſe, ſeſamum and Indian corn.

We left Sandaht betimes the next morning, and continued to float down the ſtream, with little exertion or labour to our people. The river having fallen at leaſt fifteen feet ſince the time we came up, we could not, as before, obſerve the towns and villages on each ſide, nor indeed could any object be ſeen that was not immediately on the edge of the banks, which hung perpendicularly over the river, in many places to a conſiderable height; but we knew when a town or a collection of houſes was nigh, by the ſteps that were cut in the bank for the convenience of fetching water. About four o'clock we paſſed the place where the Keenduem unites with the Irrawaddy. The mouth of the former did not ſeem to be much diminiſhed by the change of ſeaſon. We brought-to in the evening, on the eaſt ſide, in the neighbourhood of a poor village, a ſhort way below Tirroup Mew, where the country preſented a cheerful aſpect; graſs was growing, and cattle feeding in every direction.

On the following day, November 2d, we continued to travel in the ſame tranquil manner, the current of the river flowing two or three miles an hour with an unruffled ſurface. The weather was ſerene, and the temperature of the air moderate. Abundance of water fowl, collected on the ſands which had recently emerged from the inundation, afforded us good ſhooting. As we approached the city of Nioundoh, I made inquiry concerning the excavations in the banks, which formerly had been the retreats of hermits, and was told that no perſon would now venture to explore them, as they had become the habitations of innumerable ſnakes and other noxious reptiles. We brought-to in the evening among a fleet of at leaſt two hundred large trading boats, which were moored at the bank waiting to deliver or receive a lading. Nioundoh is a place of much commerce, having uſurped all the trade that formerly was carried on at Pagahm: cotton, japanned-ware, and oil extracted from ſeſamum, are the principal articles of exportation. The land adjacent to the town did not wear a more fertile aſpect than when we paſſed it four months before; no change of ſeaſon could effect an alteration in its barren ſoil; but on the oppoſite bank of the river, rich crops were waving, and cattle grazing in luxuriant paſture.

Early on the following day we left Nioundoh, and reached Pagahm by breakfaſt time. Although the diſtance by land is ſo ſhort that Nioundoh may be called the modern appendage to ancient Pagahm, yet we were above two hours between them, owing to the circuitous courſe of the river, which lengthens the way to eight or nine miles.

Mention of Pagahm has often occurred in this narrative, a city celebrated for its numerous temples, and the traces with it bears of former magnificence. To examine its extenſive and various ruins with the accuracy of a ſpeculative traveller, would have occupied more time than we had to ſpare. Shortly after the fleet had brought-to,

I was viſited by the Mioudogee, or the perſon who governed the town and diſtrict in the abſence of the Prince; he informed me, that his royal maſter was expected on the following day from Ummerapoora. In the afternoon we walked out to view a very curious and ancient temple, which was repairing at the expence of the Engy Teekien, or Prince Royal. It was built of maſonry, and comprehended ſeveral arches forming ſeparate domes, into which four arched porches led, that faced the four cardinal points; on each ſide of the doors, in receſſes in the wall, were ſeated gigantic human figures made of ſtucco, with large ſtaring eyes, and the head protruded forward, as if to look at thoſe who approached the threſhold. Theſe, I was told, were the ſupernatural porters of the doors, whoſe power of perception was ſuch, that they could penetrate the receſſes of the human breaſt, and diſcover the ſincerity of devotion. The Mioudogee obſerved, that it was the Prince's intention to gild this temple; and that four viſs of gold, about the value of ſix hundred pounds, were already prepared for that purpoſe; he added, that a conſiderable ſum of ſilver had been expended on the repairs.

We were on this occaſion informed of a circumſtance that ſhews how eaſily an art, once well known, may be loſt to a country from diſuſe and the capriciouſneſs of faſhion; notwithſtanding that well-formed arches of brick are ſtill to be ſeen in many of the ancient temples, yet Birman workmen can no longer turn them. Maſonry has not in latter ages been much practiſed; wooden buildings have ſuperſeded the more ſolid ſtructures of brick and mortar.

On our return, the Mioudogee politely invited us to ſtop and reſt ourſelves at his houſe. We accepted the invitation, and were uſhered into a commodious dwelling incloſed by a railing, where we found ſeveral perſons ſeated in a ſpacious hall. Soon after our entrance, the Mioudogee's wife came forth from an inner apartment, and ſat down by her huſband; ſhe was attended by two female ſervants, and held by the hand her daughter, a pretty delicate child about eight years of age, who was not at all alarmed at the ſight of ſtrangers, but came and examined my hat and epaulette with much engaging familiarity. Her father was extremely civil; not knowing that we had horſes, he kindly offered us the uſe of his, if we choſe to remain another day, and amuſe ourſelves by riding through the ancient city, which was too extenſive to be traverſed in ſo ſhort a time on foot. Doctor Buchanan having expreſſed a wiſh to examine the Launzan, a rare ſpecies of plant, he promiſed to ſend one of his people on the following day, ſome diſtance off, to procure it for him, which he punctually performed. Such inſtances of genuine hoſpitality are amongſt the higheſt gratifications that a traveller can experience.

Next morning we mounted our horſes at an early hour, purſuing an eaſtward direction, on a road that led to hills called Torroendong, about ten miles diſtant, beyond which, and more ſoutherly, we perceived Poupa, a conical mountain mentioned in our former journey. On each ſide of the road, innumerable religious buildings appeared in every ſtage of dilapidation. At the diſtance of two or three miles from the river, the ſoil became leſs barren. A few inconſiderable gardens were incloſed by the inhabitants, ſown chiefly with Indian corn and pulſe, and in ſome places the cotton plant was growing. We continued our ride five or ſix miles, as far as a ſmall village named Minangdoo, where the ruins ſeem to end in that direction. There I ſaw for the firſt time a kioum, or monaſtery, built of maſonry. We got back about twelve o'clock, and found crowds of people aſſembled at the water ſide, waiting for the arrival of the Prince of Pagahm, who was hourly expected: all the men of diſtinction belonging to the city had gone up the river to meet him. In order to make more room near the

ſpot

ſpot where he was to land, we looſed our boats, and removed to a ſituation lower down. Shortly after the fleet came in ſight. We were at too great a diſtance to diſtinguiſh the Prince's barge, the decorations of which were ſaid to be very handſome; but we ſaw an immenſe number of boats, and heard the ſhouts of the people, who welcomed their royal governor with every demonſtration of joy.

Being unacquainted with the etiquette proper to be obſerved on ſuch an occaſion, I conſulted the Mioudogee, whether a viſit from me was expected, or would be agreeable to the Prince. He replied, that my paying a viſit would lay the Prince under the neceſſity of deſiring our ſtay for two or three days, to partake of an entertainment. As ſuch a ceremony could not be convenient to him, and had no inducement for me, I ſent Baba-Sheen to apologize in my name, pleading haſte and the lateneſs of the ſeaſon as my excuſe for not having the honour to wait on him.

At ſun-riſe next morning the Prince of Prome paſſed by, with a very numerous and noiſy retinue; from the number of boats there could not be fewer than three or four thouſand perſons: all the boatmen were ſinging in uniſon with the ſtrokes of their oars. The Maywoon of Pegue, who was in his ſuite, ſent me a complimentary meſſage, ſaying, that he meant to attend the Prince as far as Meeaday, his own Jaghire, or eſtate, where he ſhould wait our arrival.

We were delayed at Pagahm, by our boat people, till near ten o'clock, when we puſhed off. The river, during the early part of this day, where iſlands of ſand did not intervene, was not leſs than two miles wide: at one place, however, the channel contracted, and the current ruſhed round a projecting rock with exceſſive rapidity. We ſaw ſeveral ranges of hills, ſome of which approached near the river, but theſe were of no conſiderable magnitude. The Arracan mountains, fifty or ſixty miles diſtant, which were viſible at intervals, towered high above the reſt. In the evening we reached Sillahmew, an ancient city, which had once been a place of conſiderable note. A little way to the northward we perceived the ruins of a brick fort erected in a very judicious ſituation; the ditch and wall were ſtill to be traced. We had been ſo much engaged, when we were here before, with the ſilk and cotton merchants who brought their goods to ſell, that we entirely overlooked the ſite of this fortreſs; an overſight that might eaſily happen, as its ramparts and towers are nearly level with the duſt.

CHAP. XVII. *Arrive at Sembewghewn. — Politeneſs of the Maywoon of Arracan. — Tanangheoum. — Wells of Petroleum. — Patanago. — Meeaday. — Friendly Attention of the Maywoon of Pegue. — Kayn, or Mountaineers. — Strange Cuſtom. — Notions of Religion. — Pulloo. — Prome. — Viſit the Site of an ancient City. — Peeinghee. — Mayahoun. — Prejudice of Birman Boat-men. — Diſagreeable Circumſtance. — Weſtern River. — Denoobew. — Enter the Rangoon Branch of the Irrawaddy. — Moſquetoes. Meet Captain Thomas. — Arrive at Rangoon.*

WE departed from Sillahmew at the cuſtomary hour, and by nine o'clock in the morning reached Sembewghewn, on the eaſt bank of the river. The town is a league inland, but there is a village at the place where boats uſually ſtop. We perceived a temporary houſe at ſome diſtance, ſuch as is built for the accommodation of a man of rank when he travels, ſurrounded by ſmall huts, and were informed that it was the encampment of the governor of Arracan. This officer had been newly appointed, and was on his way to take poſſeſſion of his vice-royalty, which confers the title of Maywoon on the poſſeſſor, and is accounted one of the moſt important governments

of the empire. I ſent a meſſage to him with compliments, and a requeſt that he would forward a diſpatch for me to Chittagong, the frontier Britiſh province that borders on Arracan. He obligingly undertook the commiſſion, and punctually fulfilled his promiſe. I had afterwards the ſatisfaction to know, that the firſt advice which the Governor-general received of my proceedings at Ummerapoora, was by this conveyance.

We continued at Sembewghewn only a ſhort time. I did not land, but the doctor went on ſhore: he ſaw nothing, however, that merited particular notice. Mr. Wood remained till the afternoon, to obſerve the diſtance between the ſun and moon; the latter being at this time viſible, and the ſky unclouded. We rowed till two o'clock, at which hour we reached Yaynangheoum, or Petroleum creek; a place already noticed in our journey up the river.

Doctor Buchanan partook of an early dinner with me; and when the ſun had deſcended ſo low as to be no longer inconvenient, we mounted our horſes to viſit the celebrated wells that produce the oil, an article of univerſal uſe throughout the Birman empire. The face of the country was cheerleſs and ſterile; the road, which wound among rocky eminences, was barely wide enough to admit the paſſage of a ſingle cart; and, in many places, the track in which the wheels muſt run was a foot and a half lower on one ſide than the other: there were ſeveral of theſe lanes, ſome more circuitous than others, according to the ſituation of the ſmall hills among which they led. Vehicles, going and returning, were thus enabled to purſue different routes, except at particular places, where the nature of the ground would only admit of one road: when a cart came to the entrance of ſuch a defile, the driver hallooed out to ſtop any that might interfere with him from the oppoſite ſide, no part being ſufficiently wide for two carts to paſs. The hills, or rather hillocks, were covered with gravel, and yielded no other vegetation than a few ſtunted buſhes. The wheels had worn ruts deep into the rock, which ſeemed to be rather a maſs of concreted gravel than hard ſtone, and many pieces of petrified wood lay ſtrewed about. It is remarkable, that wherever theſe petrifactions were found, the ſoil was unproductive, and the ground deſtitute of verdure. The evening being far advanced, we met but few carts; thoſe which we did obſerve were drawn each by a pair of oxen, and of a length diſproportionate to the breadth, to allow ſpace for the earthen pots that contained the oil. It was a matter of ſurpriſe to us how they could convey ſuch brittle ware, with any degree of ſafety, over ſo rugged a road: each pot was packed in a ſeparate baſket, and laid on ſtraw; notwithſtanding which precaution, the ground all the way was ſtrewed with the fragments of the veſſels, and wet with oil; for no care can prevent the fracture of ſome in every journey. As we approached the pits, which were more diſtant than we had imagined, the country became leſs uneven, and the ſoil produced herbage; it was nearly dark when we reached them, and the labourers had retired from work. There ſeemed to be a great many pits within a ſmall compaſs: walking to the neareſt, we found the aperture about four feet ſquare, and the ſides, as far as we could ſee down, were lined with timber; the oil is drawn up in an iron pot, faſtened to a rope paſſed over a wooden cylinder, which revolves on an axis ſupported by two upright poſts. When the pot is filled, two men take the rope by the end, and run down a declivity, which is cut in the ground, to a diſtance equivalent to the depth of the well: thus, when they reach the end of their track, the pot is raiſed to its proper elevation; the contents, water and oil together, are then diſcharged into a ciſtern, and the water is afterwards drawn off through a hole at the bottom. Our guide, an active intelligent fellow, went to a neighbouring houſe and procured a well rope, by means of which

which we were enabled to meaſure the depth, and aſcertained it to be thirty-ſeven fathoms, but of the quantity of oil at the bottom we could not judge: the owner of the rope, who followed our guide, affirmed, that when a pit yielded as much as came up to the waiſt of a man, it was deemed tolerably productive; if it reached to his neck, it was abundant; but that which roſe no higher than the knee was accounted indifferent. When a well is exhauſted, they reſtore the ſpring by cutting deeper into the rock, which is extremely hard in thoſe places where the oil is produced. Government farm out the ground that ſupplies this uſeful commodity; and it is again let to adventurers, who dig wells at their own hazard, by which they ſometimes gain, and often loſe, as the labour and expence of digging are conſiderable. The oil is ſold on the ſpot for a mere trifle; I think two or three hundred pots for a tackal, or half-a-crown. The principal charge is incurred by the tranſportation and purchaſe of veſſels. We had but half gratified our curioſity when it grew dark, and our guide urged us not to remain any longer, as the road was ſaid to be infeſted by tigers, that prowled at night among the rocky uninhabited ways through which we had to paſs. We followed his advice, and returned, with greater riſk, as I thought, of breaking our necks from the badneſs of the road, than of being devoured by wild beaſts. At ten o'clock we reached our boats without any miſadventure.

We left Yaynangheoum before ſunriſe, and, committing ourſelves to the current, glided almoſt imperceptibly down the ſtream, the boatmen lying in idle eaſe, ſome on the roof, and others on the lateral platforms of the veſſel; whilſt their only occupation was ſinging, praying, and ſleeping by turns. The preſent manner of paſſing their time was a contraſt to what they experienced on the former journey, during which their labour had been exceſſive and without intermiſſion; they all appeared pleaſed to return to Rangoon, where the neceſſaries of life are much cheaper than at the capital. We lay this night near the town of Patanago, a place already noticed. Walking out in the afternoon, I ſtarted ſeveral hares: the country abounds in game, and is beautifully diverſified with hanging woods and riſing grounds.

The fleet parted from Patanago very early. Doctor Buchanan's boat going a-head of the reſt, he reached Loonghee half an hour before his companions, and, profiting by his celerity, went on ſhore at this romantic ſpot, where we had paſſed ſeveral days on our journey upwards. He walked to ſome diſtance, in the hope of finding fruit on a tree which about four months before he had left in the earlieſt ſtage of bloſſom; but the fruit had ſince that time ripened and decayed, and the tree was now putting forth freſh flowers. Between this place and Meeaday there are ſeveral ridges of low hills, clothed with wood and deſtitute of cultivation, which my people ſaid were the haunts of numerous tigers and elephants. At ſunſet we got to Meeaday, and perceived a number of boats faſtened to the bank below the town, and among others we diſtinguiſhed that of the Maywoon of Pegue: I immediately ſent a meſſage to his houſe, notifying our arrival, and in return received a civil reply, expreſſing a deſire to ſee me.

On the following morning, about nine o'clock, a nephew of the Maywoon came down to welcome us: after converſing ſome time, I walked with him to viſit his relation, by whom I was received with every demonſtration of friendſhip: he politely aſked me to remain at Meeaday for a day or two, and viſit his garden and country houſe; but as the ſeaſon was advanced, I felt ſolicitous to avoid unneceſſary delay, and therefore excuſed myſelf: in fact, our ſtay would have put him to an inconvenience, having buſineſs, he ſaid, to adjuſt on his eſtate, which would employ him for ſeveral days, but he expected to arrive at Rangoon as ſoon as ourſelves. On my expreſſing

expreſſing a deſire to ſee ſome of the mountaineers called Kayn, he obligingly offered to ſend one of his attendants to a village a few miles off, inhabited by theſe people, with directions to bring ſome of them for our inſpection, dreſſed in the proper garb of their country. I underſtood from him that, ſince our departure from Ummerapoora, not leſs than 50,000 perſons had left that city in the train of the ſeveral Princes and men of rank, who, after paying homage at the golden feet, had returned to their reſpective governments. When I took leave, he ordered a pair of horſes to be brought from his ſtable, and requeſted my acceptance of them; they were very handſome, and one was of an uncommon colour, having a number of circular black spots on a milk-white ſkin. In return, I preſented him with a marquee made of European canvas, lined with Engliſh broad-cloth, and my rifle-barrelled gun, which I more highly valued.

In the evening I walked over grounds which I had often trod before. Every thing in this diſtrict ſeemed to be flouriſhing; the peaſants and farmers acknowledge in the Maywoon a mild and beneficent landlord; if they were not ſo opulent as ſome, they were not ſo poor as many others: content, I thought, ſhone in every countenance, and comfort appeared to be an inmate of every dwelling. In my walks I ſaw a good deal of game, and ſhot a henza, or Braminy gooſe. The natives, although it is the ſymbol of their nation, hold the bird in no eſtimation: it is ſomewhat larger than a barnacle; the plumage is beautiful, but the fleſh indifferent.

Next morning, on my return from a long ride, I found a number of people collected on the banks oppoſite to our boats; theſe, I learned, were the Kayn, or mountaineers, with their conductors, for whom the Maywoon had ſent on the preceding day. I deſired that the principal man and woman ſhould be brought on board. This curious couple were dreſſed in their beſt attire, conſiſting of an ill ſhaped ſleeved coat, made of coarſe black cotton cloth; that of the man was much ſhorter than the woman's; both were bordered with ſtripes of white, red, and yellow; the man had a belt over his right ſhoulder, from which was ſuſpended a pouch, ornamented with ſtrings and ſmall ſhells; on their heads they wore fillets nearly in the Birman manner; to the woman's were faſtened taſſels, compoſed of the calyptra of the Bupreſtis ignita; ſhe had alſo decorated her neck and arms with many ſtrings of beads and cowries: but the moſt remarkable part was her face, which was tattowed all over in lines moſtly deſcribing ſegments of circles. This ceremony, which in ſome other countries is performed on the parts of women not publicly expoſed, among the Kayn is confined wholly to the viſages of their females, to which, in the eye of an unaccuſtomed beholder, it gives a moſt extraordinary appearance; the aſpect of the woman, though ſhe was not old, nor in other reſpects ugly, from the effect of the operation was truly hideous. I aſked the origin of the cuſtom; this they did not know, but ſaid it had exiſted from time immemorial, and that it was invariably performed on every female at a certain age. I immediately employed my painter to make a drawing of theſe ſingular figures, in the attitude in which they ſtood before me: a taſk which he performed in two hours, with great exactneſs, and drew ſtriking reſemblances. There was ſome difficulty in taking a likeneſs of the man, who was alarmed and reſtleſs, from a ſuppoſition that we were impoſing magical ſpells upon him; but the woman ſtood ſtill with her hands croſſed, apparently in perfect good humour and content: they ſpoke the Birman language indifferently, and, in order to engage their attention, we aſked the man ſeveral queſtions; where he expected to go when he died? He replied, that "he ſhould again become a child." "Who will make you a child?" "The Mounzing." "Who are the Mounzing?" "The father and mother of the world,

world, who grow on the earth as two trees in a field, one ever green, the other dry." What he meant by this metaphor we could not tell, unleſs it was a type of ſucceſſive and eternal renovation and decay. He added, that the Mounzing reſided on the great mountain Gnowa, where the images of the dead are depoſited. They had no idea of a place of future rewards and puniſhments, and deny the exiſtence of ſin in their country; they do not pray whilſt living, becauſe they cannot, in this life, ſee the Mounzing, but they think that their images pray to them after mortal deceaſe. They burn their dead, and afterwards collect their aſhes in an urn, which they convey to a houſe, where, if the urn contains the relics of a man, they keep it ſix days, if of a woman, five; after which it is carried to the place of interment, and depoſited in a grave, and on the ſod that covers it is laid a wooden image of the deceaſed, to pray to the Mounzing and protect the bones and aſhes.

Theſe are the rude notions of religion entertained by the harmleſs untaught race that inhabit the lofty mountains which divide Arracan from Ava, and who, as children of nature, delighting in their wild and native freedom, are for the moſt part inſuperably averſe to hold any commerce with the people of the plains. The Birmans, ſince the conqueſt of Arracan, have compelled many, and allured a few, to ſettle in villages at the baſes of the hills, where they are treated with a humanity that tends to conciliate them to their new and more civilized ſtate. A large proportion of Kayn are, however, ſtill independent. The Birmans have not yet carried ſacrilegious invaſion to their holy mountain, which probably is not worth acquiring. When a Kayn dies within the juriſdiction of the Birmans, the relations of the deceaſed always convey the urn, and the image of the departed perſon, to Gnowa, there to depoſit them in hallowed earth. Theſe people have no letters, nor any law, except cuſtom; to this the Birmans prudently leave them, never interfering in their municipal and ſocial economy.

Our curioſity being ſatisfied, we left Meeaday as ſoon as the painter had finiſhed the drawings. The country through which we ſailed this day had a pleaſing appearance; ſpots of cultivation and frequent towns ſkirted the river, while ſmall hills, clothed with trees, roſe behind them. We paſſed in our way through a flock of thirty or forty elephants, who were ſwimming acroſs the river, carrying their riders on their necks; theſe were all females, and had been employed in hunting their own ſpecies; males are ſeldom uſed by the Birmans for that purpoſe. Late in the evening we brought-to at a ſmall town called Pulloo, where there is a cuſtom-houſe, having now entered the government of the Prince of Promè.

We got under way early the enſuing morning, and about two o'clock ſtopped at the lower ſuburbs of Prome, in the midſt of a great concourſe of boats. Landing our horſes, we rode in the evening to view the ſite of a very ancient city, which ages ago was the reſidence of a dynaſty of Pegue Kings, before their country had ſubmitted to the Birman yoke. On our right, we left a large temple, named Shoe Sanda Praw, ſituated on an eminence, round the foot of which were ſeveral kioums, or monaſteries: purſuing a ſoutherly direction, we came on a level road, leading through well cultivated fields, interſperſed with groves of tall palmyra trees. We obſerved the channels of two rivers at this time almoſt dry, but which in the rainy ſeaſon roll down an impetuous current from the mountains, and empty their waters into the Irrawaddy; by theſe ſtreams teak timber is floated from the foreſts during the monſoon, and is ſold here very cheap. A plank three inches thick, and from ſixteen to twenty feet long, may be purchaſed for a tackal, or half-a-crown. The ſoil in the neighbourhood of Prome is remarkably well adapted for gardens, and we met ſeveral perſons

carrying loads of fruit on their heads to market. The evening was far advanced before we reached Yættee, on entering which we paſſed through an old gateway, that appeared to be narrower, but of greater depth than any we had yet ſeen; indeed the ruinous ſtate both of the gateway and the wall rendered it difficult to judge accurately of their dimenſions; within we could diſtinguiſh nothing but houſes and fields, and it was now too late to explore the antiquities of the place. Two intelligent men, whom we overtook riding along the road, informed us, that it had once been a great fortified city of a ſquare form, each ſide meaſuring a ſpace equal to two miles and a half; that it had flouriſhed for ſeveral centuries before the fall of the Pegue monarchy, and that the veſtiges of the imperial palace, and a large temple, were ſtill remaining.

During our ride we obſerved two caravans of waggons drawn up in a circular form, in the ſame manner as thoſe we had remarked at Meeaday on our journey to the capital: here, however, the number of carts was much greater; one of the caravans containing not leſs than a hundred, which were diſpoſed in two circles, one within the other, preſenting a very formidable barrier againſt the aſſaults either of men or of wild beaſts. They were chiefly loaden with gnapee and ſalt fiſh, and had come from a town called Omow, ſituated on the banks of a lake, where fiſh is caught in ſuch abundance, as to conſtitute an article of commercial exportation. The road in this direction ſeemed to be well made, and much frequented. The ledegee, or ſteerſman, of Dr. Buchanan's boat, who had travelled by land from Prome to Rangoon, a journey of ſix days, ſaid that it was equally good the whole way. Timber and ſtone flags are the principal articles of export trade at Prome.

When the day broke we reſumed our journey; the temperature of the air was now extremely pleaſant, and the mornings and evenings cool: at ſun-riſe, the quickſilver in the thermometer ſtood at 67 degrees. In the earlier part of this day, the villages, particularly thoſe on the eaſt bank, had a very inviting appearance, from the orchards of plantain, mango, and other fruit trees with which they were ſurrounded. After paſſing Peinghee, the country aſſumed a rougher aſpect; the river, at the narrow ſtrait where our boat had been wrecked on the way up, did not now run with ſuch rapid violence as before. Juſt above Tirroupmiou, we paſſed a large iſland, covered with reeds and bruſhwood, which the boat people ſaid was much infeſted by tigers. The handſome town of Kainggain was ſituated below it: we continued our courſe till after dark, and paſſing the lights of the long and populous city of Mayahoun, formerly Loonzay, brought-to at the weſt bank, a little to the ſouthward of the town; but it was too late to think of landing.

Next morning (Nov. 13th) we put off at an early hour. In the middle of the preceding night I had been alarmed by a ſcene of diſcord between the boatmen and my people, which had nearly produced ſerious conſequences. The Birmans have a ſuperſtitious abhorrence of any perſon's paſſing over them when they are aſleep; it is deemed a great indignity, as well as injurious, from the apprehended effects of ſupernatural agency. The boatmen uſually ſlept either on the roof of the boat, or on the platform projecting from the ſides, whilſt my people occupied the inner part. It happened that in the night one of the ſoldiers went out on the platform, and, regardleſs of the Birmans who were taking their reſt, ſtepped over them without ceremony, moſt likely ignorant of their prejudice, and perhaps half aſleep himſelf: one of the Birmans, however, chanced unluckily to be awake, who, jumping up, inſtantly attacked the offender with his fiſts; a ſcuffle enſued, attended with no ſmall outcry; the other Birmans roſe, and armed themſelves with the bamboos that were kept for

oar handles; the ſoldiers flew to their bayonets, and my ſervants were preparing to take their part. In this ſtate of hoſtility I came among them juſt time enough to prevent miſchief. The Seree of Rangoon and the ledegee at length pacified the enraged crew, and I ordered my own people to return to their births. This accident produced no future enmity, and it was the only diſagreement that occurred. The Birmans, though ſometimes iraſcible, were in general extremely good tempered, and ſeldom refuſed to accommodate the colars (ſtrangers), even at the expence of their own convenience.

We rowed all this day through a country not ſo well cultivated or ſo thickly inhabited as that we had paſſed on the preceding: a little below Shainwah, a conſiderable branch of the river takes a ſouth-weſterly courſe, leading, we were informed, to Baſſien; it is called Keidowa, and ſometimes Anou Kioup, or the Weſtern River: the Arracan mountains were viſible in the north-weſt quarter. We brought-to after dark, a little above Henzadah, under a reedy bank, from which we were invaded by myriads of troubleſome inſects.

The following day brought us, without any remarkable incident, to Denoobew. The high bank and beautiful ſituation of Terriato or Mango village, on the weſt ſide, tempted me to go on ſhore. It is a charming ſpot; the town is inconſiderable, but the houſes are neat and commodious. Denoobew, where we arrived after ſun-ſet, is diſtinguiſhed by a fine temple, and is alſo celebrated for its manufactory of mats, which are made here in beautiful variety, and ſuperior in quality to what are fabricated in any other part of the empire; long reeds and graſs ſkirted the banks during the greateſt part of this day's journey.

From Denoobew to Yangain Chaingah, the river preſerves nearly a direct courſe. About ten o'clock in the morning of the 15th, we got to the entrance of the Panlang river, where it ſeparates from the great ſtream, in the ſame manner as the Hoogly does from the Ganges; the principal branch, purſuing a ſoutherly courſe, divides, as it approaches the ſea, into a number of channels, which are filled by the tide, and are for the moſt part navigable. The river we now entered is called by various names, Aſhay Kioup, or the Eaſtern river, Panlang river, and Rangoon river, the width of which did not exceed four hundred yards. The eaſtern bank is within the juriſdiction of Pegue; but the oppoſite country is included in the province of Dalla, and is governed by a perſon of a much leſs dignified title than Maywoon. Through the high reeds which on each ſide overhung the water, ſeveral pathways were made leading to Carrian villages. As we paſſed I perceived a watercourſe, which my people ſaid came from a lake called Mallatoo. We had now reached the place, where, in going up, we had been ſo ſeverely teazed by moſquitoes, and again felt their venomous influence; they even aſſailed us in the day-time, and in ſuch numbers, that we were obliged to fortify our legs with boots, and put on thick gloves, whilſt by continually flapping with an handkerchief, we endeavoured to defend our faces. But no ſooner had darkneſs commenced, than theſe troubleſome inſects redoubled their attacks, in ſuch multitudes, of ſuch a ſize, and ſo poiſonous, that I am perſuaded if an European with a delicate ſkin were to be expoſed uncovered to their ravages for one night, it would nearly prove fatal; even the Birman boatmen, whoſe ſkins are not eaſily penetrated, cannot repoſe within their action; and my Bengal ſervants actually cried out in torment. I lay in boots with my clothes on, and a double napkin over my face, and even thus could procure no reſt. About nine o'clock we anchored below the town of Panlang, being unable to ſtem the tide; and at eleven my people hailed a ſtrange boat coming with the flood, that rowed towards

us. Inſtantly I heard an European voice, to which I had not of late been accuſtomed, and ſoon recognized that of Captain Thomas of the Sea-Horſe, I had ſent an expreſs when we were at Meeaday, to appriſe him of our approach, and deſire him to get ready for ſea; he had learned from a ſmall veſſel that we were at hand, and came thus far to meet us. It being impoſſible to ſleep, we paſſed the night in converſation; the account he gave of his treatment by the municipal government of Rangoon during my abſence, and of the conduct of the Birmans in general towards his crew, was perfectly ſatisfactory. He had unrigged his ſhip during the monſoon, and covered the decks with an awning of mats, as a protection againſt the weather. Being in poſſeſſion of a tolerably commodious houſe near the quay, he obligingly offered me a room in it; of this I availed myſelf, having no intention to remain at Rangoon longer than was abſolutely neceſſary, and hoped to limit my ſtay to a very few days. At midnight we got under way, and brought-to again at ſix in the morning: the banks on each ſide of the river do not indicate much cultivation in its neighbourhood; but of the ſtate of the interior country we could not judge, being prevented by the buſhes and tall reeds from ſeeing any diſtant objects. At ten o'clock the boatmen reſumed their labour, and we paſſed on the left a very miſerable village named Teetheet. We were again obliged to anchor on account of the tide, and early on the morning of the 17th of November landed at Rangoon.

## CHAP. XVIII.

*Imperial Order regiſtered at the Rhoom. — Reflections on our Commerce and Connection with the Birman Empire. — Receive a Viſit from the Maywoon. — Account of a Carrian Village. — Birman Game of Cheſs. — Inſtance of a Trial by Ordeal. — Letter from the Maywoon to the Governor-General. — Take leave. — Embark on board the Sea-Horſe. — Voyage to Bengal. — Concluſion.*

THE Maywoon of Pegue arrived at Rangoon a few hours after we had landed. I paid him a viſit on the following morning, and appriſed him of my intention to ſail for Bengal in a few days, when he politely ſaid that he would continue at Rangoon until we departed. He informed me, that the orders for carrying into effect the late regulations would be publicly read and regiſtered at the rhoom on the following day; and he invited me to ſend a confidential perſon to be preſent at the ceremony; adding, that the records were always open to public inſpection, and that whoever choſe might at any time procure a copy, by paying a trifling fee to the officer of the court.

It may not be improper, in this ſtage of my narrative, to offer a few obſervations on the relative connection that ſubſiſts between the Britiſh poſſeſſions in India and the Birman empire; to point out the commercial objects that render the intercourſe deſirable, and the political neceſſity there is for our preſerving ſuch a degree of national influence with that government, as may enable us hereafter to counteract any attempts to diminiſh our weight, or to erect an alien power that might eventually injure our intereſts, and even one day rival our authority. The propriety of diſcuſſing a ſubject of ſo much moment naturally ſuggeſts itſelf; but a moment's reflection ſerves to convince us, that it ought not to be paſſed over in ſilence. It is too true, that the importance of the objects is hidden only from ourſelves. Thoſe againſt whom it is moſt incumbent on us to guard, are well appriſed of their extent and magnitude; but even were it otherwiſe, the ſecurity which is to ariſe from the ſuppreſſion of points of general knowledge, is fallacious and without dignity. Prudence requires that

the tranſactions of a cabinet ſhould not be divulged; but that policy muſt be very ſhort-ſighted which attempts to conceal from the world what every perſon may diſcover; the bounties of providence, the products, reſources, and local advantages of a great empire.

Britiſh India is more deeply concerned in her commerce and connection with that part of the Birman empire called Pegue, than many perſons, in other reſpects intimately verſed in the affairs of India, ſeem to be aware. This intereſt points to three diſtinct objects; firſt, to ſecure from that quarter regular ſupplies of timber for ſhip building, without which the Britiſh marine of India could exiſt but on a very contracted ſcale; ſecondly, to introduce into that country as much of our manufactures as its conſumption may require, and to endeavour to find a mart in the ſouth-weſt dominions of China, by means of the great river of Ava; thirdly, to guard with vigilance againſt every encroachment, or advance, which may be made by foreign nations to divert the trade into other channels, and obtain a permanent ſettlement in a country ſo contiguous to the capital of our poſſeſſions. This laſt conſideration ſuperſedes all others in the magnitude of the conſequences that might ultimately reſult from it.

It is impoſſible to impreſs my reader by any ſtronger proof with the vaſt importance of the Pegue trade, than briefly to ſtate, that a durable veſſel * of burthen cannot be built in the river of Bengal, except by the aid of teak plank, which is procurable from Pegue alone; and that if the timber trade with that country ſhould by any act of power be wreſted from us, if it ſhould be loſt by misfortune, or forfeited through miſconduct, the marine of Calcutta, which of late years has proved a ſource of unexampled proſperity to our principal ſettlement †, eſſentially benefited the parent country, and given honourable affluence to individuals, muſt be reduced nearly to annihilation, without the poſſibility of our being able to find any adequate ſubſtitute for the material of which we ſhould be deprived. Within the laſt ſix years, ſome of the fineſt merchant ſhips ever ſeen in the river Thames have arrived from Calcutta ‡, where they were built of teak timber; and, after delivering valuable cargoes in

* Ships have been conſtructed of ſaul wood, and of other indigenous timber of Bengal; but on trial they were not found to be ſerviceable.

† The following remarkable inſtance of public ſpirit will evince the advantages that have already been derived by the parent country from the marine of India, and the benefit that may in future be expected.

In the year 1794, when the horrors of impending famine aggravated the miſeries of war, the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, at the recommendation of His Majeſty's miniſters, tranſmitted by expreſs to Lord Teignmouth, then Governor-general of India, intelligence of the calamity that threatened Great Britain, deſiring whatever aid the Government of India could ſupply. On receipt of the diſpatch, the Governor-general, with that promptitude and energy which diſtinguiſhed his adminiſtration, exerted the influence of government with ſuch effect, that 14,000 tons of ſhipping, almoſt entirely India built, were freighted to carry rice to England; and were loaden and cleared from the port of Calcutta in leſs than five months from the date of the arrival of the letter. This ſupply, with the exception of the caſualties of the ſea, arrived moſt opportunely for the relief of the poor of London, and reduced the price of that excellent article of food to three halfpence a pound. So extraordinary an exertion is neither ſo widely known, nor ſo juſtly appreciated, as it merits. It is a circumſtance which reflects the higheſt credit on all the parties concerned, and deſerves to be recorded, in order to declare to poſterity the vaſt reſources of Great Britain, which was enabled to draw ſeaſonable ſupplies of proviſion for the relief of the metropolis from colonies ſituated at the diſtance of nearly two thirds of the equatorial circumference of the globe.

‡ The Cuvera and the Gabriel, built at Calcutta of Pegue timber, are now in the river, and exhibit no contemptible ſpecimens of the naval architecture of India. The port of Calcutta can furniſh 40,000 tons of ſhipping.

London, were usefully employed in the service of the state: nor would the destruction of the Pegue trade be confined solely, in its effects, to Bengal: the other settlements would sensibly share in the loss. Madras is supplied from Rangoon with timber for all the common purposes of domestic use; and even Bombay, although the coast of Malabar is its principal storehouse, finds it worth while annually to import a large quantity of planks from Pegue.

But whilst it is advantageous to us to promote the exportation of timber from the maritime towns of Pegue, it is as manifestly our interest to discourage the building of ships in the Rangoon river, where the construction is facilitated by local advantages equal to those of any port in the world, and superior to most. The progress made in this art * by the Birmans has of late years been rapid, and increases in proportion as foreigners can place confidence in the Birman government. When merchants find that they can build with security in the Rangoon river, for one-third less cost than in the Ganges, and for nearly half of what they can at Bombay, few will hesitate in their choice of a place. It is said, that the ships of Pegue are not so firmly constructed as those built in our ports, and in general this assertion is true; but the defect does not arise from the want of materials, but because the owners were speculative adventurers, without sufficient funds to defray the charges of labour and of iron, in which material Pegue ships have, by fatal experience, been found deficient. The shipwrights, however, are as expert as any workmen of the East; and their models, which are all from France, are excellent: the detriment, therefore, that arises to us from the construction of ships at Rangoon, is not less evident than the benefit that we derive from importing the unmanufactured material. The Birmans, sagaciously knowing their own interest, set us an example of policy, by remitting all duty on cordage, canvas, and wrought iron, provided these articles are, *bona fide*, brought for the equipment of a new vessel; the port charges also are not exacted from a new ship, on leaving the river to proceed on her first voyage. A conduct on their part so wise, suggests to us the expediency of adopting some measures for our own interest; an alien duty, or a modified disqualification, would, probably, like the acts of parliament in aid of British navigation, prove the most effectual remedy. Trade cannot be prosecuted in the Indian seas to any extent, except with British ports: many objections, it is true, may be made to such a proposition; but the good resulting to us would be immediate and certain, whilst the ill consequences, if any there be, are equivocal and remote.

But if we are called upon by our interest in a commercial point of view, to check the growth of ship-building at Rangoon, how much more important is the subject when seen in a political light? It is a fact which appears to merit some consideration, and is perhaps not generally adverted to, that in a very few years, and at a small comparative expence, a formidable navy may rise on the banks of the Irrawaddy from the forests of Pegue. It is probably not known, that artificers † are educating by our enemies for that express purpose, whilst we encourage their progress in the science, by enabling them to derive benefit and acquire experience at the same time. National security, therefore, as well as mercantile advantage, strongly urge a vigilant attention to a quarter whence the means of injury to ourselves may so abundantly be drawn.

* The Suburb, a very fine ship, which was on the stocks when I was at Rangoon, has lately delivered a valuable cargo in the river Thames; the Laurestone also, a vessel of considerable force, which, I believe, was taken into the French line during the last war, was constructed at the same port.

† The French have long maintained an agent at Rangoon, and are thoroughly acquainted with the advantages which the country of Pegue offers.

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The imports into Rangoon from the Britiſh ſettlements in the year 1794-5 amounted, I was informed, to more than 12 lacks of rupees, about £135,000 ſterling; theſe conſiſted chiefly of coarſe piece goods, glaſs, hardware, and broad-cloth; the demand for the laſt article in the year 1795 was conſiderable; returns were made almoſt wholly in timber. A few unimportant commodities are annually carried from Pegue to the coaſt of Pedier and the Prince of Wales's Iſland, for the China market. The timber trade, though attended with a certain advantage to the carrier, yet, not producing ſuch large profits as a more hazardous venture to the eaſtern ſtraits, to China and the Malay coaſt, is ſeldom proſecuted by merchants of the higheſt commercial credit, who aim at making a fortune by the ſucceſs of a ſingle voyage, for which the ſhip is uſually freighted with that valuable and alluring drug opium, ſo eagerly ſought after by the Chineſe, yet ſo ſtrictly prohibited by their government. Owning to this enterprizing ſpirit among merchants in India, a ſhip is ſeldom ſent to carry wood, except when the owners have not funds to provide a more valuable cargo; and this inability frequently extends even to the means of defraying the expence of a lading of timber: hence the maſter of a veſſel often finds himſelf embarraſſed when on the eve of departure, and the veſſel is ſometimes detained by legal demands which he cannot diſcharge. Difficulty produces contention, and provokes bitter and generally groundleſs invectives againſt the laws of the country, which, though oppreſſive to the ſubject, are certainly lenient to foreigners.

Timber for maritime purpoſes is the only article the Birman empire produces, of which we ſtand in indiſpenſable need, and to promote or encourage the culture and exportation of thoſe commodities which form the valuable ſtaples of Britiſh India, almoſt all of which the kingdom of Ava is capable of yielding, would operate to the manifeſt injury of our own provinces. We require and ſhould ſeek for nothing more than a mart for our manufactured goods, and, in return, to bring back their unwrought materials; interference in any other ſhape appears to be impolitic, and likely, in the end, to prove prejudicial to ourſelves.

The maritime ports of this great empire are commodious for ſhipping, and better ſituated for Indian commerce than thoſe of any other power. Great Britain poſſeſſes the weſtern ſide of what is called the Bay of Bengal; the government of Ava, the eaſtern; which is far ſuperior to the former in the facilities it affords to navigation. From the mouth of the Ganges to Cape Comorin, the whole range of our continental territory, there is not a ſingle harbour capable of affording ſhelter to a veſſel of five hundred tons burthen; it is an unbroken line of expoſed ſhore, where ſhips muſt ride in open roads: but Ava comprehends within her extent of coaſt, three excellent ports; Negrais, the moſt ſecure harbour in the bay, Rangoon and Mergui, each of which is equally convenient, and much more acceſſible than the river of Bengal, which is the only port in our poſſeſſion within the bay.

The entrance into the river of Bengal preſents as intricate and dangerous a channel as any that is known; and during three months of the year a ſhip, in leaving the Ganges, incurs conſiderable hazard from being obliged to beat againſt a foul wind, in ſhoal water, among ſurrounding ſands; but from the harbour of Negrais a ſhip launches at once into the open bay, and may work to the ſouthward, without any other impediment than what the monſoon oppoſes. Rangoon, at that particular ſeaſon, is more perilous than Negrais, eſpecially to veſſels bound from the Straits of Malacca, Pulo Penang, and other eaſtern ports; theſe, if not well acquainted with the violent current ſetting at that period to the eaſtward, are liable to be deceived in their reckoning, and, imagining themſelves to be farther weſt than they really are, ſometimes

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ſtand too much to the northward, till they get entangled among the ſhoals of what is called the Bay of Martaban, whence a retreat is very difficult, and where the tide flows with ſuch impetuoſity, and riſes ſo high, that anchors are uſeleſs, and retard, but for a very ſhort period, the impending fate. Ships ſailing from the weſtward, by making Cape Negrais, and keeping within ſight of the coaſt, until they come near the bar of Rangoon, avoid thoſe dangers; at every other ſeaſon Rangoon may be approached and left with perfect ſecurity; the bar is narrow, and contains depth of water at three-quarters flood ſufficient for veſſels of any burthen. The channel of the river is unimpeded, carrying from ſix to eight fathoms as high as the town of Rangoon.

Bleſſed with ſo extraordinary a coincidence of advantages, ariſing from ſituation, extent, produce and climate, the kingdom of Ava, or, more properly, the Birman empire, is, among eaſtern nations, ſecond in importance to China alone, whilſt, from its contiguity to Britiſh India, it becomes to us of much greater conſequence. We can have no reaſon in the preſent proſperous ſtate of our affairs, to dread the hoſtilities of all the native powers of India combined. Our hereditary foe is deſtroyed; and there remains no other who bears towards us any fixed or rooted enmity: the Birmans certainly do not; but however favourable their natural diſpoſition may be, that characteriſtic pride and unbounded arrogance which govern their conduct towards other ſtates, may lead them to offer indignity which we cannot avoid reſenting, and to commit acts of aggreſſion, as in the affair at Chittagong, which we ſhall be obliged to repel. Such neceſſity is ſincerely to be deprecated: ſteadineſs and temper in our negociations, and a reaſonable allowance for their miſtaken principles, will go far to avert the ill conſequences that might ariſe from their haughty and weak aſſumption. We cannot expect from a proud and victorious people, impreſſed with an extravagant opinion of their own power, that reverence which the ſtates of India have been taught to feel for our eſtabliſhed character. The principal nations to the eaſt of Bengal are to be conſidered by themſelves as a kind of body politic, wholly diſtinct from all others; and in fact China, Ava, and the countries ſouth of them, compoſe a body in extent and number of inhabitants more than equal to all Europe. Theſe nations are connected by a ſtriking ſimilarity of manners and political maxims; to which, as they cannot be ſuddenly changed, we ought to aſſimilate in our intercourſe with their governments, as far as the dignity of our own will permit. To preſerve a correſpondence and a good underſtanding with the court of Ava is eſſentially expedient for our own proſperity; but, for the reaſons already ſtated, that connection ſhould not be too intimate. A limited trade and a preponderating influence, ſufficient to counteract the machinations of our enemies, are the utmoſt lengths that we ſhould go; by our not interfering farther, the Birmans will be convinced of the moderation and juſtice of our principles, and learn from them to repel the inſidious advances of any other power, made with a latent view to undermine their dominion, and ultimately to wreſt their country from them. It is our intereſt to maintain their independence, and to guard it from foreign encroachment; whilſt a knowledge of this truth cannot fail, in the end, to unite the Birman government to ours, in bonds of reciprocal amity and confidence.

During the few days that we continued at Rangoon, I had the pleaſure to interchange many reciprocal marks of civility with the Maywoon, who paid me a viſit on board the Sea-Horſe; after which we rowed in his war-boat to a very fine ſhip belonging to him, which had recently been built, and, he aſſured me, was entirely the workmanſhip of native artificers.

Whilſt we remained here, Dr. Buchanan, accompanied by one of the officers of the Sea-Horſe, made an excurſion on horſeback a few miles off, to view a village inhabited by

by Carianers, the ſimple rural race of people of whom mention has already been made. Paſſing by the great temple of Shoedagoung, they proceeded along an indifferent road, about three miles, till they arrived at one of the villages which they ſought: it contained not more than ten or a dozen houſes raiſed on poſts, and diſpoſed in ſuch a manner as to incloſe a ſquare yard, in which were a number of buffaloes. The head man was gone to a diſtant village; but one of the inhabitants invited the ſtrangers to enter his dwelling, and hoſpitably offered what his houſe afforded. The viſitants aſcended a narrow ladder about twelve feet high into a ſort of barn, divided into two by a mat partition; the floor was of rough boards, the ſides of mats, and a roof, compoſed of bamboos, was covered with thatch; at night they draw up the ladder, and, cloſing the door, ſleep ſecure from the aſſaults of wild beaſts, or the depredations of thieves. Seven or eight men, as many women, and ſeveral children, conſtituted a numerous family; they ſeemed a healthy and vigorous race of people, and were of a fairer complexion than the generality of ſouthern Birmans; ſome of the women wore rich ſtrings of coral round their necks, and were even adorned with ornaments of gold and ſilver; they ſpeak a dialect peculiar to themſelves, but their language is radically the ſame as the Birman. There are both Pegue and Birman Carianers, who differ in the ſame degree as the nations to which they are attached; they complain of being oppreſſed by the Birmans; but their appearance did not indicate ſevere oppreſſion, and they have a certain ſale for whatever their induſtry can raiſe. Dr. Buchanan ſaw ſeveral Birmans on the road carrying baſkets; ſome going for the produce of their gardens, others returning with burthens of fruit and vegetables. The life theſe people lead is truly paſtoral; they have no other buſineſs or object except that of cultivating the ſoil and tending their flocks; their religion is the worſhip of Gaudma; but in theſe rites they do not join with the ſame fervour that animates the Birmans; they rather ſeem to acquieſce in the doctrines of their conquerors, which they do not even profeſs to underſtand.

Dr. Buchanan interrogated one of the men, who admitted their want of knowledge, and aſſigned as the reaſon, that God once wrote his laws and commands on the ſkin of a buffalo, and called upon all nations of the earth to come and take a copy; a ſummons which all obeyed, except the Carianers, who had not leiſure, being occupied in the buſineſs of huſbandry; and that, in conſequence of this neglect, they remained ever ſince in a ſtate of ignorance, without any other cares than thoſe which related to their paſtoral employment. On going away, Dr. Buchanan offered them a few pieces of ſilver, which ſo excited their ſurpriſe, being quite unaccuſtomed to ſuch acts of liberality, that they heſitated to receive the money, and ſeemed at a loſs to what motive to aſcribe his bounty. After looking at one another, and talking for a minute or two with much earneſtneſs, the women, on a ſudden, as if his deſign had juſt been diſcovered, all ran away laughing, whilſt the men ſullenly declined the gift; in fact, they concluded that the Doctor wanted to purchaſe the favours of one of their females, having no notion of a diſintereſted donation. The ladies, however, did not wait to aſcertain for whom the golden apple was deſigned, and it was in vain he tried to convince the men that their ſuſpicions were ill founded. Theſe poor people entertain a delicacy in regard to women, which their more enlightened conquerors do not feel. To prove the purity of his intentions, however, the Doctor left the money on the floor when he departed. The gentlemen returned by the ſame road, and in their way examined a mineral ſpring in the neighbourhood of the great Pagoda.

I had an opportunity at Rangoon of obſerving that the Birmans of diſtinction played at cheſs, a circumſtance which, from our ſecluded ſituation at the capital, had eſcaped my notice. This game is held in high eſtimation among the ſuperior ranks: the board they uſe is exactly ſimilar to ours, containing 64 ſquares, and their number of troops the ſame, 16 on each ſide; but the names, the power and diſpoſal of them, differ eſſentially: the King and his miniſter (a Queen is never introduced by the Orientals) are mounted on elephants; theſe are defended by two caſtles or yettay, two knights on horſeback, Mene, two officers on foot, one called Meem, the other Chekey, and eight Maundelay or foot ſoldiers: the forces of each party are arranged on three lines, by which eight ſquares remain unoccupied; none of the pieces poſſeſs equal force with our Queen; and this reſtricted operation renders the Birman mode of playing more complex and difficult than ours. The Birmans affirm, that it is a game of high antiquity, and that it is acknowledged and authorized by their ſacred writings, although every play of chance is prohibited. This teſtimony confirms * the opinion of the late Sir William Jones, that cheſs was invented in India, and is not, as generally imagined, of Perſian origin: the Birmans call it Chedreen, a word that bears ſome reſemblance to the name which is given to the game in moſt other parts of the world.

During the time that the Engliſh deputation was at Ummerapoora, Captain Thomas witneſſed at Rangoon a remarkable inſtance of a trial by the ordeal of water, the circumſtances of which he thus related to me: Two women of the middling claſs litigated a ſmall property before the court of juſtice; and as the judges found great difficulty in deciding the queſtion of right, it was at length agreed, by mutual conſent, to put the matter to the iſſue of an ordeal. The parties, attended by the officers of the court, ſeveral Rhahaans, or prieſts, and a vaſt concourſe of people, repaired to a tank or pond in the vicinity of the town. After praying to the Rhahaans for ſome time, and performing certain purificatory ceremonials, the litigants entered the pond, and waded in it till the water reached their breaſts; they were accompanied by two or three men, one of whom placing the women cloſe to each other, and putting a board on their heads, at a ſignal given, preſſed upon the board till he immerſed them both at the ſame inſtant. They remained out of ſight about a minute and a half, when one of them, nearly ſuffocated, raiſed her head, whilſt the other continued to ſit upon her hams at the bottom, but was immediately lifted up by the men; after which an officer of the court ſolemnly pronounced judgment in her favour; and of the juſtice of this deciſion none of the bye-ſtanders appeared to entertain the ſmalleſt doubt, from the infallibility of the proof which had been given.

The trial by ordeal, in all countries where the Hindoo religion prevails, is as ancient as their records. The late Ali Ibrahim Khan, native chief magiſtrate of Benares, has communicated, in a very curious paper*, the modes by which this appeal to the Deity is made, as they are deſcribed in the Metaſchera, or comment on the Dherma Saſtra, in the chapter on oaths: the Birmans, being governed by the ſame authority, obſerve nearly ſimilar forms; but as knowledge increaſes, and mankind become more enlightened, theſe abſurd practices loſe ground, and have of late years been diſcountenanced by the judicial courts both of India and of Ava.

* See a paper on the Indian game of Cheſs by the Preſident of the Aſiatic Society, in the 2d vol. of Aſiatic Reſearches.

† This paper was preſented to the Aſiatic Society by Warren Haſtings Eſq. See "On the Trial by Ordeal among the Hindoos." Aſiat. Reſearch. vol. i.

Previous to our departure, the Maywoon of Pegue delivered to my care a letter addreſſed to the Governor-general of India, couched in very friendly terms, but dictated in the uſual ſtyle of turgid extravagance; he enumerated in it the conceſſions granted in favour of Engliſh commerce, and expreſſed a determination to execute his part with punctuality and attention. His Birman Majeſty has long entertained a deſire to procure an Engliſh carriage, with the diſtinctions of Birman royalty attached to it: in this letter the Maywoon made a requeſt that ſuch a one might be ſent; and in order to direct the artiſt, I was furniſhed with a very intelligible and well executed drawing *, performed at Ummerapoora by the king's painter. It diſplayed the carriage and body of an Engliſh crane-necked chariot, gilded all over: from the top of the body there roſe a regal ſpire, or piaſath, in ſeparate ſtages, bearing a miniature reſemblance to thoſe which ornamented the palace and royal barge; four lions in a crouching attitude guarded the carriage, two on the fore part, and two behind; and a bird, deſigned, I imagine, to repreſent the Henza, or tutelary gooſe, was placed in front with expanded wings. The Maywoon's letter, however, contained a requiſition of yet greater importance; which was, to obtain materials for the eſtabliſhment of a mint, a deſign which, if carried into effect †, muſt conſiderably promote the proſperity of the country, as the neceſſity of weighing lumps of lead and ſilver, and aſcertaining the purity, operate as a ſenſible impediment to commerce.

On the 26th of November, the day preceding that of our embarkation, I waited on the Maywoon, accompanied by the gentlemen of the deputation and Captain Thomas, to take our final leave. I had occaſion to feel myſelf individually obliged to him for his perſonal attentions, whilſt his mild adminiſtration and pleaſing manners had acquired my eſteem: he is univerſally acknowledged to be a good man, and ſeems highly to deſerve that reputation. I had opportunities of witneſſing ſeveral inſtances of his benevolence and humanity, and, although his authority within his own juriſdiction is abſolute, I never heard him accuſed of an abuſe of his power, or of a ſingle act of oppreſſion or injuſtice. Such a character, in a country where the moſt rigorous and often barbarous deſpotiſm prevails, is entitled to particular encomium. We parted with mutual, and, I am inclined to believe, not inſincere profeſſions of permanent good will.

On the morning of the 27th we breakfaſted on board the Sea-horſe; moſt of the attendants, with our heavy baggage, had embarked on the preceding day, and at ten o'clock we weighed anchor. It had previouſly been agreed, that the company's ſhip ſhould ſalute the Birman flag with eleven guns, which were to be anſwered by an equal number from the battery on ſhore: Captain Thomas performed his part of the agreement; but the battery, which was very ſlow in acknowledging the compliment, returned only ſeven. This apparent mark of diſreſpect, which could not be attributed to ignorance, I conceived rather to originate in the perſon who had charge of the battery, and who might think to recommend himſelf by it, than from any higher authority; it was, however, ſuch an oſtenſible and public ſlight to the company's colours, that I judged it expedient to write a note to the Maywoon to acquaint him of the fact.

* The European part of this drawing was made from an old carriage, which had been introduced into the Ava country ſeveral years before. The Governor-general complied with both the requeſts contained in the Maywoon's letter, and in the following year ſent a very ſuperb chariot to his Birman Majeſty, conſtructed according to the repreſentation: the top of the ſpire, notwithſtanding the body hung very low, was 18 feet from the ground; it was extremely rich and well executed.

† It is ſurpriſing that the Chineſe have no national coin; at the port of Canton, dollars in ſome meaſure ſupply the deficiency; but in the interior of the kingdom the inconvenience muſt be generally felt.

We dropped down with the ebb as far as the Chokey, or watch ſtation, from whence the cuſtom-houſe officer viſited the Sea-horſe on her firſt arrival. In paſſing the mouth of the Pegue river, we obſerved that at the entrance it was nearly as wide as the great river; but that breadth ſoon diminiſhes to a very contracted ſpace: ſeveral large creeks branched off both to the right and the left, which the pilot ſaid were navigable to a conſiderable diſtance by boats of heavy burthen. In the evening we again weighed, and croſſed the bar at midnight; early next morning we ſaw the land-mark called the Elephant, and, favoured by the ebb, paſſed the China Bakir river. The wind not being ſtrong enough when the tide turned to enable us to ſtem the flood, we again came to anchor, being in company with a ſhip named the Hope, bound alſo to Calcutta. On the following morning we ſtood to the ſouthward on the firſt of the ebb, which bore us along with it againſt an unfavourable breeze. On the 30th we made Diamond Iſland and Cape Negrais, and next day, at an early hour, paſſed a ſhip ſtanding towards Rangoon, which appeared to have ſuffered ſeverely from a recent ſtorm, having loſt her main-top and fore-top gallant maſts; the wind was at this time north-north-weſt, and a heavy ſwell from the ſame quarter indicated that there had lately been a hard gale, a very unuſual circumſtance at that ſeaſon of the year.

Keeping within a few leagues of the coaſt, we continued to beat againſt an unfavourable wind until the 9th of December, when we made Cheduba, a fertile iſland belonging to the Birman government: the channel between this iſland and the main is annually navigated by large trading boats, but it does not afford a ſafe paſſage for ſhipping. The length of the iſland we judged to be about forty-five miles; it yields abundance of rice, and is governed by a Chekey, or lieutenant, who is ſubject to the Maywoon of Arracan. Having now the benefit of regular land and ſea breezes, we were enabled to make ſome progreſs to the northward. On the morning of the 11th we ſaw what are called the Broken Iſlands, on the coaſt of Arracan, which are for the moſt part a barren aſſemblage of rocky eminences, affording ſhelter only to pirates and thieves. On the 12th and 13th we experienced much inconvenience, the wind, which was directly againſt us, blowing with ſuch violence, that the ſhip laboured greatly, and our fore-top-ſail was torn from the yard. On the 14th the weather moderated, and the wind veering a little to the eaſtward, we had the good fortune on the 16th to diſcover a pilot ſchooner at anchor, between the eaſtern and weſtern reefs near the mouth of the Ganges: neap tides prevailing, our paſſage up the river was tedious, and the wind coming invariably from the northern quarter, rendered it hazardous to proceed by night. On the 22d we reached Budge-budge, where I found a pulwar waiting *, which my friend Captain Sandys, as ſoon as he heard of the arrival of the Sea-horſe, had diſpatched to meet me; at this place I quitted the ſhip, and in two hours reached Calcutta, after an eventful abſence of ten months.

* A commodious kind of boat uſed in the river Ganges.

# *HISTORY OF SIAM.*

From the French of TURPIN*.

## CHAPTER I.—*Of the Origin of the Siameſe.*

THE origin of the name of Siam is unknown to its own inhabitants, and thoſe who rely on the aid of etymology to diſperſe the obſcurity which veils the cradle of nations, derive it from the Pegouan language, in which the word *Siam* ſignifies *free*; therefore theſe people boaſt of having the ſame name with the French (Francks); and although always ſubject to deſpots who tyranniſe over them, or neighbours who oppreſs them, they deck themſelves with a name which can only ſerve to reproach them with their ſlavery and degradation.

It is ſuſpected that it was given them by the Portugueſe, who, before they entered this kingdom, already poſſeſſed ſettlements in Pegou. Geographers are not agreed as to its ſituation: it is known that it lies in the peninſula of India, poſſeſſing 120 leagues in length, and rather more than 100 in its greateſt breadth. La Loubere, to the north, aſſigns it the country of Laos; to the eaſt, the kingdoms of Cambaya and Keo; to the ſouth, the great Gulph of Siam; and on the weſt, the peninſula of Malaca. It is in the form of a half-moon, 450 leagues in circuit. The maritime coaſts are well known, but ſcarcely any thing of its interior. The whole of this country is bordered by high mountains, which ſeparate it from the kingdoms of Laos, Pegou, and Ava. Theſe chains of mountains leave between them a vaſt plain of near 100 leagues in extent, which forms the chief part of the kingdom.

The coaſts of the Gulph of Siam are computed at 200 leagues, and thoſe on the Bay of Bengal at 180. A country ſurrounded by ſuch an extent of ſeas is well adapted for commerce and navigation. Bountiful nature has beſtowed on it many ports, while ſhe has been ſparing to the oppoſite coaſt of Coromandel.

The origin of this people is concealed beneath a veil of myſtery, which they are ſcrupulous of removing. Their claims to antiquity are a collection of fables, ſupported by popular traditions, which with them ſupply the place of hiſtoric monuments. They have neither books nor public archives where the chronicles of the nation might be depoſited. It is true, that in 1685 they reckoned an æra of 2229 years, which began at Sommona-Kodon, the founder of their religious worſhip; but their ignorance of all the arts ſhould render their chronology doubtful; it cannot be determined if they are the deſcendants of the original inhabitants of this country. Thoſe who

* Paris, 1771, 2 vols. 12mo.

believe

believe this nation to be a mixture of different people, adduce the two languages which are in uſe; but their argument has no weight, if it is conſidered that, in all the countries of India, the language of their learned men is different from that of the common people.

Every thing evinces the infancy of this nation. The lands are ſo low, that they are inundated every year; it is then to be preſumed, that the firſt who choſe to inhabit it came from the neighbouring countries, in proportion as the ſea, leaving the ſoil, rendered it capable of cultivation. It was neceſſary to find out the ſecret of oppoſing dykes to the inundations, ſo as not to dread its ravages. Troubleſome inſects, with which the country is covered, and the burning heat of the climate, muſt for a long time have been motives to give the preference to countries more favoured by nature. It is more likely that the inhabitants of the flat country are deſcended from the inhabitants of the mountains, who to this day are diſtinguiſhed by the name of Great Siameſe.

The blood is there ſo mixed, that it is eaſy to perceive that this nation is formed of ſeveral others. Commerce, which procures ſuch great advantages to different people of the Eaſt, doubtleſs led many foreign merchants to form ſettlements there. The frequent revolutions which have overturned the empires of Japan, China, Tonquin, and Cochin China, have at different times exiled a number of people, who took refuge in Siam to avoid their oppreſſors.

The Laos and Pegouans have eſtabliſhed a conſiderable colony there, ſince their country, being laid waſte by the Bramas, obliged them to ſeek an aſylum in a foreign land: they were received as diſtreſſed people by a compaſſionate nation, who aſſigned them a territory, and ſubjected them to pay a ſlight tribute. Several people, flying from their country, deſolated by the incurſions of a foreigner, joined them, and they ſoon, by their number and courage, aroſe to be a formidable body. The government, alarmed at their increaſe, thought it politic to diſperſe and weaken them; and ſince that diſperſion, they have continued mixed with the ancient inhabitants, from whom they are only diſtinguiſhed by their language. Their women are known by the regularity of their figure, the whiteneſs of their complexion, and the elegance of their gay and ſtudied coſtume; but if they exceed the Siameſe by the graces of the body and vivacity of their mind, they are much inferior to them in purity of manners.

The Malays joined themſelves with ſeveral neighbouring people to form ſettlements there. They are a turbulent and ferocious people, who, led away by the violence of their temper, foment rebellions, that they may acquire the right to pillage with impunity. The experience afforded by their reſtleſs and perverſe character, has cauſed all thefts and aſſaſſinations committed in the country to be attributed to them. Their courage makes them face dangers and death without ſhrinking; and they would rather die with their arms in their hands than be indebted for their life to an enemy who knows how to pardon. For ſome time they enjoyed the higheſt conſideration: ſeveral were raiſed to the firſt dignities of the empire by the favour of the prime miniſter, who was of their nation, and, like them, a Mahometan; but the diſgrace of their patron threw them back to their former abjection, and from that time they have been reduced to exiſt by their plundering, which ſupplies all their wants.

Almoſt all the nations of India have ſettlements there. The ancient kings had a guard of Japoneſe; but this militia rendered itſelf formidable by placing an uſurper on the throne. This Prince was ſenſible, that men who were powerful enough to elevate him, had the ſame means of deſtroying their work. His timid and ſuſpicious policy made

made him ungrateful, and he ordered them to be exterminated. Thus did these insulars become the victims of a jealous monarch, who had made them the instruments of his greatness.

The Chinese colony is the most numerous and flourishing by the extent of its commerce, and by the privileges which it enjoys. Its compliance with received customs, a certain conformity of character and manners, seem to ensure it a continuance of its privileges and prosperity.

If the frequent revolutions which change the destiny of this empire, did not snatch from their possessors the fruits of their labour and industry, strangers would arrive from all parts of the world to settle in a country so highly favoured by nature.

Several people of Europe have colonies there, and the Portuguese set the first example; and as they are the most ancient of all foreigners in that country, so are they the most indigent. Several villages inhabited by a number of their families, present a spectacle of the most deplorable poverty. Their natural laziness, increased by the climate, prevents them from profiting by the advantages of a country, where they have brought their vices, without assuming their virtues.

England laid the foundation of an establishment there, but the haughtiness of this people, jealous of their independence, could not bend to the yoke of a despot, who put no bounds to his authority. Their refractory spirit brought them into disgrace, and they were obliged to quit a country, where they would have wished to have reared an altar to liberty. Some few, more pliant and conformable, have remained, but without forming a national body.

The French, whose commencement is always brilliant, experienced a short-lived prosperity; but, incapable of conducting themselves, they fell under the vanity of wishing to govern others, and inflated censurers of foreign customs, they were ridiculous enough to propose themselves as so many models. This national vice humbled the pride of the Siamese, attached, even to obstinacy, to all their customs, and the success of the French was as inconstant as their character.

The Dutch, flexible, and ever ready to receive impressions from those who have it in their power to enrich them, are the only Europeans who have erected establishments on solid foundations. Every thing suits them, when it is serviceable to them. Simplicity of manners obtained them the confidence of a nation who think they have a right to mistrust all those who live plunged in luxury. Not that other foreigners are not frequent there, particularly French adventurers, who go to exalt their talents and courage in this kingdom. They are received as long as they are useful; but as soon as they demand the reward of their services, they experience neglect, and they are got rid of as troublesome burthens which encumber the earth.

## CHAP. II. — *Of the City of Siam.*

ALTHOUGH there are reckoned as many as forty different nations in the capital, each of which occupies a separate quarter, it does not appear that the country is very populous, since in the last numbering there were only reckoned 1,900,000 souls in the whole kingdom, where every year an exact register is kept of men, women, and children.

The Siamese call the royal city Sigathia, or simply Crumg, that is to say, the court. The Portuguese, who corrupt all foreign words, by the difficulty they have to pronounce them, have called it Juthya and Odia. This city is not only an island, but it is also situated

ſituated among ſeveral others, which renders its ſituation very ſingular. Although it occupies a vaſt extent, it contains but few inhabitants. The ſouth part, which faces the ſouth, only contains idolatrous temples, where no affluence is ſeen, but on ſolemn days. Three great rivers, which have their ſource in the higher lands, ſurround it on all parts, and croſs it by three large canals, which divide it into different quarters, ſo that it can only be entered by boats. Thoſe places which cannot be approached but by this means remain uninhabited, becauſe the Siameſe are accuſtomed to fix their reſidence only near water, which, in climates burnt by the ſun, affords them the relief of the bath, with them an abſolute neceſſary. It alſo furniſhes them with the facility of tranſports and convoys, neceſſary to maintain plenty, which would ſoon fail in a nation too lazy to cultivate it within itſelf. Thus as you get at a diſtance from the rivers, the country is found leſs inhabited, and few travellers have been tempted to penetrate into deſerts, whoſe ſtillneſs is only interrupted by the howling of wild beaſts.

All the outſkirts of the city are embelliſhed by houſes and gardens. Small fortifications are obſerved at certain diſtances, the moſt regular of which was built on the plan of a Portugueſe Dominican. They have alſo erected baſtions, which might ſecure the city from all inſult, if it had fewer citizens and more ſoldiers to defend it.

The three great rivers which deſcend from the lands, after traverſing the city by different canals, form ſeveral large iſlands, where fields are obſerved planted with rice. Theſe canals unite in a broad and deep river which flows to Baniok, and which they call Menan, that is to ſay, the mother of waters, becauſe it waters the whole country. It is on the bank of this river that the chief cities are ſituated. The Siameſe never inhabit but near the water, but they form no ſettlements on the maritime coaſts, and thoſe neareſt to them, are always diſtant at leaſt a day's journey.

Though it ſeldom rains in the royal city, there are certain ſeaſons of the year when the waters, which come from the mountains, ſo ſwell the great rivers, that the water not being able to run off, by the too narrow canals, ſpreads itſelf over the country, which it covers during ſix months of the year.

The inundation begins at the end of July, and the water increaſing two inches every day, ſometimes reaches 13 or 14 feet in height. If it ſhould happen, that it ſhould increaſe a foot in one day, proviſions are ſold at an exorbitant price, and what the day before would fetch two or three crowns, would the next day ſell for fifty. This conſtant and regular inundation, ſpreads fertility in the lands, and it may be ſaid that the Menan is to this kingdom what the Nile is to Egypt. The inhabitants favoured with this bounty of nature, have no occaſion to moiſten the earth, with the ſweat of their brow, to obtain an abundant return of rice. It is ſufficient lightly to open the ſurface of the ſoil, and throw the ſeed into it, which the inundation cauſes to ſhoot, and the heat of the climate ſoon brings to maturity. But the ſource of this plenty is alſo the origin of all their vices. And as the produce of their fields is not the fruit of their labour, they ſtagnate in a worthleſs ſlothfulneſs, and only ſeem to exiſt to eat and multiply their kind. Their whole labour conſiſts in driving the birds from their ſown fields, the troubleſome and numerous ſwarms of which ſeem to darken the air: they make ſcarecrows, and ſtrike on braſs plates, to drive away theſe deſtructive enemies.

It is an agreeable ſight to ſee an extent of ten leagues preſenting at the ſame time the picture of a ſea, and a champaign crowned with grain. No dry land is obſerved

except at certain diſtances, on which are built large idolatrous temples. The ears which riſe above the ſurface of the waters, yield with eaſe under the boats, and riſe again without being injured: the water riſes to the firſt ſtory, therefore all the houſes are built on piles, and Siam at the time of the inundation, ſeems to have been built on the model of Venice. The fiſh ſpread themſelves over the fields, where they fatten and multiply. Near the Portugueſe quarter is a temple of idols, where a large fiſh is found which has no teeth, and which regularly aſſembles in great quantity in this ſpot: they go to ſee them with a ſuperſtitious curioſity, and no one dares to take them. If any one was raſh enough to wound them, he would be expoſed to the danger of being knocked down by the prieſts.

The private houſes are convenient, and eaſily built, being only made of wood, and covered with leaves; the walls are of bamboo. The furniture merely conſiſts in ſome carpets and cuſhions; they have neither beds, chairs, tables, cabinets, nor paintings. They ſleep on a ſimple mat, with a ſlight covering, but, notwithſtanding this ſimplicity, an elegant neatneſs reigns in all their apartments.

The King's palace reſembles a city, the encloſure of which is ſurrounded with three ranges of brick walls; there are no windows. The building has nothing intereſting in it, but the ſize of the chambers where the King gives audience; the walls are naked and without any decoration; but the boards are covered with magnificent Perſian carpets. The monarch appears ſeated on an eſtrade a little elevated, and covered with a carpet, ſo old that its original colour is not to be diſtinguiſhed. On extraordinary days, the King gives audience from a balcony. In the interior are obſerved three brick edifices, the middle one of which is an idolatrous temple. One ſide of the palace is for the men, and the other for the women. The fronts are all gilt, and the roofs are covered with a kind of tin, and gilt in ſtripes.

On the ſame ſide of the city towards the eaſt, is the palace of the Grand Prince, a cannon ſhot diſtant from the King's, the top of which is not crowned with an arrow, like that of the monarch's. Several other edifices are obſerved, whoſe exterior announces the reſidence of a powerful King: they are only elephants' ſtables, and eſpecially of thoſe which have rank, either for their beauty or particular inſtinct. They are brought up with much care, and when their qualities anſwer the pains taken with them, the monarch beſtows on them the title of Count, Marquis, then Duke, and laſtly Peer. Thus this ſingular people laviſh on animals titles of honor, the ambition of poliſhed nations. The Prince of elephants, has his palace apart, where he is ſerved by dignified officers.

This palace is only open to foreign ambaſſadors, we are therefore ignorant of its police, puniſhments, and amuſements. The women's apartments are ſeparated from one another, to prevent the uſual diſſenſions which ariſe from rivalſhip. In the interior is a temple enriched with gold and ſilver ſtatues: alſo repreſentations of all kinds of fruit in the ſame metals: there likewiſe are depoſited the preſents which each province ſends to the monarch twice a year; and this tribute conſiſts of five flowers of gold, each weighing ſix ounces, and five of ſilver of the ſame weight. Near the temple is the royal treaſury, where all the coined ſilver is placed, without any being ever taken from it. This gulph is opened but to ſwallow up every thing, and the glory of the Kings lies in accumulating uſeleſs riches. The policy which preſerves them for extraordinary occaſions, has often brought the ſtate to the brink of a precipice. The covetous foreigner, to invade them, often makes incurſions, which ſucceed. It would be more advantageous to the Siameſe monarchs

to poſſeſs iron to fabricate arms, than heaps of gold, which awaken the cupidity of avaricious neighbours.

There is another treaſure, appropriated to daily expences, and it is from that they take to lend to all merchants on uſury. Girls are ſometimes carried off from the provinces, to be deſtined for the ſervices of the palace. Fathers, fearing to be deprived for ever of their children, take the precaution of marrying them very young, or elſe pay conſiderable ſums to the officers charged with the execution of this tyranny, and theſe officers ſeduced by the weight of the preſents declare the girls incapable of ſervice.

It is in this ſilent retreat, inhabited by ten thouſand men, that an inviſible monarch repoſes on the boſom of voluptuouſneſs or debauchery. His ſubjects, by whom he is unknown, are only ſenſible that they have a maſter, by the dread he inſpires, or by the oppreſſions he orders. It would be profanation of the majeſty of this tyrant, to mention his name, or to enquire after his health. The care taken to maintain reſpect deſtroys attachment; and the love of the Siameſe for their King is a weak and faded ſentiment; therefore when a rebel ſtarts up, they wait the event with indifference. Thoſe deſtined to wear chains are never inclined to incur dangers for him who impoſes them. An army of citizens is invincible;—a horde of ſlaves are devoted to him who will pay and ſupport them.

Siam and the other principal cities of the kingdom are only compoſed of wretched cabins, built without taſte or convenience. The capital is not equal to a quarter of London or Paris; and the Siameſe who have never travelled in other countries, beſtow magnificent names on their ſmall towns, which they look upon as prodigies of art.

The kingdom is divided into ten provinces, which are Supthia, Bancok, Porcelon, Pipli, Campine, Rapri, Tennaſſerim, Ligour, Cambouri and Concacema, which have all a ſeparate governor.

I ſhall confine myſelf to a ſuperficial deſcription of the chief provinces.

Bancok is ſituated ſeven leagues from the ſea, and is called *Fou* in Siameſe. Its environs are ornamented with delightful gardens, which ſupply the inhabitants with much fruit, which they prefer to all other food: its rich and fertile territory preſents an agreeable variety of fruit trees. This city, which is one of the chief bulwarks of the kingdom, was fortified in 1685, by the Chevalier de Chaumont: but all theſe works become uſeleſs to the Siameſe, who neither know how to attack or defend places.

Tennaſſerim is a province whoſe ſoil produces an abundance of rice and excellent fruits. It is in its ſafe and commodious port that veſſels of all nations arrive, and the people find more means of ſubſiſting than in the other parts of the kingdom.

Louvo, which gives its name to a province, is a city which the reſidence of Kings has made a rival of the capital. Their palace, without being large and magnificent, is pleaſant and convenient; the purity of the air attracts them there for eight months in the year.

Pipli, a ſea-port, carries on a conſiderable commerce in rice, cloths, and cotton. Each houſe has its gardens, where they grow great quantities of betel, cocoa, durio, bananas, oranges, and other choice fruits.

Ligor is a ſea-port ſituated at the entrance of the gulph of Siam. It is there that calain is found, a kind of tin, which will be deſcribed. Its territory produces much rice and fruits, which are the food and riches of the country.

Camburi, which is on the frontiers of Pegu, has a great trade in eagle-wood, elephants' teeth, and rhinoceros's horns: it is from this province they obtain the beautiful varniſh.

Porcelon, which the Portugueſe have corrupted into Porſaloue, was formerly under the government of hereditary lords, and it is ſtill in the name of their former maſters, and in their palace, that juſtice is adminiſtered to this day. This city, fortified with 14 baſtions built by French engineers, is rich and commercial, eſpecially in elephants' teeth, rhinoceros's horns, ſkins of wild beaſts, ſugar, tobacco, onions, wax and honey. They make flambeaus of pitch and oil; and the red gum is obtained there, of which is made what is called Spaniſh wax; wood for building and dyeing; and it is its territory which produces a kind of tin, and ambergris.

## CHAP. III. *Manners, Ways, and Cuſtoms of the Siameſe.*

BY a perverſion of order, the Siameſe condemn their women to all labours which require ſtrength, and which fatigue: while this indolent people ſlumber in liſtleſs eaſe, the laborious women cultivate the earth, cut wood, and get in the harveſts. This vice has its ſource in deſpotiſm; every one avenges himſelf on his domeſtic empire for the diſgraceful ſervitude to which he is condemned in public; and he who from his infancy crawls beneath the yoke ever proves an imperious maſter, more deſirous of being obeyed than beloved.

Their ignorance in aſtronomy has introduced the cuſtom of ſtriking on pots and pans when there is an eclipſe, becauſe they are perſuaded that this phenomenon is cauſed by the malignity of a dragon, which devours the two lights of the world; and it is by making a great noiſe, that they endeavour to frighten this animal that would deprive them of the light of day.

With the Siameſe gold is a merchandize, and not money. They have no watches of that metal; all the coins are of ſilver, and the different kinds are only diſtinguiſhed by their ſize; the ſtamp is the ſame. The baſer money conſiſts in ſhells, which conſtitute the repreſentative riches of many nations of the Eaſt.

There is one day in the year, in which they practiſe a ceremony, ſomewhat reſembling that of the Scape-goat, which was cuſtomary among the Jews. They ſingle out a woman, broken down by debauchery, and carry her on a litter through all the ſtreets to the ſound of drums and hautboys. The mob inſult her, and pelt her with dirt: after having ſufficiently expoſed her through the whole city, they throw her on a dunghill, and ſometimes on a hedge of thorns, without the ramparts, forbidding her ever to enter them again. This inhuman and ſuperſtitious ceremony is founded on the belief, that this woman thus draws upon her all the malign influences of the air and of evil ſpirits.

The people are far more lively than the great, who, ſhut up with their women, never go out but to aſſiſt at ceremonies with the dull companions of their ſolitude. In theſe ſolemnities the women appear unveiled.

An effeminate and idle people never ſhine in ſociety. The Siameſe, gentle without vivacity, enjoys a calm delight, which ſeems rather to ariſe from the abſence of pain, than the ſenſation of pleaſure. His ſlothful indifference communicates itſelf to all around him: he is a machine, that can only be put in motion by the hand of another.

They are all of a regular and middling height. Nature, careful in forming them, neither produces lame nor crooked, and they are all well proportioned, as

they come from the hand of that induſtrious mother. There are no deformed people but ſuch as have become ſo by accident. They are moſtly large bodied, broad faces and ſhoulders; their noſe is ſhort and round, and an aquiline one is a rare phenomenon. Many are marked with the ſmall-pox, which diſfigures their features. Their noſtrils are wide, and their complexion ſwarthy, which nevertheleſs does not ſeem to be their natural colour, but ſhould be attributed to their cuſtom of going naked from their earlieſt infancy. The women do not poſſeſs thoſe fine and delicate features, which in Europe give the idea of beauty; and they would ſcarcely be diſtinguiſhable from the men, but for their dreſs and hanging neck, which falls very low.

Though their diſpoſition leads to commerce, the ſource of it is only open to the Monarch, who reſerves to himſelf the privilege of carrying it on with foreigners; therefore the law reſtricts them to internal trade, the advantages of which are very circumſcribed. This people, ſimple in their manners, have had no occaſion for foreign productions. Thoſe born in the loweſt orders find a ſufficient reſource in fiſhing. If the legiſlature did not extinguiſh their commercial induſtry, they would be much abler traders than many other nations. That honeſty which conſtitutes the very baſis of trade, is a virtue they practiſe without effort. The perſon that ſells never counts the money he receives, nor does the buyer ever examine his goods. Muſlins and other linens are ſold in the piece, and they never meaſure them by the yard; one is often liable to be deceived in the weight, becauſe the monies, which are uſed for weights, are almoſt always defaced, and having all the ſame mark, and ſtruck at the ſame corner, they are all ſuppoſed to have the ſame value. Gold is twelve times the value of ſilver.

The kingdom of Siam is covered with ſwampy marſhes, which only yield poor graſs to feed their horſes, which are weak and clumſy; nor do they cut them to render them more docile, or check their ſpirit. They have neither aſſes nor mules. The buffalo, the ox, and the elephant, are the only domeſtic animals from which the Siameſe derive any advantage. The female elephants are employed in domeſtic ſervices; the males, more untractable, are deſtined for war: every body is free to hunt them.

As the country furniſhes but few horſes the King imports them, more eſpecially from Batavia; but the breed is ſmall and ſtubborn. The elephant is a more noble animal, and more adapted for war: he is taught to protect his maſter, to place him on his back with his trunk, and to trample on his enemies. There is always one on guard at the palace, ready accoutered and prepared to march: the driver ſits on his neck without any ſaddle. This animal obedient to command, knows where he ought to ſtop. They uſe a goad of iron or ſilver to increaſe his ſpeed; he ſeems to know the voice of him who has the care of feeding and attending him, and obeys his leaſt ſignal.

Sometimes the Siameſe travel on ſquare ſeats, carried by four or eight men, who are relieved by an equal number. This people, an enemy to all fatigue, only like to travel by water, in veſſels they call *ballons*, which, though made from a ſingle tree, is ſometimes from one hundred to one hundred and twenty feet in length; they have as many as one hundred and twenty rowers, who are placed two and two; but it is only the people of conſequence who travel with ſuch a numerous retinue, to ſhew their dignity: the common ballons contain but twenty at moſt. Theſe rowers have a meaſured kind of a ſong, and they row with grace and eaſe. The women brought up in this exerciſe, which with us is only uſed by the condemned dregs of ſociety, conduct them with much dexterity. Many Siameſe have no other dwelling than their ballons, and ſome of them are highly ornamented and very convenient.

The palanquin is a kind of bed, carried by ſlaves on their ſhoulders. Only thoſe

that are ill, and ſome old people, have a right to uſe them: but all Europeans may enjoy that privilege. The Siameſe have different paraſols, and each rank has its own. Thoſe like ours are for the lower claſs. They have ſome which look like ſo many paraſols one above another, and the King only may uſe them. The Talapoins have them of different forms, which all ſhew their rank.

The King's ballons are made of a ſingle tree, which muſt be ſuppoſed of a prodigious height, ſince they will contain one hundred and fifty rowers. The two ends are very elevated, and he who ſteers them makes the whole bark tremble, when he ſtamps on the poop. It every where is decked by art and the ornaments of ſculpture; and in the middle is elevated a throne, in a pyramidal form, on which the eye dwells with delight. The Siameſe are only good ſailors on their rivers; and for ſea voyages they employ Moors, Chineſe, Malays, and Chriſtians deſcended from Europeans. They row ſitting, their legs croſſed like tailors, and this attitude deprives them of part of their ſtrength and activity. They have alſo ſeveral long and narrow boats, in the conſtruction of which they neither employ nails nor iron, the parts are faſtened together with roots or twigs, which withſtand the deſtructive action of water. They have the precaution to inſert between the joints of the planks a light and porous wood, which ſwells by being wet, cloſes all the openings, and prevents the water from penetrating into the veſſel. When they have not this wood, they rub the chinks by which the water enters with clay.

The conſtant motion obſervable on the Menan preſents the eye with a pleaſing variety. The dignity of thoſe who paſs is eſtimated by the number of the rowers. Each boat has a ſmall room in the center, with a roof of leaves, interwoven in a taſteful manner: it is ſupported by four pillars faſtened to the ſides of the boat. The two ſides have blinds of mats to keep off the rain and ſun. Only the King, the royal family, and Europeans, are allowed to have curtains. Every one elſe is excluded from a privilege, the enjoyment of which could hurt no one.

Although agriculture is much neglected the ancient Kings of Siam were obliged to till the earth at the commencement of each ſeaſon. The intent of this ancient cuſtom was to ennoble an art, which, by a remains of barbariſm, the nations of Europe leave to the loweſt ranks of ſociety. The Kings having degenerated from the ſimplicity of primitive manners, have been fearful of committing their dignity, by devoting themſelves to occupations, which the meanneſs of thoſe who follow them ſeems to have rendered contemptible. Their ſuperſtition has taught them to fear that Heaven, irritated with this prevarication, would curſe the earth with ſterility; therefore, not to ſeem to have aboliſhed a cuſtom, conſecrated by its antiquity, the name of king is given to a mercenary, who, for a day, exerciſes the functions of royalty, and enjoys all the prerogatives attached to it.

Experience has ſhewn that, though Kings are no longer huſbandmen, the lands are not leſs fruitful; therefore they do not now beſtow the name of king on the individual who, by his buffooneries, profaned the dignity of that ſacred title. They at preſent confine themſelves to giving him the name of Grand Lord of the Rice. On the day appointed for this ceremony, he repairs to the field pointed out for him to till. He is mounted on an ox, and followed by all his officers, who take care to collect all the rights annexed to royalty, but the collection is not very conſiderable, by the precaution taken to leave nothing on that day in his way. After he has tilled a ſmall portion of the land, he returns to the city in the ſame order. The aſſembled multitude celebrate games and feſtivals in honour of him. The next day the depoſed monarch returns to his

his original inſignificancy, and the profit he derives from this maſquerade ſcarcely ſuffices to maintain him for a year.

It is not from a principle of avarice that the Siameſe do not ſhew their hoſpitality; a natural and unconſtrained politeneſs unites all hearts; and as generoſity is not ruinous, they willingly provide for the wants of the unfortunate. The poor unable to work is never reduced to the diſgraceful neceſſity of begging for his ſubſiſtence: his compaſſionate neighbours ſupply his wants. Begging is a diſgrace which attaches to the beggar and all his family. It is ſurpriſing that a people with whom poverty is not burthenſome, and intereſt does not engender thoſe animoſities which in other nations create as many enemies as citizens, ſhould be guilty of a moſt prepoſterous uſury. The Monarch ſets the example to his ſubjects: he has a treaſure ſet apart to lend at an intereſt of 50 or even 100 per cent. This uſury is never injurious, becauſe the borrower finds the means of exerting his induſtry, and of carrying on a privileged commerce, without paying any duties.

The parental authority accuſtoms the children to an implicit obedience: the father is intereſted by natural affection, and by the law of the country, early to implant in their hearts the ſeeds of virtue; for if afterwards the children fall into any miſdemeanor, or commit any crime, the whole family is included in the puniſhment inflicted by the law. Politeneſs and docility are the fruits of the inſtructions beſtowed on them. At the age of ſeven, their education is entruſted to learned and virtuous Talapoins, whoſe dreſs they aſſume, and which they quit when they return to the rank of citizen. Thoſe who have not had ſuch maſters are ſhut out from dignities, and they are ſuppoſed not to have acquired in a domeſtic education the neceſſary knowledge to form the man of public buſineſs. Their family allows them a penſion proportionate to their means, and ſome have ſeveral ſlaves ſolely to wait upon them. As all the Siameſe are intended for trade, they merely teach them to read, write, and caſt accompts. The idolatrous prieſts train their minds beneath the yoke of prejudices and ſuperſtition, and teach them errors which they would be happy to be able to forget.

Two languages are in uſe among this people. The language of the country, and the Balay language, which both poſſeſs alphabets of few letters. The Siameſe has no conjugations nor declenſions like the Balay, which is the language of the prieſts and miniſters of the law. It is written from the left to the right, as well as the Siameſe, which, like the Chineſe, is compoſed almoſt entirely of monoſyllables, and like that loaded with many accents: the only difference is that the Chineſe form the line from the top to the bottom, and that the firſt takes the right, the others running towards the left. All other Aſiatic nations write from the right to the left.

A Siameſe has not the privilege of poſſeſſing arms, unleſs the King has granted it to him. This teſtimony that the Monarch bears of his valour, gives him the right of purchaſing of them. Their indolence deprives them of the uſe of their feet, and their hams being inflexible makes walking painful to them. One is ſurpriſed to ſee their ſentinels always lying on the ground. It will take twenty Siameſe to do in a year, what an European artiſan would execute in a month.

Although ſuperſtition has corrupted their minds, they tolerate all religions. Their veneration for the traditions of their anceſtors does not inſpire them with any averſion for other ceremonies. This obſtinate attachment to error makes them believe that they have the ſuperiority over all nations, who do not think as they do; but they only pity thoſe who have the misfortune to be deprived of that light which ſhines for them; difference of opinion never engenders hatred, and ambition there never covers itſelf with

with the cloak of religion to illumine the torch of civil diſcord. A French traveller, who had long ſtudied their character, was perſuaded that they were all born philoſophers: it was alſo the opinion of the ancients, who affirm that it was in India that the firſt ſages ſpread the benefits of philoſophy.

Their way of reckoning the days, weeks, and months, is in many points different from ours. Their year has twelve lunar months, which have no names, and which are diſtinguiſhed by the firſt, ſecond, third, &c., and as each year has more than twelve moons, at the end of two or three years they add a thirteenth month. Their cycle contains ſixty years, while ours has one hundred. Each has its name, and as they have but twelve names, they repeat them five times in each cycle, to arrive at the number of ſixty, which makes five revolutions of thoſe twelve months in a cycle. To each revolution they add a word, which points out if it be the firſt, ſecond or third, &c.

They begin the year with the new moon, which correſponds ſometimes with the month of November, ſometimes with that of December. They date their acts either from the year of their cycle, or from that in which Sommona-Kodon put aſide his human nature, to become a god. This method has been more uſed ſince they have ſeen the Chriſtians and Mahometans date their years, the one from Jeſus Chriſt, the other from Mahomet.

The week is, like ours, compoſed of ſeven days, each of which has the name of a plant, without their being able to explain the origin of ſuch denomination. The length of the day and night is nearly always the ſame.

Their Sunday, which they call *Vampra*, is always on the fourth day of the moon; in each month they have two grand ones, at the new and full moon, and two leſs ſolemn, on the ſeventh and twenty-firſt. This day does not exempt them from labour, only fiſhing is forbidden them; and thoſe who tranſgreſs this prohibition pay a fine, and are thrown into priſon, for having profaned the ſanctity of that day on which the Talapoins cut their beard, hair, and eyebrows.

They have but two ſeaſons, winter and ſummer. The two firſt months of their year, which nearly anſwer to our December and January, conſtitute the whole of their winter. And the air one then breathes is as burning as that of our hotteſt ſummers. It ſeems very troubleſome to the Siameſe, who are not clad; and indeed the north winds which then blow, are ſharp and piercing. Their winter is very dry, and the ſummer very rainy; for which reaſon the Europeans look upon the rainy ſeaſon as winter, and the dry ſeaſon as ſummer.

The third, fourth, and fifth months compoſe their minor ſummer, the other ſeven are conſidered as grand ſummer. The minor is their ſpring; but they have no autumn, nor any diſtinct time for the harveſt of their fruit, becauſe their trees bear them the whole year. They never loſe their leaves, and thoſe which fall are immediately replaced by others: the ſap riſes during all ſeaſons of the year. Although they only reckon one grand ſummer, they would be more correct if they admitted two, becauſe twice a year they have the ſun vertical; the firſt time, when it paſſes from the line to the tropic of Cancer, and the other when it returns from that tropic to the line.

The torrid zone would be uninhabitable, as the ancients erroneouſly believed, if the ſun did not attract the clouds and rain. The wind conſtantly blows from the pole moſt diſtant from that ſtar; ſo that when it advances towards the arctic pole the wind comes from the ſouth; on the contrary, when it approaches the antarctic pole, one experiences the daily inconvenience of a north wind. Thus, during ſummer, the ſun being

being to the ſouth of the line, the north winds have an agreeable freſhneſs; and when it is to the north of the line, the ſouth winds bring rain and clouds, which moderate the ſcorching heats.

The character of the Siameſe partakes much of the nature of their climate. Their body enervated by the heat, poſſeſſes neither vigour nor deſires; they attach an idea of baſeneſs to works which require ſtrength, and every thing which is troubleſome to them appears mean. Contented with the riches that nature has laviſhed on them, they do not envy the productions of other climates, nor will they brave the ſeas to obtain imaginary riches. The cloaths in requeſt among other people to them would be troubleſome; their diſhes are plain, and their ſauces are never varied. It ſeems that their whole happineſs conſiſts in inſenſibility.

The education of the Siameſe girls inſures the innocence of their manners. Cautious mothers prohibit them from all intercourſe with the men, more eſpecially with the baſe corrupters, who make a merit of ſeduction. To avoid the effects of too warm a temperament, they marry them at the age of twelve, as well to fulfil the laws of nature, as to give ſubjects to the ſtate. There are many who, rebels to the empire of the climate, never ſubmit to the yoke of marriage; but there are none who do not wait the arrival of old age before they embrace a religious life. Though one man may have many wives, only the great and rich uſe this privilege, more adapted to trouble the tranquillity of the ſoul, than to repreſs the intemperance of the paſſions.

When the great take ſeveral wives, it is leſs from inclination than from luxury. The chief has excluſive privileges: the others are only ſlaves, degraded by the name of "little wives:" they are ſubſervient to the will of the firſt. Their children partake of the meanneſs of their condition: they ſtyle the author of their days, "My Lord the King;" the others born of the firſt wife merely call him father.

It is from among women of proved virtue that they demand a girl in marriage. Before an anſwer is given, the parents give the hour of the birth of their daughter, and receive that of the boy.

Soothſayers are conſulted to know if the marriage will be happy. Thoſe that make the demand carry betel, and if the parents carry it to their mouth, it is a ſign they give their conſent. The young man takes his miſtreſs a preſent of fruits; and on the third viſit he pays her, the two families aſſemble, and the marriage ceremony is performed without the aſſiſtance of the prieſts. They are perhaps the only people on earth who have not ſtamped the ſeal of religion on an union ſo important to ſociety. It is true, that ſome days after the ceremony the Talapoins go and throw holy water on the married couple, and ſay prayers to purify them.

The weddings are celebrated with much ſolemnity at the girl's parents, who give feaſts and entertainments, at which mercenaries are hired to dance and ſing. The married pair and their relations would think they erred againſt propriety if they were to join in thoſe dances. The marriage is only conſidered as a civil contract between two free perſons, who have bound it with their conſent, and that of their parents, and which deprives the woman of the liberty of breaking the union; but the huſband can put her away, by giving her a certificate of repudiation. There are certain caſes in which the woman has a right to demand a ſeparation, and the huſband ſeldom refuſes it; it is intereſting to him to get rid of a woman whoſe heart he no longer poſſeſſes. The marriages are generally fruitful, and it is not uncommon for them to have twins: but if the ripeneſs of the woman is premature, ſhe ſoon ceaſes to bring children, and their own bounty exhauſts them.

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The nuptial couch is ſeldom polluted by adultery. The right which the huſbands poſſeſs to kill their wives taken in the act is not the only check to incontinence. The women, always occupied with domeſtic duties, have no time to carry on intrigues. They never aſſiſt at thoſe games and amuſements where the impure and burning breath of the paſſions is inhaled. Retired within their houſes, they receive no viſits from thoſe dangerous ſeducers, who unbluſhingly betray their hoſts or their friends. It is alſo the wife who cultivates the earth; ſhe wakes at the dawn of day, and prepares for her indolent ſovereign a breakfaſt of rice and ſalt fiſh, which he takes, and after this firſt meal he ſleeps till dinner time; and when he has ſatisfied his appetite, he again devotes himſelf to ſleep, which he only interrupts to game, or take ſome amuſement, till the hour of ſupper arrives. The wife, humble and ſubmiſſive, has neither the privilege of ſitting nor eating with her huſband; ſhe is active and careful in preparing the viands, and when he has dined, ſhe withdraws to dine in her turn. She never goes in the ſame ballon; and when admitted to the conjugal bed, ſhe has a lower pillow, to remind her of her inferiority.

All thoſe invited to the wedding are obliged to ſend a preſent, and it often forms the richeſt dower of the bride. Marriage is forbidden in the firſt degree of relationſhip; but they may marry their couſin-germans, and even two ſiſters, one after the other; but if they have married the youngeſt firſt, they then muſt not marry the other. The Kings are not ſubject to this law; they marry their neareſt relatives, and ſometimes their own ſiſter. The ſucceſſion to the huſband belongs entirely to the principal wife, who is to divide it in equal portions among all her children. The deſtiny of the inferior wives is abſolutely dependent on the legitimate heirs, who may ſell them, or allow them an arbitrary means of ſubſiſtence: they poſſeſs nothing but what the father gave them when living. The daughters of the inferior wives may be ſold like cattle, or elſe they are allowed a ſmall ſubſiſtence. Every huſband is ſovereign in his family; he can even ſell his wives and children: but the firſt wife is not ſubject to this degradation; he can only repudiate her, and then he is obliged to return her her portion. The children are equally divided between them; but if the number is odd, the wife has one more than the huſband.

There is a whimſical cuſtom which deranges all matrimonial agreements. Sometimes the Monarch beſtows a wife, of whom he is tired, on one of his favourites: it is a flattering diſtinction, which often conſtrains the inclination. The wife given by ſo reſpectable a hand partakes of all the prerogatives of the principal wife. Thoſe who wiſh to preſerve their maſter's favour, or who fear being diſgraced, give this woman an abſolute dominion over all their houſe.

The chief wife only has the title of Queen. Her rule is abſolute within the palace: at her tribunal are diſcuſſed the diſagreements among the women and the eunuchs. She diſtributes puniſhments and rewards at pleaſure; and thoſe who are ſuſpected of diſputing her huſband's heart with her, find in her an inexorable judge. She has her elephants, her officers, and her private magazines. She is only viſible to her eunuchs and her women. When ſhe goes abroad ſhe is carried in a chair, encloſed with curtains, from which ſhe can ſee every thing without being ſeen: all who meet her on the way are obliged to proſtrate themſelves before this inviſible idol.

The Siameſe are furious in their fits of jealouſy, but this weakneſs is leſs a ſentiment of love, than vexation of humiliated vanity at the preference given to a rival: they are no leſs jealous of their daughters than of their wives, and the puniſhment they inflict for their fall is not leſs ſevere. Jealouſy oppoſes the practice of their virtues.

They are humane and compaſſionate, yet they never ſhew their hoſpitality, which is not neceſſary in a country where all ſtrangers find eaſy means of ſubſiſting.

Although chaſtity is in general obſerved in their marriages, yet inſtances are not wanting of women abandoning themſelves to their inclinations. Thoſe convicted of this crime are expoſed to tigers to be devoured, or elſe they are ſold to a certain odious officer, who, by means of a tribute he pays the King, has the infamous privilege of proſtituting them for his own emolument. The accomplice of the adultreſs is involved in her condemnation: he is puniſhed by the whip or the baſtinade.

Horrid deſpotiſm tears daughters from the arms of their fathers; and thoſe who cannot reſolve to ſee themſelves for ever parted from the fruit and object of their affection, prefer ſacrificing part of their fortune, rather than conſent to ſo diſtreſſing a ſeparation. Daughters have no claim to the crown; ſcarcely do they enjoy the privilege of liberty. It is the will of the dying father that ſettles the ſucceſſion: thus a tyrant, while living, he ſtill reigns after his death. He often gives the preference to the ſon of a concubine over that of the legitimate Queen: but it is generally force which decides the right of the competitors for the throne.

Slavery gives an abſolute power to the maſter, who may exact the baſeſt employments from his ſlave. Slaves are born ſuch, or become ſo. The inſolvent debtor and the priſoner of war are deprived of their natural liberty, but the children born during their ſlavery are not included in their debaſement. The ſlave for debt regains his liberty when he has fulfilled his engagements. Although a maſter decides at will on the lot of his ſlave, he has no power over his life. He who poſſeſſes many, allows them, on paying a remuneration, to work for others. Thus they are rather vaſſals than actual ſlaves, ſince by paying a tribute to their maſter they enjoy all the advantages of liberty.

The King only ſees in his ſubjects a baſe horde of ſlaves, who are obliged to work for him ſix months in the year: but though his power is unlimited, the fidelity of his ſubjects is not the leſs ſuſpected. He cannot but know, that he who dares do every thing, is always reduced to the neceſſity of fearing every thing; and ſad experience has taught him, that the farther one extends one's privileges, the more one multiplies one's enemies; and that the throne of deſpotiſm is often ſtained with the blood of him who fills it. The fear he inſpires, by never appearing but with all his forces, baniſhes affection. Aſia, at all times, has been the country of ſlaves, and the ſanguinary theatre of revolutions; becauſe the intereſts of the people are always diſtinct from thoſe of a deſpot. There has never been found in Aſia a body compoſed of magiſtrates, who watched over the ſafety of the chief and of the public. All arbitrary power is an attack againſt the rights of mankind, while the authority dictated by the law is conſtant, and has nothing obnoxious in it.

Old age is as honourable at Siam as it was formerly at Lacedemon. It is a homage that the new inhabitants of the world pay to thoſe about to quit it. The ſad privilege of age gives more diſtinctions than rank itſelf. The Mandarin, exalted to eminent rank, is obliged to give way to his inferiors who are older than himſelf. A child would be eſteemed a monſter if he deviated from the reſpectful affection due to a parent; and he who ſhould be unnatural enough to bring him before any tribunal, would become the object of public execration. On the contrary, the law places the children in entire dependence on their father, who may ſell them, but not take away their life.

Every oppoſite ſeems united to form the character of this people. They take no

pains to acquire, yet preſerve with anxiety what they poſſeſs. Avaricious without an object, they prefer burying their wealth to uſing it. Gentleneſs and politeneſs are virtues which are natural to them; but when they give way to anger, their fury is boundleſs and unreſtrained. Indolence prevents them from feeling the anxious and painful ſentiment of hatred; but when it is awakened, it ſtalks with poiſon and the dagger. The effuſion of human blood is held in horror; their common quarrels end by a few blows and coarſe abuſe. Their lazineſs renders them diſſimulating and taciturn. It is this principle of indolence which has ſanctified their cuſtoms and perpetuated their errors. Admiration is a ſentiment they never experience; and whatever might excite curioſity, leaves them in a ſtate of ſtupidity.

It ſeems that nature, foreſeeing that they would be rigid maſters, and incapable of command, has given them low and ſervile inclinations, to ſweeten the bitterneſs of their condition. They are mean and cringing when you aſſume the tone of ſuperiority with them. The inward conſciouſneſs of their weakneſs makes them have recourſe to cunning to parry force. They beſtow pride and contempt on thoſe who teſtify any regard for them.

If they would vow an eternal friendſhip, they drink the ſame arrack from the ſame cup; or they lance ſome part of the body to fetch blood, which they reciprocally drink. It was thus the ancient Scythians and Babylonians ſealed their alliances: almoſt all the modern people of the Eaſt obſerve this cuſtom. Notwithſtanding all the faults attached to this nation, all travellers agree, that their morals are as pure as their heaven, and that mildneſs and moderation are virtues of their climate; and moſt of their vices would be eaſy to correct, if education aſſiſted inclination. But the uncultivated mind never diſtinguiſhes the good from the excellent, and they act without giving themſelves the trouble to reflect or reaſon.

The Siameſe, to preſerve cleanlineſs, enter into very troubleſome minutiæ. They perfume part of the body, to afford an agreeable ſmell; and it would be failing in politeneſs to pay a viſit without having bathed. They take as much pains to blacken their teeth as the Europeans take to keep theirs white. They pluck out the root of the beard, which in all hot countries is a troubleſome excreſcence; but they ſuffer their nails to grow, as the Chineſe did before their country was invaded by the Tartars. They waſh their hair with ſcented waters and oils. Notwithſtanding the pains they take to preſerve their cleanlineſs, they inſpire Europeans with invincible diſguſt when they open their mouths or ſhew their hands. Their teeth, ſtained black, ſeem ſo many bits of ebony; their nails, and more eſpecially thoſe of the right hand, which they ſuffer to grow, reſemble the claws of ſome carniverous animal: it is, nevertheleſs, by theſe marks that the elegant and poliſhed man is diſtinguiſhed from the ſervile and clowniſh. The gay women, and thoſe who wiſh to charm, never ſhew themſelves without having falſe nails three or four inches long.

Frugality is a virtue attached to climate, and as nature has not multiplied their wants, they are rich in the midſt of indigence, or at leaſt in the privation of things which opinion has made wants with us. The Siameſe have neither tables, cloths, napkins, knives, ſpoons, nor forks; every thing ſerved up to them is ready cut, and, among the great, the commoneſt veſſel is of China or Japan. They never ſerve in flat diſhes, even at the King's table. Rice and dry or ſalted fiſh are exceeding cheap; and for a halfpenny a Siameſe ſatisfies all his wants. Thus this people, without any anxiety as to the means of ſubſiſting, give themſelves up to idleneſs, and every houſe reſounds with the ſong and ſhouts of mirth, which are not heard among nations where luxury, extending our wants, renders the means of ſubſiſting more difficult. Their coarſe

palate is not offended at the odour of rotten fiſh and addled eggs. They eat graſshoppers, rats, lizards, and all kinds of inſects deſpiſed by Europeans. Their ſauces are made with a little water, into which they put garlick, cibol, and balm. As they have no ſaffron, they uſe a root which, reduced to powder, has the taſte and colour of it. They have no oil from nuts or olives; they only uſe the oil of cocoa. Their cows give little milk, but the female buffalo ſupplies the deficiency. The heat of the climate prevents butter from attaining any conſiſtence. The fleſh of animals they do not care about; they only eat their entrails, as being more eaſy to digeſt. It muſt not be imagined that there is any whim in their taſte; all the meats are void of juice and of difficult digeſtion. The Europeans, who are moſt voracious, ſeldom uſe them after they have been ſome time in the country. Sobriety, in all hot countries, is a virtue of climate. The price of meat is ſo low, that a cow is only worth fivepence. It is true, mutton and goat are dearer, becauſe the Maures conſume a great deal. Poultry is not worth the fattening; each kind is the more multiplied, as the heat of the climate ſuffices to hatch the eggs.

One would think that people, among whom ſobriety is a general and common virtue, would be exempt from all thoſe diſeaſes which are the bitter fruits of intemperance: but every climate has its germs of benefits and evils; and to judge of the ſobriety of different people, one ſhould know the different degrees of heat of their ſtomachs. One would be obliged to confeſs, that he who eats the leaſt is often the moſt intemperate. Diſſenteries, putrid fevers, fluxions of the breaſt, make great ravages. The rains, which fall a great part of the year, cauſe coughs, hooping-coughs, and rheumatiſms, as frequent as in Europe. The diſeaſes which puniſh incontinence are there numerous; but of all the ſcourges which afflict this kingdom, the ſmall-pox ſacrifices the greater number of victims.

Nothing is ſo contradictory as the portraits of this people, whom ſome repreſent as ſwimming in abundance, and others as languiſhing in the boſom of poverty. Travellers, in the accounts they have given us of this kingdom, are by no means agreed: they have only ſpoken of what they have ſeen. Thus ſome ſent there by Monarchs have admired a ſhewy court, which invented feſtivals to ſhew its power; others, attracted by commerce, have only beheld a people deſtitute of every thing which with them was a real want. Their table is never covered with delicate meats, and the murderous art of cooks does not tickle their palates. The ſimplicity of the apartments and furniture makes them deſpiſe ſuperfluity, and confine themſelves to what is neceſſary.

European architects could not here exerciſe their talents. Their houſes, which are all made on the ſame model, are built with bamboo: they are raiſed thirteen feet above the ſurface of the earth, becauſe the water, during the inundations, riſes to that height. They are all built on piles, and the ſtaircaſe, which is without, is a ladder ſimilar to thoſe of our windmills. They have ramps of hurdles for the domeſtic animals to aſcend, whoſe ſtables are in the air. Theſe ſingular houſes have their conveniences and luxuries. The apartments are tapeſtried with painted cloth, and the cieling is covered with white muſlin. There are no beds, becauſe the Siameſe never undreſs to ſleep, unleſs it be to change their wrappers. (Jealouſy, which tyranniſes over all the people of the Eaſt, does not allow the Siameſe to practiſe hoſpitality; they are fearful of expoſing their women to the eager gaze of a ſtranger.)

The houſes of the great reſemble immenſe preſſes, where the maſter, his wife, and children are lodged; the ſubaltern wives with their children, and each ſlave with his family, occupy a ſeparate apartment. The pagodas are larger than high; they have

neither vault nor cieling: the tiles which cover them are varniſhed with red, with golden fillets. The gardens, which are numerous, are not ſpacious; the walks are very narrow, and three perſons can ſcarcely walk abreaſt. Flowers every where perfume the air; the variety of trees preſents an agreeable relief, and the fountains maintain a conſtant coolneſs.

Nakedneſs does not alarm their modeſty, but by a ſentiment of propriety, their loins and thighs are covered with painted linen, or ſometimes with gold or ſilver ſtuff. The cuſtom of appearing in public half naked, is rather introduced by the heat of the climate, than to excite libidinous ideas. There is no country where all parts that can be offenſive to modeſty are more carefully concealed. Some French ſoldiers in the ſuite of the Ambaſſador ſent by Louis XIV. expoſed themſelves quite naked in the bath. This ſcandal made the people murmur, and they were obliged to give them wrappers to ſtop the complaints.

The children are in a perfect ſtate of nudity till the age of five, and at that age they are clothed with a waiſtcloth or wrapper which they muſt no more quit. They are not ſtripped of them, even when it is neceſſary to chaſtiſe them. The people of the Eaſt look on it as infamous to ſtrike any one on the expoſed parts of the body. Their morals forbid diſcipline and rods, which are in uſe among poliſhed nations, where they do not ſcruple to wound the feelings of children, by inflicting on them the ſame puniſhments which the law in its vengeance awards the guilty.

The mandarins wear a muſlin ſhirt, without any collar, and which leaves the ſtomach bare. The great in winter wear a kind of cloak in the form of a ſcarf. The King puts on a brocaded veſt, which is generally edged with the fineſt laces of Europe. He is the only one who may appear with this ornament, unleſs ſome favourite may have received it from his hands. Thoſe who accompany him in the chace or to war, muſt be cloathed in red, and the veſt which is given them is always of that colour, doubtleſs to put them in mind that they are deſtined to ſhed the blood of the enemies of their country.

Although the Siameſe always go bare-headed, the Kings and grandees of the ſtate, on days of ceremony, wear a white pointed bonnet; that of the Monarch, ſparkles with jewels, and it is by his richneſs that he is diſtinguiſhed from others. They never make uſe of hats, but in journeys, or on the rivers, where the ſun is ſtronger. Their ſhoes are pointed and without quarters; they take them off from reſpect on meeting the King or their ſuperiors.

The Siameſe have funeral ceremonies peculiar to themſelves. The biers are of wood, gilt on the outſide; and they conſume the inteſtines, to prevent the ill effects of putrefaction. While they are occupied in preparing the funeral pomp, they burn tapers and perfumes round the dead. During the night prieſts chaunt funeral hymns, which inſtruct the ſoul in the way it ought to take to arrive at its celeſtial reſidence. They then burn the body to the ſound of inſtruments, in preſence of its family and friends, who are clothed in white. Although religion does not enter into their funeral ceremonies, it is cuſtomary to have the Talapoins preſent, to ſwell the pomp. Their reſpect for the tombs is inviolable, for which reaſon treaſures are ſometimes found in them, which rich miſers hide there, as in a ſafe depôt; but it often happens that rogues make no ſcruple of ſearching the ſepulchres to carry off the wealth. When the relations have ſufficiently cried and ſhed tears, feaſts and entertainments ſucceed theſe ſcenes of ſorrow; they exert themſelves to ſhake off a tranquillity which would inceſſantly recal the remembrance of what they had loſt.

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The honour of the funeral pile is not conferred on every body. Criminals who periſh by the law, women who die in childbed, all thoſe who have died a violent death are condemned to be buried in the bowels of the earth; which is the greateſt diſgrace impreſſed on the memory of the dead. They are conſidered as criminals ſtruck by the vengeance of heaven, which never falls on the innocent. This belief gives them an invincible repugnance to our religion; and they cannot conceive how Jeſus Chriſt ſhould have ſuffered the ignominy of the croſs, if he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by acts of virtue.

The cuſtom of carrying proviſions to the tombs has led to a belief that they invoke the dead: but this ſuperſtitious practice has no other ſource than the dread of apparitions, whom they would prevent by their gifts, of which the animals profit.

Mourning, which is the expreſſion of grief, is ſhewn under different forms. Fathers and mothers who have loſt their children ſometimes devote themſelves to a religious life; others ſhave the head, and wallow in filth, to evince their alienation from things here below.

The funeral expences, are extended even to parrots. One of thoſe birds, which the Grand Prince had been very fond of, got it to be believed that the ſoul of ſome Monarch had paſſed into its body, and that therefore it was fit to pay him honours proportionate to his dignity. A large pyramid was erected, to which they aſcended by ſteps; on the top was a platform on which the body of the deceaſed bird was to be burnt, which was carried in a golden cage. This feſtival laſted eight days, during which, the Talapoins ſucceeded each other in their prayers. The people in crowds ran to the puppet-ſhews and theatres, and linens, copper vaſes, and little Chineſe looking-glaſſes were thrown to them. At laſt the ceremony ended by reducing the defunct parrot to aſhes, whoſe funeral ſurpaſſed in magnificence thoſe of the principal officers of ſtate.

## CHAP. IV. — *On the Government.*

THE kingdom of Siam is governed by a deſpot, who diſpoſes at his will of the fortunes and lives of his ſubjects, who are only a baſe horde of ſlaves. As the Monarch alone has the privilege of condemning to death, the moſt flattering name they give him is, *Lord of life.* When the ſentence of the criminal is pronounced in one of the tribunals eſtabliſhed in each province, the proceedings are ſent to the court, where the motives of condemnation are re-examined, and if the proofs are unequivocal, the ſentence is confirmed, and the criminal is taken to the place where the offence was committed, to be executed. There is no country where they obſerve more formality to ſecure the life of the ſubject, and none where the puniſhments are more ſevere.

Every Siameſe owes ſix months' ſervice every year to the Monarch: and while he is employed in laborious works, he is ſtill obliged to live at his own expence. The ſlave more privileged than the free-man, only works for a maſter who maintains him. The owner diſpenſes with his labour, upon his paying a certain ſum. Public and private deſtiny depend on the caprices of a maſter, buried in luxury, and ſometimes in the moſt beaſtly debaucheries. This inviſible tyrant paſſes his days effeminately with women in an impenetrable ſeraglio, or with idolatrous prieſts, who to ſecure their power flatter his weakneſſes, and leave his mind to languiſh in eternal infancy. It is there that, enervated by luxury, and ſeduced by the voice of baſe corruptors, he thinks that all his ſubjects partake of his happineſs, his ear is ſhut to the groans of the wretched, who can oppoſe no reſiſtance to avaricious oppreſſors, who act with impunity. There

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are ſet days on which the great have the privilege of approaching the Monarch: but inſtead of repreſenting the public miſery, it is then they afford the nation an example of the moſt humiliating ſlavery; and convinced that by a look he can advance them, or annihilate them, they approach him trembling, and pay him thoſe honours they ſcarcely beſtow on the divinity.

The ſubject is never in reality poſſeſſor of a field or a garden, ſince if the productions are eſteemed, a ſoldier comes and claims them for the King, or ſome favorite miniſter. Theſe faithleſs raviſhers count the quantity of theſe fruits juſt as they pleaſe, and make the proprietor reſponſible for them. If when they ripen, the number of fruits is not complete, the poſſeſſor is puniſhed as if he was really guilty of theft. Therefore ſome prefer cutting down their trees, to expoſing themſelves to be puniſhed for not having ſufficiently watched the preſervation of what they can no longer hope to enjoy.

This deſpotiſm ſtifles talents and induſtry. The workman is fearful of acquiring the reputation of excelling in his art, becauſe that ſuperiority would expoſe him to be obliged to work without wages, for an ungrateful maſter, who only knows how to puniſh. Thus during their ſix months of ſervice, they fill their employments without taſte, and without diſtinction; they fear to give their work a degree of perfection, which would be puniſhed by an eternal ſervitude.

The Kings have as many worſhippers as ſubjects, their palaces inſpire the ſame reſpect as the temples of the divinity. No noiſe interrupts its ſilence. The officer who has duties to perform muſt not enter when he has drank arrack, or any liquor which may affect the reaſon, and cauſe him to forget his duties. The Monarch, to avoid the fatigue of talking, gives his orders by ſigns. His guard is numerous, and he only truſts the care of his perſon to a foreign military, and more eſpecially to a company of Tartars of approved courage. He has beſides a corps of Indians, who boaſt of being the iſſue of the blood of Kings. Their courage riſes above all dangers; but it muſt be excited by opium, which making them ſtupid, inſpires them with an intrepidity, which reſults from ignorance of danger.

The reſpect paid to the Kings, is extended even to the animals devoted to their ſervice; it is more particularly for their elephants that they ſhew the moſt veneration: officers are appointed to ſerve them with ceremonies, humiliating to human nature, and the omiſſion of which would incur ſevere puniſhments. The Siameſe believe that theſe ſagacious and docile animals contain the ſoul of ſome Prince or ſage. The encloſure of the palace is filled with unarmed ſoldiers, to prevent the temptation of attempting the Monarch's life. They ſometimes arm ſlaves, to augment the pomp of ceremonies, although there are pages in the interior of the palace, who have all their peculiar functions. Only women are allowed to enter the King's apartments, to keep them clean, and prepare his meals. This terreſtial god never thinks himſelf ſo ſafe as when ſurrounded by a weak and timid ſex.

Nobility is not hereditary, and the uſeleſs or corrupt ſubject is deprived of thoſe diſtinctions with which the country had rewarded the ſervices of his anceſtors. The firſt claſs is compoſed of thoſe elevated in dignities. The father deprived of his charge, returns with his children into the claſs of ſimple ſubjects. The prieſts do not form a ſeparate body in the ſtate, becauſe not being tied by vows, they can at any time re-unite themſelves to the general maſs of the nation.

Although theſe people are not warlike, every body is a ſoldier from their birth, and when the ſtate is threatened they are all obliged to take the field for ſix months; they are ſupplied with arms, elephants, and horſes; and it is only on that condition, that they

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are compelled to bear arms. They range them beneath the colours of a chief they call *Naï*, a name of honor, which the Siameſe give each other, as we uſe that of *Sir*. Each diſtrict has its Naï; he who poſſeſſes ſeveral dignities has different names; and the King gives him a new one every time he beſtows an office on him. As ſoon as a ſtranger appears at court, the Monarch gives him a name of favour and eſteem, by which he is called as long as he reſides there.

The Siameſe inervated by the climate, have always too much dreaded the hardſhips of war, to have made any progreſs in the military art. Their too ardent imagination exaggerates perils, and few or no examples are found of that cool and deliberate intrepidity, which ſeem natural to northern nations. At the ſight of a ſword, a hundred Siameſe would run away, and when a European ſpeaks to them in a high and threatening tone, they are confounded, and yield a mean ſubmiſſion.

The doctrine of the metempſycoſis ſupports their puſillanimity. From that ariſes that invincible averſion to thoſe who ſhed human blood; and in action, they prefer making ſlaves to getting rid of their enemy by the ſword. When two armies meet, that which gives the firſt volley is ſure of the victory; the whiſtling of the balls throws the other into fear and confuſion. Though the Siameſe are not born for war, they have ſometimes been ſucceſsful in it, becauſe their enemies are as cowardly and undiciplined as themſelves. The art of fortifying towns is abſolutely unknown to them. The thick foreſts, the great number of canals, the annual inundations which cover the country, they eſteem a ſafe and more natural defence than all the works of art. In building citadels they would be fearful of being expoſed to the neceſſity of retaking them. Their coarſe and imperfect artillery is of little uſe in the attack or defence of places; they have in fact no cannon but thoſe which have been given to them by the French, and ſome the Portugueſe have caſt for them, but if they had better, they want courage and art to uſe them.

Their wretched and cowardly infantry has alſo the defect of being ill armed. They have few cavalry, and they put their whole confidence in the number of their elephants, who are often as fatal to them as to their enemies, eſpecially when theſe animals are wounded; they then turn their rage againſt their conductors whom they trample under their feet. The Siameſe draw up in battle in three lines, each of which forms a ſquare batallion ſupported by ſixteen elephants who carry a particular ſtandard; they employ oxen and buffaloes to draw their artillery, which they have not the addreſs to place on carriages. A few diſcharges of cannon give the ſignal for the fight, and very often end it. This ſound ſpreads an univerſal terror, and often both parties equally frightened, diſperſe themſelves in the woods. Many neighbouring people before they go into action take a good deal of opium, that they may become inſenſible to danger. The Siameſe do not uſe this method, but it is from a principle of cowardice; they would fear that an exceſs of courage might raſhly involve them in dangers.

They are no more formidable by ſea than by land. The ſtate ſcarcely maintains five or ſix ſhips to protect their commerce; they are only manned by foreigners who have orders to avoid fighting, unleſs certain of victory. The aim of theſe armaments is to make prizes, and not the glory of victory. They keep, beſides, fifty galleys, which rot in their ports, and never leave the coaſts.

The King of Siam has no regular troops like the monarchs of Europe. All his militia conſiſts of a few companies of guards, who grow old in the pacific employments of the palace, and who never march to action. When the ſafety of the ſtate obliges them

them to look to the general ſafety, they raiſe in a hurry a confuſed multitude of men, without any diſcipline, as indifferent to the diſgrace of defeat, as to the glory of ſucceſs.

Each Naï, or chief of a diſtrict, diſpenſes at pleaſure with the military ſervice of thoſe who are rich enough to bribe his venal ſoul; and as none of theſe chiefs are animated by the love of glory, they only exerciſe their power to accumulate riches. Their guns are with match-locks, and very ill made; they uſe the lance, and carry a kind of bill at their girdle. Each ſoldier when he begins the campaign, fills two baſkets with rice, which he carries on his ſhoulders, and this ſuffices for a month. They march without preſerving any order, and this negligence expoſes them to be frequently ſurpriſed, when they loſe more men than in pitched battles, becauſe their precipitation to run away prevents the ſlaughter. When the war becomes lengthened, and the ſtock of rice is exhauſted, famine kills more ſoldiers than the ſword of the enemy. It is true that the government ſends them freſh ſubſiſtence, but the officers charged with the diſtribution, prefer ſelling it for their own emolument, than ſaving the life of a ſubaltern, who dares not complain for fear of being puniſhed in the next campaign by the generals whom he may have accuſed.

Some years ago, a comedian had the courage to reveal to the King the malverſations of his generals. He brought forward a piece, in which all the events of the laſt campaign were repreſented: it was a bitter cenſure on the conduct of the ſuperior officers. After many ludicrous deſcriptions of war, he expoſed the miſeries to which the ſoldiers had been reduced. The King, moved at the affecting picture, cauſed the guilty to be arreſted; ſome were puniſhed with death, the reſt purchaſed their lives by the ſacrifice of their fortunes. Examples of juſt ſeverity would be more frequent, if the truth could reach the throne; but Aſiatic monarchs think they partake of the privilege of divinity, by, like that, keeping themſelves inviſible; and oppreſſed by their idleneſs in the ſilence of their palaces, they abandon their ſubjects to the ſcourge of their mercileſs miniſters. The difficulty of ſubſiſting while marching and in camp, is not the only obſtacle that prevents the progreſs of the armies. The command of them is entruſted to men without experience or capacity. The honour of commanding excites no ambition, and the title of general is leſs eſteemed as a favour than as a diſgrace, becauſe they ſee nothing but dangers attached to it.

Their arſenal is filled with cannon and muſkets, rendered uſeleſs by ruſt; they are heaped together without order, and they never give themſelves the trouble to clean them. They have learned the ſecret of making powder from the Europeans; but what they fabricate has no ſtrength, and they are obliged to procure what they uſe for the chace from Europe. Their fortreſſes are only parks ſurrounded with ſtakes in which at certain diſtances they make holes to put the cannon through. So that the inundations and the rivers with which the country is interſected, are the ſtrongeſt bulwarks they can oppoſe to foreign invaſions.

The priſons at Siam preſent the moſt affecting object: it is there that a multitude of miſerable beings languiſh, to whom they refuſe the ſame compaſſion, which in other countries is ſhewn even to uſeleſs and miſchievous animals. The government does not feed them. They are ſeen wandering about the city, chained ſeven and ſeven together; they go from door to door begging their ſubſiſtence, and devoured with hunger they often ſnatch what is refuſed them. Their lot during the night is ſtill more cruel; they ſhut them up in a large circle of ſtakes in two rows, covered with leaves. All theſe criminals, beſides the irons they are loaded with during the day, have alſo their feet confined between two pieces of wood, and their neck goes in a

ladder from ſix to ſeven feet long. Thus, during the time deſtined to repoſe, they undergo a new puniſhment. They oblige them by turns to call out all night, "I ſuch a one, of ſuch a place, am detained here for ſuch a crime;" and when no one calls out, the gaoler who is on guard, comes and wakes them with blows. The ſtench, inſects, and vermin, double the horror of this anticipated hell, and the Siameſe look upon the priſon as a picture of the infernal regions. At the door there is a gilt idol, whom they revere as the awful judge of criminals after their death. It holds in its hands the chains with which they bind them, and all the inſtruments preſcribed by law to inflict juſt puniſhments. Priſoners who have the good fortune to be ſet at liberty, never fail to go and return him thanks for their deliverance. They burn tapers before him in gratitude for his protection.

The Siameſe, gentle and humane in the common occurrences of life, become cruel and ferocious towards thoſe whom they condemn to death. The crime of ſacrilege is puniſhed in a manner which makes humanity ſhudder. A forge is prepared as if to heat iron, the face of the tranſgreſſor is placed on the hearth, his head on the coals which are not yet lighted: his whole body is faſtened by chains in ſuch a manner that he cannot move. When the judge has given the ſignal, two pair of bellows are ſet to work, which ſet the coals on fire to conſume the head of the criminal by degrees.

The puniſhment they inflict on aſſaſſins inſpires the moſt unfeeling with horror. The criminal is made to lie down on his belly, and after being ſecurely tied, a ſtake of wood is forced up his fundament by the blows of a club, and it is driven till it comes out, either through the ſtomach or through the ſhoulders: they afterwards raiſe this ſtake, and ſtick it in the earth. It often happens that the ſufferer dies under the operation, but ſometimes the ſtake paſſes through the body without injuring any of the noble parts, and then the poor wretch for ſeveral days endures the moſt horrible torments.

The eaſy means of ſubſiſting makes theft to be looked upon as the worſt of crimes, and as the ſign of a baſe and depraved ſoul; therefore whoever is convicted of theft is immediately forſaken by his family and friends, becauſe they would bluſh to belong to the common enemy of ſociety. This averſion to theft is carried to the moſt ſcrupulous minuteneſs: thoſe who pique themſelves on a nice and rigid honour, never take up even loſt things. It ſeems that they have adopted this maxim of Plato: "what you did not put down, do not take up."

When the crimes are not ſerious enough to deſerve death, or that the King would give him his life, the criminal is condemned to cut graſs for the elephants. Children are included in their father's condemnation, and after they have finiſhed the taſk ſet them, they employ the remainder of their time in gaining their livelihood. The great officers convicted of malverſation are generally ſentenced to this puniſhment, which is ſeverer to them than to the common man, who has only his taſk to finiſh, whilſt a great man condemned to this labour is obliged to furniſh ſubſiſtence for ſeveral elephants, and as he pays dearly to mercenaries to cut the graſs, this expence exhauſts the riches he had accumulated by thoſe exactions for which he is puniſhed; and if he does not perform his taſk, he is beaten with rods till the ſkin comes from his bones.

There is another puniſhment which is never inflicted but by an expreſs order from the King. It conſiſts in ſeveral inciſions made on the head, and the number is always denoted. As ſoon as the criminal is placed on his knees, they cut off his hair, which is the greateſt diſgrace; the executioner then takes a ſabre, and makes as many inciſions

inciſions as the King orders. Thoſe condemned to death are led round the city in a boat, where a man from time to time ſtrikes on a plate of copper; he then loudly proclaims why the criminal is condemned; which is inſtead of the ſentence pronounced among us.

Thoſe puniſhed without inflicting on them the pain of death, are expoſed in the market place to the public gaze: it is much the ſame as our pillory. The expences of juſtice are ſo ruinous, that thoſe puniſhments which do not inflict death exhauſt the fortunes of thoſe who have undergone them. There is not a blow which does not at leaſt coſt about two ſhillings, without reckoning what is given to the executioner, to engage him to moderate the ſtrength of his arm: the cuts on the head are the moſt expenſive. Every one pays about ſeven ſhillings for fees in all procedures, whether civil or criminal. In default of written or teſtimonial evidence, they have recourſe to the proof of fire or water, but none but the accuſed ever undergo them; and when, in the proof by fire, he comes out with his feet unburnt, he is immediately acquitted. A pit is dug two feet wide and eight feet long, at the two ends picuets are planted at certain diſtances to ſupport a cord breaſt high. He who is to undergo the proof is forbidden to walk for ſome days, that the feet being ſoftened, may the more eaſily receive the impreſſions of the fire. On the day appointed, this pit is filled with burning coals, and the accuſed walks three times over them; after which he is conducted to the hall of juſtice, where his feet are examined, and if no burn is found, he is diſcharged triumphant. The Siameſe are perſuaded that this method is infallible to diſcern the innocent from the guilty.

The proof by water is not ſo ſevere: the accuſer and accuſed are equally ſubjected to it. Two pillars diſtant from ſix to ſeven feet from each other are erected in the river; the two champions let themſelves ſlide, each from the top of his pillar, to the bottom of the water, and he who remains there the longeſt is declared innocent; for the Siameſe ſay the devil torments the guilty under the water, which makes him come up to the ſurface, while the other who has nothing to dread from this enemy, is not in ſuch a hurry to appear.

There is alſo another proof at which the prieſts preſide: they give the accuſer and accuſed pills, which provoke vomiting, and he who retains them longeſt, is judged innocent. This proof is accompanied by many ſuperſtitious ceremonies, during which the Talapoin denounces imprecations againſt the prevaricator. To be prepared to meet the trial by fire, in caſe of committing any crime, all the Siameſe from their earlieſt infancy familiarize themſelves with fire, of which the weight or preſſure of a body diminiſhes the action, more eſpecially among people whoſe ſoles of their feet are hardened by the cuſtom of walking bare footed.

The legiſlature to prevent crimes has impoſed many obligations which confound the innocent with the guilty. When a dead body is found, they extend cords, with a radius of 100 fathoms, round the place where the murder was committed. All the inhabitants contained in this incloſure pay a fine, proportionate to their proximity to the ſpot. This law which has its evils, has alſo its advantages: the people are more careful of each others ſecurity, and the roads are ſafer. Theft, which many nations puniſh with death, is here made good by paying double what was taken, and the judge ſhares the reſtitution.

## CHAP. V. — *Of their Amuſements and Shows.*

EXERCISES of the body among the Siameſe are regarded as fatigues only fit for ſlaves, and not as means of making the body graceful and the limbs flexible. The art of managing a horſe is abſolutely unknown to them. All the Siameſe walk with difficulty, and their hams are always ſtiff, becauſe they are accuſtomed to keep them bent; and if they walk in their gardens, it is leſs to take exerciſe than to inhale the perfume of flowers, and enjoy the coolneſs of the waters. This lazineſs to which they condemn themſelves would be the ſource of an infinity of diſeaſes; but the heat of the climate cauſes ſufficient perſpiration to carry off the bad humours. By a ſingular contradiction, theſe men who languiſh in a ſtate of conſtant inaction are as indefatigable as ſkilful in managing the oar, which exhauſts the ſtrength of the ſtouteſt people.

It is ſurpriſing that throughout all India, infancy has the ſame amuſements as in Europe. It is difficult to conceive how games, which are not inſpired by nature, have been eſtabliſhed among people who have never been connected. The children of London like thoſe of Siam, amuſe themſelves with playing at barrs, at top, and foot-ball. The kite is a diverſion that all the monarchs of India procure their ſubjects; lanterns are tied to them, which ſhine through the darkneſs, and this light ſupplies the abſence of the ſun. A piece of gold is faſtened to it, for which the people ſcramble when the ſtring happens to break. This amuſement is looked upon as ſo noble, that none but the firſt officers have a right to hold the cord.

This country has its ſhows and diverſions, common to all nations enlightened by the flambeau of the arts. Although nature has denied the Siameſe the organ of an agreeable voice, ſinging is their ruling paſſion; and from the origin of their monarchy the audiences that their King grants to ambaſſadors are carried on in ſinging. In new feſtivals, every thing reſounds with ſongs already known, or impromptus, which are the weapons with which authors fight their battles of genius. They go to the temple ſinging. Whenever they go out in their ballons, the men and women mingle their voices, and form a concert which inſpire a ſimple gaiety. Europeans take much delight in them. They have neither ſhakes nor cadences; the uſe of notes is unknown to them; they ſing without rule or method. Thoſe who go in ballons attack thoſe who paſs in couplets, which they never fail to return in like manner. In the ceremony in which they waſh their idols, ſeveral families aſſemble, and proceed ſinging to the pagoda: they all form a concert during the whole time the ceremony laſts; and they return ſinging to their homes. In ſhort, this predominating paſſion is ſo general, that the firſt miſſionaries turned the rules of the rudiment into Latin ſongs, the better to imprint them on the minds of their diſciples, and this method had the moſt happy ſucceſs. They have pieces which they ſing in ſeveral parts, and they execute them with the utmoſt preciſion: the women ſometimes take the baſs. Theſe concerts would have their charms, if their hoarſe and diſcordant inſtruments were not too loud, and deſtroy the harmony. The children leap for joy when they hear the ſound of the drum or hautboy: they have a kind of violin and baſs-viol, which they disfigure to make them ſhriller. Their violins have but three ſtrings, and their hautboys are far from poſſeſſing the ſweetneſs of ours. The crocodile is a piece of wood hollowed out, and on the back of which are ſtrings which produce the ſame ſound as our pſalter. They have two kinds of drums, which pretty much reſemble

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our double drums, and they ſtrike on copper baſins, which are more ſonorous than harmonious. They have no inſtrument maker; each perſon makes his own, according to his own taſte: the natural ſuppleneſs of their fingers ſoon renders them expert in the uſe of them.

The organ is their favourite inſtrument, becauſe it is that which makes moſt noiſe; and to have the pleaſure of hearing it, they go with eagerneſs to the Chriſtian church. Several, from the mere habit of hearing, have, without a maſter, learnt to play it. All European inſtruments pleaſe them highly, but the moſt noiſy always obtains the preference; ſuch as hautboys, drums, trumpets, and fifes. All inſtruments, on which they play ſeveral parts, are not to their liking, becauſe they do not love any thing difficult; for which reaſon they affect a contemptuous indifference for the harpſichord, harp, &c. The paſſion the Siameſe entertain for ſinging ſhould inſpire them with a taſte for theatrical repreſentations. All the pleaſing arts are connected by a chain which unites them. Although plays are much frequented, the profeſſion of a player is not the leſs ignominious and abject: whoever has practiſed it is an outlaw: it impoſes an indelible diſgrace, which the ſplendour of wealth or patronage cannot conceal: thus the anathema beſtowed among us on this profeſſion is not governed by national prejudice, ſince the Greek and the barbarian equally attach an opprobrious idea to it. Women never perform; their parts are performed by men: they would conceive it to be wounding the delicacy of the ſex if they were to expoſe them to the public gaze. Their tragedies are only repreſentations of facts, or rather of fables, conſecrated by common credulity. Their comedies are the cenſure of the manners and the portrait of follies; and they ridicule with impunity the malverſations of placemen, who, like others, are wiſe enough to laugh at them. Women are forbid the profeſſion of acting; and, by an inexplicable contradiction, they have dancing-women by profeſſion, on whom the law does not impoſe any imputation. Although not ſo numerous at Siam as among other nations of India, there are none of the governors, or great officers, who do not keep them in their pay; and whenever they give an entertainment, they do not fail to exhibit their talents to tempt ſtrangers to make them preſents. Within theſe few years they have invented a dance, which is much admired; it is performed by a troop of young perſons of from ten to twelve years of age, who form a circle, and whoſe motions are guided by the ſound of inſtruments. They faſten wings to their thighs, and wear behind them a cock's tail, as ſo many ſymbols of their agility. The dances are compoſed of ſeveral entrances. The dancers, always maſked, either repreſent a battle or a hunting party: the more extravagant their attitudes, the more they are applauded. When the dance is a repreſentation of war, all the performers are armed, and theſe cowardly men inſpire dread by their contortions. Whenever they burn the body of a miniſter or great man, a theatre is erected on the ſide of a river, where the actors appear habited according to their parts, and during three days they never quit the ſcene, from eight in the morning till ſeven at night.

The puppet-ſhows, much more bold than thoſe of Europe, do not ſcruple to ſhew themſelves by day-light, to aſtoniſh by their deceptions. The ſtrings which put them in motion are within the figure, and he who works them is concealed under the ſtage; thus every thing favours the deception. When a family is aſſembled to dance every one is ſeated. You do not there obſerve thoſe flouriſhings of the arms diſclaimed by nature, nor thoſe movements of the feet, which are rather the image of frenzy and madneſs than the expreſſion of ſentiment. The groſſeſt buffooneries are received with pleaſure

pleaſure when mingled with obſcenity. All theſe amuſements are not very expenſive; the King or the nobles pay the charge. All ſteady people abſtain from drinking or eating at them; but if temperance preſides at theſe aſſemblies, the freedom of ſpeech is well calculated to corrupt their manners. The Siameſe have not learned to bluſh at obſcene language, for which reaſon the Talapoins never appear at theſe repreſentations; becauſe, being devoted to celibacy, they ſhould be more reſerved, and refrain from hearing thoſe things which might inflame their hearts with unholy fires.

They have alſo wreſtlers, who, inſtead of the ancient gauntlet, arm the hands with cords. The ſcene is ſeldom ſanguinary: the athletics only fight with fiſticuffs and with their elbows. The race of oxen ſupplies the place of that of horſes, ſo much reliſhed by many nations. Two oxen faſtened to a plough run againſt two others equally harneſſed: they are trained to this exerciſe. The great and rich have conſiderable bets on their own oxen.

The paſſion for gaming is carried to exceſs; and when this mania has ſwallowed up the fortune of a Siameſe, he ſells even his wife and children. Cheſs and trictac are their favourite games; but they never play at cards. Cock-fighting attracts multitudes: as the field is always ſtained by the death of one of the combatants, the prieſts, who admit the metempſicoſis, pronounce anathemas againſt this amuſement; and they firmly believe, that whoever expoſes his cock to death, will be beaten with rods of iron in the other world.

All idle people are accuſtomed to ſmoke. This reſource plunges them in a ſtate of intoxication, which lightens them of the weight of their inanity. The Siameſe women are as much addicted as the men to this habit of ſmoking; and the ſtronger the tobacco, the more agreeable it is to them.

## CHAP. VI. — *The Arts and Sciences.*

THE bodily ſluggiſhneſs of the Siameſe ſeems to communicate itſelf to their mind; and as they fear to act, they avoid the fatigue of thinking. With them the arts languiſh in an eternal infancy. Whoever can read, write, and caſt accompts arrogates the title of learned.

The Siameſe poſſeſs a lively and docile imagination; their objections are juſt, and their repartees pointed. Their genius only needs cultivation; and if the lazineſs incident to the climate was not an obſtacle to its energy, the torch of ſcience and of the arts would illumine a country which now ſcarcely ſhews a few faint ſparks. Every one is there born a poet; but thoſe they honour with that name ſeem governed by wild and wandering fancy, which owns no propriety of rules nor reſtrictions of art. The Siameſe language only being compoſed of monoſyllables and gutteral diphthongs, cannot be very harmonious. Their hiſtoric and moral verſes always borrow the aid of muſic, which conceals the blemiſhes.

The philoſophy of the Siameſe has not reached the heavens, to contemplate worlds gliding through immenſity: they have bound it captive to the earth to aid their wants, and not to gratify a vain and barren curioſity. Aſtronomy has not aſſiſted them to improve their navigation; they have merely cultivated it to draw horoſcopes; and that ſcience, intended to enlighten mankind, has plunged them in the gloom of ſuperſtition. It was from the celebrated Caſſini that they learned to find the place of the ſun and moon by calculation. If they were capable of application, and eſpecially to follow

the thread of long reaſoning, they would excel in every branch of the mathematics; but their too ardent imagination, although clear, expires in its birth, and they rarely embrace the principle and conſequence.

Arithmetic is the ſcience moſt cultivated, becauſe the moſt uſeful to a commercial people. It has ten characters, of which the zero poſſeſſes the ſame form and value as ours. The practice of calculating enables them to reſolve the moſt difficult problems inſtantly; but what they cannot ſeize at the firſt moment, will never be underſtood by dint of reflection: their ſluggiſh mind revolts and refuſes to bend to the ſame object.

The art of healing is only founded on experience. The remedies which have ſaved one, are conſidered as infallible to cure all others. All the recipes are only traditions handed down from their anceſtors, which each family carefully preſerves. They pay no attention to the different ſymptoms, nor to the difference of conſtitutions. They bargain with the doctor, who engages to cure the patient for a certain ſum, which they are not obliged to pay him if he does not ſucceed. His reputation never ſuffers; and when the diſeaſe rebels againſt his remedies, ſuperſtition is ingenious in juſtifying the inefficacious means employed, and the death is attributed to the influence of witchcraft. The moſt eſteemed medicines are brought from China. The natural temperance of the Siameſe makes up for the incapacity of their doctors and the inefficacy of their means. Diſeaſes are as numerous, but they are not ſo fatal. The air of ſwampy countries cauſes many fluxes and abceſſes. All diſorders produced by cold humours are very rare. The ſmall-pox is the moſt dreadful ſcourge; and notwithſtanding its ravages, they deſpiſe the benefits of inoculation. The diſeaſes ariſing from incontinence were long unknown to them: it is a ſad preſent they received from European corrupters.

Anatomy and ſurgery are very little known among them: they employ foreigners to bleed, trepan, and perform all ſurgical operations. They make a religious ſcruple to open dead bodies, and even thoſe of animals: it is true the Talapoins wave this ſcruple; and when the bodies are burnt, they look for ſome pieces of fleſh which they uſe for ſpells in ſorcery.

One ſhould know the nature of the climate to approve or condemn their method of cure. Their firſt operation is to trample on the patient, who lies extended on the ground; becauſe they believe that, by ſoftening the body, they afford the bad humours a vent. They make uſe of this violent remedy with women with child, to procure them a more eaſy labour: they have many practices in uſe with us; ſuch as bleeding, cupping, leeches, purgatives, minerals, and ſimples. All cooling remedies they look upon as deadly, from the belief they hold that heat is a principle of life. They forbid meat broths, becauſe they too much relax the ſtomach. The patient is put under ſuch ſtrict diet, that a European who ſhould ſubmit to it would be ſoon exhauſted. They bathe in the fever, and all other diſorders. Pork, ſo deſpiſed throughout the Eaſt, is much uſed in convaleſcent ſtates. The Europeans have taught them the virtues of bark, and of ſeveral plants and vegetables, which they uſe with ſucceſs.

Impoſture has introduced chemiſtry; but this ſcience, which diſcovers the real treaſures of nature, is only with them ſtudied by knaves, who levy contributions on the credulity of the weak. Many Siameſe diſſipate their fortunes in the ſeducing ſearch for the philoſopher's ſtone.

The pleaſing arts are unknown among them; at leaſt they languiſh imperfect and neglected. They fabricate no ſilk ſtuff. The ſimplicity of their manners, and their averſion to luxury, makes them indifferent to all thoſe ornaments and decorations ſo gratifying

gratifying with us. Their cotton manufactures are in no eſtimation, becauſe the colours are dull.

Their architecture is uncouth, and the ſtatues ſeen in their temples are void of proportion or elegance. Although they know how to make bricks, and their cement is excellent, their edifices decay as ſoon as erected, becauſe they do not dig foundations to ſecure their maſonry, which would then become very ſolid.

They have no painters who are guided by the rules of art: they only paint monſters and chimeras. The difficulty overcome pleaſes them, and they find no merit in imitating nature. The more fantaſtic the figures, the more the artiſt is applauded; and it is by compoſitions of fancy that they uſurp the title of creative genius. Although in general all the arts with them only produce monſters, their goldſmiths produce maſter-pieces; and they have works in fillagree and damaſk which do honour to the induſtry of the artiſt. Poſſeſſing the ſecret of melting metals, and running them in moulds, they only uſe raw iron, and have not the art of forming it in the forge. Their imperfect knowledge of making time-pieces has produced but uncertain means of dividing the time: they have no clocks with wheels; the hours are diſtinguiſhed by a vaſe, where the water enters by a hole; and each time that they come round, men hired for the purpoſe ſtrike on a copper bell, to give notice that another period has ſucceeded that which has for ever elapſed.

The Siameſe ſhew their induſtry moſt in beating of gold, and reducing it to very thin leaves. The king never writes to other ſovereigns but on theſe kind of leaves. They are applied to ſtatues and the moſt precious ornaments; to the hilts of ſwords and daggers; and the eye, deceived by the effects of art, takes all theſe works to be maſſive gold. They have ſkilful joiners, who, without either iron or nails, ſucceed perfectly in joining the different parts. Although their figures are wanting in proportion and elegance, they have embroideries which are much eſteemed, rather for the brightneſs of the colours than for the correctneſs of the drawings.

Skilful aſtronomers have laboured to reform their calendar, and for want of aſtronomical tables, they have choſen two arbitrary epochas from which they date at diſcretion.

## CHAP. VII. — *Of their Commerce.*

THE Egyptians, from the moſt remote period, carried on a conſiderable commerce with all the nations of the Eaſt; and we ſtill find among them many traces of cuſtoms obſerved by that people. All the ancient geographers, under the general name of India, included all the oriental regions: and when Mela ſpeaks of the Seres, who were the moſt eaſtern people of the known world, we may underſtand the Siameſe and other different nations.

Hiſtorians inform us, that ſuch was their honeſty and confidence in trade, that they expoſed their merchandize in bye places, and left them to the fidelity of their correſpondent to make the exchange. It was from this country that gold and copper was obtained; and it was thoſe metals that excited the avaricious ambition of Oſiris and Seſoſtris. The Lagides, and particularly Ptolemy Philadelphus, found the ſources of wealth in the countries of India. The Venetians were for a long time the only maſters of their commerce; the Genoeſe afterwards ſhared it with them; and thoſe two nations were the moſt opulent in Europe, until the time when the Portugueſe doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and opened a new paſſage to India.

This trade has experienced great revolutions, becauſe the Indians, contented with their natural productions, have never coveted foreign ones; and it is the reciprocality of our wants that inſures the duration of commerce. Their averſion towards other nations, their love for their own country, have always prevented them from ſending colonies into other regions, or receiving of them among themſelves. Their ſimplicity concealed from them the advantages to be derived from their ſoil; and ſad poſſeſſors of wealth, they have never been ſenſible to the pleaſure of enjoying it. Although the country was rich in gold and ſilver, the inhabitants made no uſe of thoſe metals in their commerce; they exchanged the produce of their country for foreign imports.

Some believe that Siam was originally called by the name of Thin, which Ptolemy places three degrees beyond the equator. Its port attracted merchants from all parts of the world. Arian and other writers have ſpecified the principal merchandiſes drawn from thence in their time.

If the Siameſe were as induſtrious as the people of Europe, they would derive an immenſe profit from the productions of their country; but their invincible indolence has rendered the bounties of nature uſeleſs to them. Although this fruitful ſoil contains the germ of plenty, the Siameſe will appear a poor people to whoever judges of the wants of others by his own. If they live deprived of thoſe things moſt eſteemed in Europe, it is not becauſe nature denies them, but becauſe the Siameſe deſpiſe them. They make no uſe of thoſe ſtuffs with which the vanity of civilized people would conceal their weakneſs: the heat of the climate forbids their uſe. They do not ſeek for thoſe wines and liquors which ſtimulate a dainty palate; a cooling beverage muſt appear more wholeſome and more delicious. Thoſe chariots drawn by proud courſers, in which ſo many uſeleſs beings parade their vanity, can have no charms for a people who find more comfort in travelling in their ballons.

Thus it is not the poverty of the ſoil which relaxes commercial induſtry: many obſtacles are oppoſed to the ſtranger's making a fortune there: the frequent revolutions of this kingdom overturn eſtabliſhments began with the greateſt ſucceſs. The opulent poſſeſſor finds himſelf ſuddenly ſtripped by an avaricious and ferocious conqueror, who only makes war to enrich himſelf. The government, not ſufficiently acquainted with its own intereſt, fetter the merchants, by fixing at their will the prices of merchandiſe; and the King, the maſter of trade, is the only one who buys from the ſtranger, as he is the only one who ſells him the productions of the country. This inſolent deſpot impoſes arbitrary taxes, which ſhut the entrance of his ports to the veſſels of India and Europe.

The trade of this kingdom was formerly flouriſhing. A thouſand veſſels, as well from China, as from Europe, came there every year, and at this time, ſcarcely a dozen viſit their ports. The Maurs, the Japoneſe and Europeans, have made rapid fortunes there, but have not been able to preſerve them. It is certain, that if any of thoſe geniuſes, which preſide at the counſels of our Kings, were to direct their views to this kingdom, they would find reſources to fill up the void created by the badneſs of the times. Two thouſand European ſoldiers would be ſufficient to impoſe laws on a baſe and puſilanimous people, who only wait ſome bold ambitious adventurer to change their fetters. The riches carried off from their pagodas, by the Bramas, in the laſt revolution, far exceeded the ſums due by thoſe powers of Europe moſt overwhelmed with debt; and though this country ſhould be ſtripped of its ſuperfluous riches, its inhabitants would not be the leſs happy, becauſe the productions of their ſoil, which cannot be taken from them, ever form a fruitful ſtock, which ſupplies all their wants. A trifling militia would be ſufficient to extricate foreign merchants from dependence

on the Monarch. It would be eaſy to erect a fort, which would ſoon become formidable by its numerous defenders, who would there take refuge from the voracity of their oppreſſors. The inhabitants would place their families and moſt precious effects in it. Neighbouring Kings would ſeek the alliance of ſuch a colony, which would become uſeful to them, by exchanging their ſuperfluities, for articles of luxury and comfort.

Superſtition, prodigal in its bounty, ornamented the Siameſe temples from the remoteſt periods with a very fine gold, eſtimated at leaſt at twenty-three carats. They work it with much art; and before they apply it to another ſubſtance, they put on three layers of gum, the two laſt of which they only ſuffer to become half dry, ſo as to faſten it more ſecurely. This gum which they uſe ſo ſucceſsfully is often adulterated, and to prove it they pour a drop into a baſon of water; when it ſinks directly to the bottom, without diſſolving, it is of a good quality, but if it floats, and the parts ſeparate, it is a proof it is adulterated.

The country of Siam muſt at one time have contained a great many gold mines, to judge by the idols, roofs, and ſides of their temples which ſhine with this rich metal; but whether the ſource has failed, or lazineſs became diſguſted with the labour of working them, they fell into oblivion; and it is only within a ſhort time that one has been re-opened, very rich, and of very pure gold. Another has more recently been diſcovered, near a village called Chandom. It is a white ſand, ſhining and heavy. The goldſmiths of the country made ſeveral eſſays of it, without being able to diſtinguiſh its quality. When they had melted this ſubſtance, they could not beat it, without its returning to ſand, and the inutility of their labour cauſed them to give it up. Some of this ſand was ſent to Pondichery, where more ſkilful workmen found, from repeated experiments, that it was the top of a gold mine, where it would be found more abundant, on digging farther down. This diſcovery became uſeleſs, and the benefit of it is reſerved for ſome conquering people.

Although there are mines of ſilver, it does not ſeem that the government derives any great advantages from them. The people pick up grains in the river, which the waters bring down. They uſe a wooden plate, hollowed in the middle: they afterwards move it on the ſurface of the water, and with a ball of wax they pick up thoſe grains, which attach themſelves to the wood. Although in this kingdom there are mines of all kinds, only thoſe of lead, tin, iron, and ſteel ore are worked. Tin eſpecially forms a conſiderable branch of trade: a great deal is exported to Batavia, Madras, Pondichery, China, and in general to all parts of India. Its quality is very fine and beautiful. The mine is a black ſand, which is waſhed in different waters, to detach the earthy particles from it. Lead, ſteel, ore, and iron are exceeding cheap, which makes it believed the mines of them are abundant. Notwithſtanding this wealth, the Siameſe have their iron from France, in exchange for their timbers, becauſe they find it eaſier to cut wood, than to work a mine. It is to be preſumed their invincible averſion to labour has prevented them from revealing the ſecret of the treaſures contained in the bowels of their earth: they have dreaded leaſt the ſeverity of their government might impoſe a too painful taſk on them. It is for the ſame reaſon they do not like to ſhew their ſkill in fiſhing for pearls, which might be carried on with ſucceſs in the iſles of Mergui. Some years ago, a diamond mine was diſcovered in the upper lands, but as the mine did not produce them ready wrought, the ſource was ſoon forgotten.

This kingdom produces a kind of tin, which is exported all over the Eaſt Indies: they call it *calain*, and ſpecimens of it are ſeen in the boxes of tea, which are brought to Europe; but to render it harder and whiter, the Indians mix calamine with it,

which is a kind of mineral rock eaſy to pulverize, which being melted with copper makes it more brittle; and it is this tin thus prepared which is called toutenegg.

Rice grows ſpontaneouſly in the fields, which are covered with water during part of the year; they have only the trouble to ſow it. The mud brought down from the mountains is the real cauſe of the fertility of this country, wherever the inundation extends its benefits; but elevated places, which cannot participate of its bounty, are dried up by the rays of the ſun. When the waters are retired, the rice ripens; it is cut, and the ſheaves are placed in heaps, in the middle of the fields. Oxen and buffaloes are made to walk round on it; theſe animals tread the ſtraw, and detach the grains, which fall on mats placed underneath: thus they have only the trouble to take it up.

In the high lands the fields are crowned with ears of wheat; its quality is pretty good, and it is watered by means of ſome reſervoirs, in which they retain the rain water. The Siameſe rather cultivate it from curioſity than for food; and ſtrangers who would make bread of it, are obliged to import flour from Surat. We ſhall ſhew in the natural hiſtory of this kingdom, all the productions which may be made objects of commerce.

## CHAP. VIII. — *Natural Hiſtory of the Kingdom of Siam.*

THE province of Coric contains ſeveral mines of ſaltpetre; it alſo forms itſelf in the rocks and temples, from the dung of bats, which are as large as our pigeons, and which breed prodigiouſly all over the Eaſt Indies.

The cotton plant grows in a ſhrub, and not very high; its branches are like thoſe of the gooſeberry tree. The cotton of Siam is more valuable for its quality than its colour. There is alſo a tree which produces large fruit, in which the down is contained; they call it pancha. Theſe two kinds are very plentiful.

Although the Siameſe do not breed bees, yet they have ſuch a great quantity of wax and honey, that a pound of wax is ſold for ſixpence, and a pound of honey for three halfpence. The Siameſe obſerve the trees where the bees fix to make their hives. They cut a great part of them, at certain diſtances, from twenty-feet above the ground to their ſummits; they make holes in the trees, into which they put pieces of wood, which project out about three feet. The bees never fail to form their hives round this wood, and one may often ſee three hundred of them on a ſingle tree.

Coarſe wax is not wanting in this kingdom; but that which the foreſt flies furniſh is ſo abundant, that they can export a conſiderable ſuperfluity to other countries.

They make ſealing wax with gum lack: it is the production of certain ants ſimilar to thoſe of Europe, which never form this gum, but on a kind of tree that is very thin, and not more than from ten to twelve feet in height.

Cherian is a liquid gum, which is produced by a large tree, the wood of which is very beautiful, and of a very lively red. The gum is brown, and eaſily takes any colour they think proper to give it.

The ſea-ſwallows, although leſs, are more lively than the land ones, perpetually ſkimming on the ſea coaſts, and at night retiring in flocks into the hollow rocks, where they make their neſts, which they faſten to them by one ſide, ſo that their figure repreſents a ſhell, whoſe flat ſide touches the rocks, and the reſt forms a ſemicircle a little deepened. They are ſeldom found as large as the hand; they are, for the far greater part, a third ſmaller. The conſtruction of theſe neſts is of filaments glued the

one to the other in ſeveral layers. It cannot be reaſonably doubted but what it is the froth of the ſea which the bird receives into and retains in its ſtomach, ſo as to convert it into a gum, which it ſpins with its beak, and arranges it in the manner of a neſt in which it depoſits its eggs.

In trade they diſtinguiſh three different qualities of bird's neſts, in regard to their value, although they are all made the ſame. The firſt is the very white neſt, of which about two pounds and a half of our weight, ſells for eighteen ſhillings ſterling. The ſecond ſort is of thoſe which begin to reeden, and ſell for fifteen ſhillings. The third kind includes thoſe which are nearly all red; they ſell from nine to ten ſhillings. This trade is carried on very advantageouſly by the Chineſe, Japoneſe, and Indians. They dreſs them with poultry, and other meats, and with fiſh. They make a kind of vermicelli ſoup of it, the quality of which is excellent to recruit the ſtrength of convaleſcents.

There are an immenſe number of peacocks in this kingdom, and the males have a moſt ſuberb tail, whoſe brilliancy ſurpaſſes every thing generally ſeen in regard to plumage. There are alſo a multitude of parrots and other birds, whoſe feathers are much eſteemed.

The King of Siam draws a great profit from the quantity of deer ſkins, which he ſells to the Dutch for their trade with Japan, where theſe ſkins ſell well, as alſo the ſinews of the legs, which they dry, and regale themſelves with: their fleſh when dreſſed is alſo of an excellent taſte.

Ambergris is generally found on the coaſts of the kingdom. It is an efficacious remedy againſt the ague, by taking a grain, bruiſed in a ſpoonfull of water. It ſells for four times its weight in ſilver.

The Siameſe find fine agate in their mountains. At the beginning of the preſent century, ſome diamonds were brought to the King of Siam, from a mine that had been diſcovered in the high lands, but as the mines did not produce them ready wrought, and they have no jewellers, the Siameſe ſet but little value on them, and the mine was forgotten. The individuals who had given theſe diamonds to the King's officers retired to Pegu, piqued at not having received any recompenſe.

Quantities of pearls may be fiſhed in the iſles of Mergui, where they are found of a fine water, perfectly round, and the ſize of a pea: but neither the Siameſe nor the Bramas of Pegu have ever diſcloſed the whole ſource of this wealth, fearful that their tyrant might oblige them to labour gratuitouſly in this troubleſome fiſhery.

The foreſts of Siam being full of elephants, it is not to be wondered at that ivory is common among them.

Civet, muſk, benjamin, and oils yield precious perfumes. The muſk, with which they trade at Siam, is found in the teſticles of the muſk-cat. When the animal is heated he exhales an odour of muſk wherever he goes, and imparts it to every thing he touches. They trade with the teſticles, which they cut off, with the purſe that contains them, when they have killed the animal. They find out if they are the real teſticles of the muſk-cat, by rubbing a needle, through which they have paſſed a thread of ſilk, ſeveral times with garlic, which they put into them: if the leaſt ſmell of the garlic remains they are looked upon as falſe, and as objectionable merchandiſe. There is a kind of ant which alſo yields muſk; but it is not eſteemed equal to that of the muſk-cat.

Benjamin is common at Siam; it is brought from the upper provinces. The Siameſe collect this gum very carefully: they have a conſumption for it as well in private houſes as in temples. They gather it from the trees ſo negligently, that it is always full of bark. They form it in round packets, like a large ball, which they encloſe in

leaves. The beſt benjamin of India is found at Achem, in the iſland of Sumatra, where it is very carefully gathered from the trees in little bits. The Mahometans put it into a round bag of matting, and by pouring hot water on it they ſoften it, and afterwards put this bag into a preſs, which forms a cake of benjamin, hard and compact, five or ſix fingers thick, in the form of a muſcle.

Oils of different kinds are found at Siam; as cocoa-nut oil, oil of wood, oil of *girgili*, and fiſh oil: they have no olive oil, although they have olive trees; the fruit has ſo little fleſh, that they can obtain no juice from it.

The oil of cocoa is good for ſeaſoning all diſhes, but it muſt be freſh and new; a few days after it is made it becomes rancid, and it can no longer be uſed but to rub the head, which the Siameſe always keep well oiled. When uſed in lamps it gives a clear light; but it conſumes faſter than the others. The oil is extracted from the white fleſh contained in the cocoa nut. They firſt obtain it very fine, by grating it on a piece of iron which has ſmall teeth; it is afterwards boiled in water, and, as it boils, the oil which ſeparates from it floats on the water, and is taken off with a ſpoon.

The chief uſe of cocoa-nut oil in that country is to prepare a kind of pitch. When it is clarified, it is excellent for painting, drying very faſt. It is not good for lamps, as it catches fire; but it ſerves to make torches, which they call damas, eſteemed throughout India. There are ſmall ones made to give light in the houſes and in the roads: the beſt of theſe torches are made of elephant's dung dried, pounded, and well ſoaked in this oil; they are afterwards covered with long dry leaves, tied about every inch with fine ſhreds of bamboo. Others of an inferior quality are made of rice ſtraw, pounded with this oil, which are covered and tied as cloſe as poſſible. Ships carry a prodigious quantity of them, to trade extenſively with in different countries of India, particularly at Pondichery and Madras.

Oil of wood is moſt plentiful: the tree which produces it is thick and large; its wood is of a red colour, inclining to light brown, and but of little duration. To extract the oil, they make the ſame as for the *cheriam*, a hole of about three or four inches in the foot of the tree; they then light a wheft of ſtraw in it, which cauſes the oil to run, which is received into hollow pieces of bamboo. Theſe trees are found in the foreſts.

Oil of girgili is extracted from a grain exactly ſimilar to gunpowder. The plant is ſmall and has many branches. The Siameſe ſow whole fields of it, and it brings them conſiderable profit. To obtain the oil, they put the grain in hot water, and when it is ſoaked up, it is put in the preſs in a bag of matting. It is good to eat when quite freſh; two days after it is made it is only uſed for lamps, or to anoint the body after bathing. The ſubſtance which is left, after having extracted all the juice, is cut into pieces, and afterwards makes a kind of conſerve with ſyrup of ſugar.

The bottom of the ſea is full of coral. The fiſhermen bring up whole trees of it, which, with their branches, may be five or ſix feet high. The Siameſe form knives, and other ſmall ornaments, out of the trunk of theſe trees. This coral when worked is of a beautiful black.

## CHAP. IX. — *Of Trees and Fruits peculiar to the Kingdom of Siam.*

THE ſcented woods in the kingdom of Siam are eagle wood, ſaſſafras wood, which we call camphire, and ſandal wood.

Eagle

Eagle wood is odoriferous; it is only found in bits, in certain rotten places, in trees of a particular kind: it is of a grey colour. The province of Chahtun produces more than all the others. The inhabitants have a great trade for it with the Chineſe and the Mawes: when of a good quality, it is ſold for at leaſt a piſtole the pound. The trees which yield it muſt have attained a certain age, becauſe this wood is found in its heart when it decays.

The ſaſſafras is a large tree, the wood of which is as light as fir. The boards made from it are only uſed for works which are not intended to laſt long. The bark of this tree is much more precious than its wood; it enters into the compoſition of ſeveral medicines: it is alſo uſed to cure the venereal diſeaſe, with which the country is infected. The Siameſe are quite naked when they ſtrip the bark from this tree: they take care to rub themſelves with a kind of powder ſteeped in water, to prevent the vapour which iſſues from it penetrating the ſkin, which cauſes a violent itching. This wood, and more eſpecially its bark, ſmells like camphor, and when held in contact any time with gold it turns it white.

Sandal is alſo a tree the wood of which is odoriferous, but more common than the two firſt. There are two kinds of it; white, which the iſland of Timor furniſhes in abundance; and the red, much ſcarcer than the other, which grows at Siam. The inhabitants put it to many uſes; they burn it in ſmall ſplinters to obtain a pleaſant odour: they reduce it with water, on a rough ſtone, into an odoriferous paſte, with which they rub their bodies after bathing: they uſe it alſo to burn near dead bodies.

The woods for dyeing are the ſapan and ſome other trees. The ſapan is ſo common in Siam that there are whole foreſts of it. The inhabitants have a great trade with the Chineſe for it, who every year load ſeveral veſſels with it, to make the ſame dye of it as at Japan.

Ebony is alſo very common in Siam; it is the heart of a tree, which has four or five inches of exterior wood of which they make no uſe. The Chineſe alſo come to buy ebony at Siam.

Woods for cabinet making and carpenters are in great abundance. That which they call tecle is the beſt; it is white, and approaches to oak. They cut planks of it, ſometimes forty feet in length and two in breadth. It is uſed there in the conſtruction of veſſels and houſes. It grows very ſtraight and thick, and the ſtem of the tree is ſometimes one hundred and twenty feet high. They form large boats of it, which in a ſingle piece are more than one hundred feet long: they hollow it by fire, and they enlarge its capacity.

Red comon is, next to tecle, the beſt wood for ſhips, and the eaſieſt to find. Marie wood does not ſplit, whatever nails or pegs are driven into it: it is better than all others to make knees for ſhips.

Iron-wood is red: it is ſo called from its extreme hardneſs and weight. It is excellent to make rafters, provided the heart has been taken from the tree, which eaſily rots; but for the reſt of the trunk, however long the tree may have been cut, it appears as freſh as if it had only been felled two days.

The Siameſe have no hemp; they make their cordage of the brout of cocoa-nuts, and their ſails are mats of large ruſhes. Brout is a green bark which is on the cocoa-nut, as it is on our nuts; with this difference, that that of the cocoa-nut is of the thickneſs of two inches, and its fibres may be worked into cords. There are no trees from which they derive more advantages than from the cotton tree and the bamboo.

The bamboo is a kind of reed, hollow within, and divided by ſmall partitions from top to bottom: it may be from twenty-five to thirty feet in height; but it only grows thick

thick in the woods, where it may be a foot in diameter. Its leaves are ſcarce and pale. It grows by ſhoots, which are ſeparated from each other by knots. It has branches and thorns, which our reeds have not. It grows ſo faſt, that in a month it riſes more than twelve or fifteen feet. It is, while yet ſoft, about four or five feet high, that the Siameſe cut it to pickle in vinegar. They firſt cut it in ſlips, ſalt it, and put it in a jar, where the ſalt penetrates it: ſome time after they take it out, and lay it in the ſun to dry, which changes it from white to brown. When it is very dry, they put it in earthen pots with vinegar, and leave it ſo for ſome time; after which it becomes ſofter than the gerkin, which is cured in the ſame manner. They ſometimes add pimento, and the grapes of pepper while ſtill green, which give it a very fine flavour. It is more uſed at ſea than other preſerves, becauſe it keeps better. When this kind of cane is a little bigger, it is put in very thin ſlices in fricaſees, and it much heightens the moſt inſipid meats; but when arrived at its full growth, it contains in its cavities a clear water, which is a ſovereign remedy to cure ſore heads, and an oil is extracted from it which the doctors uſe with ſucceſs.

When full grown they cut it in pieces, and draw fire from it by the friction of two of its twigs, to judge of its hardneſs. It grows very cloſe to one another, and the ſame roots ſhoot out many ſtalks. While green it ſerves for oſier to make baſkets, and band-lathes, and ſmall pillars to ſupport their cabins are made of it. When dry it ſerves for poſts for houſes and paliſades. The Cochin-Chineſe even conſtruct barks with it, in which they ſail on the open ſea with confidence.

The Siameſe and the Bramas make of it benches, preſſes, ladders, houſes, and ſplit it in three to cover the roof: they plant it round their grounds, and form hedges of it, which are a better defence than the ſtrongeſt walls. They make of it caſes, ſtrong mats, figures, ſails, chairs, inlaid work, and paper, by ſcraping it. They carry water in the ſtraight bamboos; thoſe which are crooked and ſtrong ſerve to carry eſtrades, palanquins, or litters.

Betel is a kind of leaf ſimilar to the ivy; it grows in the ſame manner, on trees or poles placed for it to grow on. The ſmell of it is wholeſome; and the Siameſe would rather go without rice than betel. It has the ſame property as tobacco has in Europe: it promotes an eaſy ſalivation, which prevents diſorders incident to warm and burning climates. The ſlaves have a certain quantity allowed them every day to animate them, and to take away the temptation of ſtealing of it; for they will ſtop at nothing to obtain it.

Areka is a kind of large gland, which grows on a tree as ſtraight as the palm tree. The Indians eat it either green or ripe. When it is ſoft, they take off the coat which covers the outſide, and which a good deal reſembles that of the walnut. Its inſide contains a ſoft and greyiſh ſubſtance when it is not quite formed; but when ripe, the coat which is on it turns yellow, and it becomes a black and rough nut, which exactly reſembles a nutmeg. When it has been kept in water ſeveral months the huſk rots without the nut loſing its freſhneſs, and it contracts a diſagreeable ſmell, which however does not prevent the Siameſe from eſteeming it a great delicacy.

By mixing areka and betel they make a compoſition, which is ſold in ſmall packets, which the Indians much uſe to redden their teeth and lips: they alſo attribute to it the quality of preſerving the gums from becoming foul, and of being a provocative to the pleaſures of love. The Indian women, who are of a warm conſtitution, and eſpecially the Portugueſe, who are ſtill more libidinous, uſe all their art to prevail on ſtrangers to eat it. Its virtue is to preſerve the mouth ſweet, and none are found with a bad breath; but it cauſes ſuch an exceſs of ſpitting, which is quite red, that in every apartment

ment is a ſpittoon, that they may not be dirtied. The King makes his officers preſents of gold boxes to keep their betel in: they are incloſed in one of the ſame metal: they contain ſeparately areka cut, betel leaves, lime, and tobacco in leaves, with a ſmall gold-handled knife to cut the areka; and although every body is permitted to have them of gold or ſilver, it is forbidden to have them of the ſame form with thoſe the King gives. On the death of an officer his box is returned to the King. The women, who uſe this little piece of furniture, have it either of ſilver or copper, according to their means. Whatever confidence the Siameſe may have in this mixture as to keeping their mouth clean, it is remarked that their tongue is in holes in ſeveral places, and that they are obliged to ſcrape it every morning, to cleanſe the ſlime which all theſe drugs cauſe; and few old people are ſeen that have not loſt their teeth..

The cocoa-nut is one of the fruits moſt uſed by the Siameſe in their repaſts. They uſe its milk to ſeaſon many of their diſhes; and they take the ſcrapings of the fleſh, and ſometimes the fleſh itſelf, to heighten their ragouts. Moſt of the fruits they eat are different from thoſe of France. The woods and gardens ſupply their wants: the fineſt oranges in the world grow in Siam; they count thirty different ſpecies of them. The ſweeteſt are thoſe they call ſomme-keo; it is large and rough; its ſkin is always green, and as thick as the little finger: when opened, the orange which it contains eaſily comes away; its compartments ſeparate from one another without any trouble, and melt in the mouth; the pips are ſmall and few. The other kinds of oranges are very common, and though inferior to the firſt ſort, they have much more flavour than any we are acquainted with.

The durio is a fruit of preference: it is the ſize of our melons, and covered with very ſharp thorns, and a ſkin harder than the ſhell of our cheſnut. The tree which produces it is large and lofty; when loaded with fruit they are careful not to ſtand under its branches, leſt one of them ſhould fall on their head: its weight, and the hardneſs of its thorns, would be the death of any one. Its fruit has a very diſagreeable ſmell to thoſe not accuſtomed to it; and when it is opened, the ſcent becomes ſo ſtrong that it is perceived at a conſiderable diſtance. It may be ſaid that it is a play of nature, which has united in this fruit the moſt offenſive odour to the moſt exquiſite flavour. The ſhell contains large cheſnuts, which are enveloped in a yellow cream, the fine taſte of which compenſates for the offenſiveneſs of the ſmell. The fondneſs of the Siameſe for this fruit has made them find out the means of preſerving it all the year. They take the cream, while freſh, and make a marmalade of it, which they bake, and afterwards keep in a pot, ſo as to have it at all ſeaſons.

The ajaque is a fruit much larger than the durio, and covered with a rough wrinkled ſkin: it grows on a large and majeſtic tree: they extract a copious milk from its leaves, and the fruit is only produced by the large branches, or on the body of the tree; the nearer it approaches the trunk the larger it grows: they ſtrip off the prickly ſkin which covers it; it is then cut in pieces, which are fricaſeed. A marmalade is made of its fleſh and ſugar, which keeps all the year. When the fruit is ripe, under a thin poliſhed wood are found fifty cheſnuts, incloſed in a purſe of yellow fleſh, very ſweet, and of a ſtrong odour. Theſe nuts, broiled or boiled, have nearly the ſame taſte as our cheſnuts, but they are leſs.

The mangoſteen is the fruit of a very beautiful tree, the head of which forms a large globe. The fruit is large and round as an apple: its bark, which is as thick as the finger, is of a deep red, and has on the outſide as many lumps as there are rings within. When preſſed, a yellow gum comes from it, although the rings which it contains are as white as milk, and arranged like the inſide of an orange. This fruit is very

very delicate and refreſhing: it is eat after the durio, the heat of which it tempers. The Europeans prefer this fruit to all the others which are peculiar to this kingdom, becauſe it has no ſmell. It is alſo eat in the nut while it is green. The Siameſe make a drink of its bark, of admirable virtue in ſtopping and curing dyſenteries.

The ramauſtan is a red fruit, whoſe ſkin is ſimilar to the figure of the mulberry. When broken, a white fruit, and as large as the end of the finger, is found, which contains an almond. The ramauſtan of Siam is neither ſo good nor ſo eſteemed as that which grows in the kingdom of Achem, or in the iſland of Sumatra.

In ſkin and form the acajou is like an apple. Although it is a nut-fruit, it has this peculiarity, that its nut is outſide the fruit. The tree is not handſome, and there are few but what are crooked. The bloſſom of this tree is ſingularly delicate and beautiful, and of a moſt grateful ſcent. The tree reſembles in ſize and appearance a fine pear tree. As ſoon as the bloſſom falls, a nut is formed in the ſhape of a ſmall kidney, which contains a very delicate almond, and of an excellent flavour. This fruit is never eat without ſugar on account of its great acidity.

In the foreſts of Siam are fig trees, which bear figs like thoſe of Europe, which form without bloſſoms; they have the form and taſte without the delicacy. When they are large, the Siameſe flatten them, and dry them to keep; but it is perceived that they are a wild fruit.

The atte is a delicate fruit, in the form of a fir apple: it is of a green colour, and, as it ripens, it becomes ſoft and opens; its pulp is like ſugared cream, and rather glutinous. It contains a great quantity of black pips, the ſkin of which is ſo hard, that they ſeem to be ſo many nuts. The tree which produces it does not grow very high: it yields fruit above and below, forming a kind of buſh.

The anana is a kind of fruit whoſe external figure reſembles a bullock's heart: the ſkin is thin and yellow. This fruit is ſoft, becauſe it contains a ſort of white cream, the taſte of which approaches that of new cheeſe: it is full of black pips like thoſe of the other, but rather larger and longer, as well as the fruit, which is twice as large, and is not equal to it in delicacy. The tree which bears it is different from the other, being much larger, and a ſtandard.

The guava has the exterior form of our pears; its ſkin is of a greyiſh green; its pulp is white or red; it has the perfume of the ſtrawberry. This fruit would be one of the moſt agreeable to the taſte of Europeans, if it was not mingled with an infinity of little ſeeds, which when ſwallowed never digeſt: its tree is very crooked, has ſcarcely any bark, and never grows very large.

The papa is a fruit whoſe fleſh is yellow, like that of the melon, but its taſte is totally different: its ſkin is green and ſmooth, and the fleſh ſweet: it is mingled with an infinity of ſmall grains, which have the form and taſte of thoſe of a pear, and which are united together in the ſame manner as the ſeeds of melons; and this grain, ſmall as it is, produces a tree which, in leſs than two years, grows to the height of eighteen or twenty feet; but it does not laſt more than ten or twelve years, and if the root is touched, the trunk in a ſhort time is reduced into filaments and earth.

The banana, which, throughout India, is called figue banane, is of the ſize and ſhape of a ſavilla. Its green ſkin, when ripe, becomes yellow, and marked with black: it eaſily comes from the fleſh, which is ſoft and paſty, which is what has perhaps obtained it the name of figue: it is ſolid and has no pips: its taſte is very agreeable, and it is gathered every month: it is generally eat raw, and ſometimes roaſted. The tree which bears this fruit never has but one ſhoot, which is a large grape which comes from the centre of its top; from this ſhoot hangs one or two hundred ripe bananas.

The tree dies, and from its root ſpring up two or three others, which ſoon attain the ſame ſize. They are generally as thick as a man's thigh, ſometimes as big as the body. The trunk is only formed of coats one over the other, but which always continue ſo ſoft, that let the tree be ever ſo large, it may be cut through with a ſabre, and all its coats may be ſtripped off to its heart, which is only a ſlimy pith through which the liquor that forms the fruit filtrates. Theſe coats, which are the bottoms of leaves already fallen, are ſtuck one to the other by ſmall filaments, very thinly ſpread, which nouriſh them, and which cauſes them to extend as the tree grows larger. When it comes out of the earth, only two or three leaves are at firſt ſeen, which riſe perpendicular, and whoſe feet, which ſeem wrapped over one another, form a pipe the ſize of the little finger; from the middle of theſe leaves ſpring three others, but the firſt fade and fall; their foot remains, and ſerves to form the trunk of the tree, which riſes and enlarges as new leaves come on. When arrived at the height of five or ſix feet, from the centre of its ſtem iſſues a large flower, inclining to red; and after this flower appears the bananas ranged round the ſtem; the ſmalleſt are next to the flower. The trunk of the tree is eat in fricaſees and ragouts. The flower has five or ſix ranges. The leaves of the banana are the largeſt of all the trees of India; they are three or four feet long, by a foot and a half in breadth. The Siameſe much uſe them at their meals, either as table-cloths, or to place their meat on, particularly when they travel.

The tamarind is a ſouriſh fruit, contained in a pod, like that of peas: when ripe this pod is red. The tree on which it grows has very large branches, but the leaf is as ſmall as that of the pimpernel. Theſe ſmall leaves are placed ten or twelve on each ſide of a ſmall ſtem which iſſues from the branch of the tree. It gives an immenſe ſhade, under which the graſs cannot grow. The Siameſe pretend it is unhealthy to ſleep in its ſhade; they uſe its fruit to heighten the taſte of their ſauces; and when it is ripe they make packets of theſe pods, which keep for a long time.

Pepper is planted at the foot of a large tree, of which it ſoon embraces the whole trunk, and even covers the branches: it grows in grapes, like thoſe of our currants: they are at firſt green, and afterwards redden, and at length become quite black. When it is ripe, they let it fall of itſelf from the tree, that its quality may be better, and they put mats under the tree to receive it as it falls. The grains do not fall from the grape all at once, but only as they become perfectly ripe.

The ſugar-cane is much more common at Siam than pepper. It is a real reed, which grows to the height of four or five feet, the knots of which are never more than a hand's-breadth diſtant from each other: from each knot iſſues a leaf, which envelopes the cane up to the next joint, and which then ſpreads. In the interior of the cane is an aqueous pulp, which contains the juice of the ſugar. To obtain it, the cane is paſſed between two large cylinders, turned by oxen by means of a wheel. As both cylinders turn inward, when the end of the cane is preſented to them it is impoſſible to prevent it from going quite through, ſo powerful is the force that draws it. As it paſſes through it yields its liquor. The Siameſe, who are either ignorant of or diſdain the art of refining ſugar, only uſe it in grain.

The pine-apple is very common in Siam. The plant produces it on the top of its ſtem, which is not more than eighteen inches in height, and is crowned with very long leaves, the two extremities of which are briſtled with thorns. It ſtands erect on its ſtem in the midſt of its leaves, and its form approaches that of a large fir apple. It has ſmall cuticles, under which one would imagine were kernels. Its upper extremity is covered with a tuft of leaves, which ſeem to form a crown, and under theſe leaves are ſmall ſprouts, ſhort, and bent outward, which are planted and become other

pines. It is multiplied by cutting the tuft; and when thus planted in the earth, they throw out their ſtem, and each ſtem only produces one fruit, and that only once. When ripe it is yellow; and when ſmelt, even before it is opened, its odour approaches that of a very ripe apple: its fleſh is white, and mingled with a good many cartilages. To eat it, they peel off its hard and rather prickly ſkin; it is afterwards lightly rubbed with a little ſalt, which corrects its acidity: it is cut in ſlices, and afterwards ſprinkled with ſugar; and if a little wine is added, it has the quality of warming and ſtrengthening the ſtomach.

As corn does not eaſily grow in this country, and they are ignorant of or diſlike the quality of it, the Siameſe have no bread like us. Rice is the chief article in their meals: they have ſeveral kinds; white and red, coarſe and fine. The coarſe, which is that in general uſe, is differently eſteemed, according to the places where it is produced. The rice grown on high lands is of an inferior quality to that which grows in low grounds. As it is to be had at little coſt, the poor make it their common food: only the countryman eats red rice, which is much larger and more nouriſhing; but it is alſo heavier, and is not ſo agreeable to the eye as the white. The black is only uſed mixed with ſugar and the fleſh of the cocoa nut ſcraped over it: the taſte is good, but it is ſo filling they cannot eat much of it.

Fine rice is ſeldom thicker than a needle, and is as tranſparent as cryſtal. The Siameſe only uſe it in feaſts and at feſtivals; they dreſs a certain quantity of the grains with a fowl and a quarter of a goat, or a piece of freſh pork. This ragout is called poulo; it is as white as ſnow, and digeſts the ſooner and the more eaſily, becauſe it is lighter and dryer.

The Siameſe have their harveſt in the dry ſeaſon, and when the waters have retired. When the inundations in certain places riſe above the rice it becomes rotten; but it generally grows as much as the water, and the ear appears on the ſurface. That which grows in ſoils never covered by the inundation is more ſubſtantial, has more flavour, and keeps longer.

The Siameſe make their vermicelli with rice; they eat it with a fiſh ſauce or melted ſugar. There is a great conſumption of it in the royal city; and it is one of thoſe articles from which the King derives moſt advantage: all thoſe who deal in it pay him about five and thirty ſhillings duty yearly; and the number of venders being very conſiderable, it brings immenſe ſums into his treaſury. The diſtillers of brandy, who are numerous, and almoſt all Chineſe, are alſo obliged to pay heavy duties for diſtilling. As an immenſe quantity of rice is conſumed in Siam and its environs, they uſe the dregs that remain after they have extracted the brandy to fatten the pigs, the conſumption of which is ſo much the greater in this country, as it is forbidden to ſell butcher's meat, ſuch as oxen, cows, and calves. Superſtition has forbidden the uſe of them, becauſe they believe that, according to the principle of metempſicoſis, theſe animals have been the ſanctuary of their divinities. Beſides, this meat is dry and inſipid, and common game has no flavour; but their ſwine's fleſh is far ſuperior to that of the pigs of Europe: it is delicate and of eaſy digeſtion; when it has been ſalted for a day the doctors preſcribe it to convaleſcents in preference to poultry or boiled meats.

When the Siameſe drink the brandy they call arak, they take a large wooden plate, on which they place a large china bowl, containing two or three pints of brandy; on the top they put a cup, which floats on the liquor, and around the bowl are ſeveral ſmall pots, in which are ſalted and pickled fruits, ſmall fiſh dry and roaſted, baked

and ſalted eggs. They ſit round this diſh, and every one helps himſelf to what he likes beſt; but they generally give the preference to what moſt creates thirſt, and by turns dip the little cup into the brandy, and drink as they converſe. After they have all drank three or four cups, the proviſions are ſerved in, and during the whole repaſt they never drink: when their appetite is ſatisfied, they drink a large cup of water, waſh their mouths, and immediately take their betel.

Balachan is made from ſmall lobſters, which we call ſhrimps. They pound them with ſalt into a kind of paſte, which they bake in the ſun for ſeveral days; they take care to ſtir it about, which ſpreads a diſagreeable ſmell all around. This paſte with them ſupplies the place of butter, fortifies the ſtomach, and ſharpens the appetite.

It is to be obſerved, that in all hot countries the ſtomach loſes its activity by a too copious perſpiration, and conſequently every thing which warms it is a principle of life which repairs its loſſes. Thoſe who manufacture this balachan are very careful to ſave the water which drains from it, and ſell it very dear in bottles hermetrically ſealed; and every one lays in a ſtock of it to ſeaſon their diſhes.

There is a kind of brown graſshopper which to them is a delicate food; as likewiſe ſpider's eggs, of which they diſtinguiſh ſeveral kinds. They prefer the eggs of thoſe ſpiders which make their holes in the ground, and which are only found in the woods. Their bite is as dangerous as that of the tarantula.

They have alſo a kind of toad, which they call houhan, a name which is the expreſſion of their cry, which is ſo loud, that two are ſufficient to diſturb a whole country. This animal is quite round and very frightful; his head can ſcarcely be perceived. It is probable that the inhabitants conſume a great many of them, for numbers are ſeen in the public markets ready ſpitted.

The bamboo rat is a very choice food; it is in ſhape like the common rat; its tail is quite red, and it is without any hair, like a worm: it is as large as our cat. It is called bamboo rat, becauſe it feeds on that wood, and eſpecially on the young ſhoots. They are reared in all the houſes, and they become tame, and make cruel war with the common rats; but their ravages are greater than thoſe they would prevent. The field rat is a much-eſteemed food, and is very plentiful.

A food which they conſider exquiſite is a ſmall deer, not bigger than a hare, but with longer legs, a fine ſlender body, the legs not thicker than a quill: its foot is cloven like the common deer, of which it poſſeſſes all the agility. It is taken in the woods with nets. The eggs of the talagoie are reckoned exquiſite eating. The talagoie is a kind of lizard, but much larger than our common lizards: it is extremely lively and active; it climbs along the trees; it is not miſchievous, nor is its bite dangerous. Its tongue is ſplit half its length, from whence the Indians ſay it has two tongues. It moves both parts of its tongue as we move our fingers, without the motion of one part cauſing that of the other. This animal much reſembles the crocodile, except that it does not like the water. They partake of few meals without having ſalted or pickled fruits. They ſalt them in this manner: they take them when their kernels are green and ſoft; they throw them into a large jar of water with ſome ſalt. The marion, a kind of large white plumb, is excellent when thus ſalted; the water itſelf of it is not bad; it takes by degrees the flavour of the fruit, with a little ſalt, which improves the taſte of the rice. They ſalt mangoes in the ſame manner, which is a fruit whoſe form and taſte is wholly different from all the productions of Europe. It is in ſhape ſomething like a ſheep's kidney, and ſometimes grows very large; it is not uncommon for them to weigh two pounds, but its general ſize is that of a large pear. Its fleſh is yellow;

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its kernel very flat and large; its odour approaches to turpentine. As its flavour is agreeable, and its quality heating, the Siameſe eat it with vinegar, eſpecially when ſomewhat large.

They make uſe of ſalted ducks' eggs, which they preſerve ſeveral months without ſpoiling. They put a good deal of clay round each egg as a cruſt, and when they want to eat them, they take off this cruſt and harden the egg: it is thus they preſerve their melons, which they ſalt in ſlices, and which they always keep excellent. They alſo uſe ginger, which grows abundant in this kingdom: the Dutch make an excellent preſerve of it, which they export to Batavia; but it is too heating.

Silver and corries are what the Siameſe prefer receiving in exchange for their productions; but they have a predilection for coloured linens, muſlins, carpeting, and ſilks, eſpecially thoſe of China, which being gayer and lighter are more ſuitable to the climate. This taſte, however, is not excluſive, as they anxiouſly ſeek for the ſcarlets and velvets of Europe; and it is with thoſe articles our merchants might render the Siameſe tributary to their induſtry.

Muſkets, gunpowder, and flints would command a quick ſale and conſiderable profit. The Siameſe would willingly take them in exchange for their moſt valuable productions, and would even pay for them in the money of their country, which conſiſts in ſmall balls of ſilver, marked at the corner by the King.

The ſale of opium is abſolutely contraband: the forbidding the introduction of it into this kingdom originates in the diſpoſition of the people to abuſe the uſe of it. Its effects have at different times cauſed the greateſt ravages: the preſent King has paſſed ſentence of death on ſeveral of his ſubjects who had tranſgreſſed this law. The Siameſe accuſtom themſelves to take it, beginning by a grain, and encreaſing the number to half a dozen. Some ſwallow it, but the greater part ſmoke it, which cauſes a ſleepy drunkenneſs. They ſay then they have ſublime and grand ideas; each has dreams agreeable to his temperament; the ambitious man beholds at his feet monarchs and ſlaves in chains; the bilious man is ſeized with viſions of horror and diſmay; the mild and benevolent man beholds all the world applaud him. However, there is nothing ſo ſacred that the Siameſe is not ready to break through to procure this root, which ſells for its weight in ſilver, which is not ſurpriſing among a people who believe that dreams are books in which the fates are written.

Although all climates moſt expoſed to the vivifying rays of the ſun preſent us with productions which nature refuſes to colder regions, ſhe ſtill diſpenſes her bounty, and northern countries have their peculiar riches. Throughout India are to be found peas, potatoes, cibol, radiſhes, ſmall cucumbers, gourds, water-melons, parſley, balm, ſorrel; but all theſe vegetables only reſemble ours in the name. They are not acquainted with our roots, nor the different herbs which compoſe our ſallads, which ſhould be attributed to the negligence of the people, and not to the fault of the ſoil. Since all our herbs tranſported to Batavia have not degenerated, it may be preſumed they would have equally ſucceeded in Siam.

## CHAP. X. — *Animals.*

AMONG all quadrupeds the elephant may be ſaid to hold the firſt rank, whether as to its bulk, ſtrength, and utility, or for the inſtinct which this animal ſeems to poſſeſs in a ſuperior degree. No country in the univerſe produces finer than are to be found in Siam; the larger are as much as twelve feet high. Its bulk is proportionate

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to its height; its feet are as ſtraight as columns, and the under part is very ſoft, ſo that you ſcarcely hear it tread. When it walks it puts forward the two legs of the ſame ſide, which gives an uncouth and fatiguing motion to its body, and conſequently to thoſe who ride it, particularly if they are not accuſtomed to it. It has been thought that they never lie down; but that is an error which is now corrected: they lie down like other animals, but they generally ſleep ſtanding and without ſupport. With his trunk he blows the duſt from the place where he would lie, and makes it much cleaner than if it had been ſwept by the moſt careful domeſtic. After he lies down, he puts the end of his trunk into his mouth, for fear the ants ſhould get into it; and if, notwithſtanding this precaution, any one has the addreſs to penetrate into it, he becomes enraged, and blows with violence, to get rid of ſo troubleſome a gueſt.

He uſes his trunk as a hand, to carry whatever he eats to his mouth, which is ſmall, when compared to the coloſſal form of his body; his under jaw in particular is very ſmall. When he would drink, he takes in his trunk about half a pail-full of water, which he pours into his mouth. With his trunk he tears off the branches of trees, of which he eats the leaves or moſs, and if he does not find them juicy, he beats them on one of his legs. When he finds a trunk of a banana tree, which is ſoft, but too large to put in his mouth he takes care to hold one end in his trunk, while he ſplits the other with his teeth, when he has made it fit to be chewed, he takes it to his mouth. In ſhort no animal eats with ſo much cleanlineſs.

Their ſtrength ſurpaſſes that of all other quadrupeds. Formerly they were loaded with towers, filled with ſoldiers, and they often decided the fate of battles. Their two teeth weigh about two hundred and thirty pounds. It is difficult to conceive how ſo ſtrong an animal ſhould be ſo eaſy to manage. A common rope confines him, tied by the hind feet to a tree, but when he is enraged, or frightened by any ſudden noiſe; ſuch as thunder or the report of cannon, to which he is not yet accuſtomed, he breaks ropes thicker than the wriſt, as eaſily as he would break a thread. Only his keeper can calm his fury, and even his voice he depiſes when at heat. Fortunately nature has furniſhed him with the means of appeaſing the burning flames which torture him.

Although the elephant is at rut, and always lives among females, they never couple in the houſes; they then ſeek the woods and retired places; it ſeems as if their modeſty was aſhamed of their natural wants. When the male is enraged, it is ſufficient to ſhew him a female, and he becomes quiet and tractable.

If a domeſtic female elephant is to be covered, ſhe muſt be ſuffered to go into the woods, with trammels, that ſhe may not ſtray too far; ſhe does not fail to get covered, and ſhe then immediately returns home. She goes twelve months, and when nigh bringing forth, they let her go into the woods, becauſe they believe ſhe would rather burſt than bring forth in any inhabited place. She afterwards returns home with her young one.

The elephant has only two teats which are placed between the two fore legs; and as the young one cannot reach its mother's teats, it draws the milk with its trunk, and then puts it in its mouth. Theſe animals never exert their ſtrength againſt their keepers: a compaſſionate gentleneſs ſeems to form their character; and when they meet a flock of ſheep, they diſperſe them with their trunk, as if they were afraid of cruſhing them with their weight. Although uſed for war, they never contract that ferocity which the cuſtom of ſhedding blood inſpires, and their natural wildneſs has an air of timidity.

The load of an elephant at Siam is not proportioned to his ſtrength: in general he only carries twelve hundred pounds weight, and even with that, they cannot make him

him go very far. When he finds himſelf too much fatigued, he ſwells his belly, breaks in an inſtant all the girths and cordages, and throws down his load, rather from lazineſs, than being unable to ſupport ſo great a weight.

The King and perſons of quality generally ride on elephants. They either uſe a ladder to get on his back, or make him kneel down. He holds out a leg, on which they ſtep, and he never riſes till they are ſeated. His ſtep is much longer than that of a horſe: his trot is pretty quick: he never ſtumbles nor gallops. The uſe they derive from him has inſpired the Siameſe with the utmoſt reſpect for this animal; they have the ſame regard for them they have for the human ſpecies, and they would place them in equality with men if they had the uſe of ſpeech: eſpecially thoſe belonging to the King are treated with moſt diſtinction: they have their ſlaves, the number of which is proportioned to their opinion of their ſagacity. The white elephant, which is the firſt in dignity, has a hundred ſervants to take care of him: the ſides of his palace are all gilt; inſtead of troughs, he has two baſons of maſſive gold, and the moſt dignified mandareens do not think it any diſgrace in devoting themſelves to his ſervice: the honours which are paid to him extend even to his relatives; for the Siameſe diſtinguiſh theſe animals by the ſame family names which are uſed in Europe among men. This reſpect originates in the ſyſtem of metempſicoſis: they believe the ſouls of Kings and heroes paſs into the bodies of elephants. The white are the moſt eſteemed and are moſt rare. They ſet a great value on black ones, but there are few of that colour.

They uſe this animal alſo to draw water and large pieces of timber. When employed in this work he does not ſeem to make the leaſt effort; he walks as eaſy as if he had no burthen to draw. They uſe him likewiſe to ſhove veſſels into the water with his backſide, and to throw down buildings, when there is danger that a fire may ſpread to the neighbouring houſes.

The Siameſe are themſelves too idle to derive all the advantages they might from ſo uſeful an animal; they only ſeem to value it for the effect and pomp it gives to the travelling of their King. It is true they ſell a great number every year at Mergui, and derive a great profit from their teeth, in which they deal largely with the people of Surat and Europe.

One of the exerciſes in which they inſtruct the Princes of the kingdom, is to ride the elephant, as the nobility of Europe are taught to ride the horſe; it is more particularly in the manner of riding on the neck, that the moſt addreſs is ſhewn. It is not poſſible to ſit on his back, on account of its breadth; beſide that, he could not be managed at ſuch a diſtance. Inſtead of a ſtirrup, they make uſe of a thick cord which goes round his neck. The moſt ſkilful riders throw a nooſe running, with wonderful dexterity, to take thoſe which are wild. This chaſe, which is the moſt noble, is only permitted the Kings and Princes, although the woods are full of theſe animals. A male always goes at the head of a great number of females, which excites among the males jealouſies and battles. The females never interfere in theſe quarrels, and full of reſpect for ſpirit and courage, they abandon him that flies, and always follow the conqueror. As in theſe hunting parties, the King and Princes take a great many elephants, they keep the fineſt for their own uſe, and ſend the others to Mergui, to be ſold to merchants who come from the coaſt of Coromandel to trade in them, and who bring in exchange the fineſt linens and ſtuffs from Bengal, Surat and Perſia. There is ſcarcely a year that at leaſt fifty elephants are not ſold. This trade forms the moſt ſolid wealth of the Siameſe, who by this ſale, and that of their teeth, procure themſelves foreign productions.

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The King reſerves this trade to himſelf, and no one elſe may carry it on. There are tenants who are obliged to pay into the royal treaſury a certain number of teeth. This obliges them to go a hunting for them, and obtain as many as will furniſh the given number. They often conceal the produce of the chace, and ſell the overplus clandeſtinely, but not without riſk, both to the ſeller and buyer; they both are liable to be condemned for life to cut graſs for the King's tame elephants, a puniſhment the more ſevere, as all the deſcendants of thoſe thus condemned remain for ever in this ſlavery, unleſs liberated by a ſpecial pardon from the King.

The inſtinct of the elephant places it above all other animals, and the Siameſe eſteem it ſo much, that many, to the diſgrace of the human mind, are loaded with titles, and endowed with the firſt dignities in the kingdom.

It muſt be confeſſed that this animal without his trunk would appear moſt ſtupid; but as it ſerves him for arms and hands, it would almoſt be imagined that this prodigious maſs thought and reaſoned; ſo dextrous is he in the uſe of it to do whatever he is ordered.

Among fifty of theſe animals, that the King of Siam had ſent to Mergui to be ſold, was one more terrible, and more difficult to be conducted than any of the others: he knew no one but his keeper, and would obey no one elſe whatever. All theſe elephants were put into a large garden, near the Chriſtian church: they were all tied by the hind feet, each one to a ſeparate tree, ſome diſtance apart; that they might not annoy each other; and as theſe animals are always eating they put before them a bundle of graſs, and branches of the cocoa-tree and banana-tree. When this elephant, who was called Cerca, ſaw that his keeper was abſent, he very dextrouſly untied the rope which faſtened him to the tree with his trunk, and went and eat the graſs and banana-trees of another elephant. If the other keepers tried to make him return to his own tree, without minding them, he ſhewed his teeth, ſo that they were all obliged to retire; they could not accompliſh it till his keeper came: as ſoon as the animal ſaw him, he returned to his place, and appeared gentle and quiet. After having played this prank for ſeveral days, his keeper beat him well with a ſtick, which he bore very quietly without the leaſt ſhew of anger. The keeper afterwards was eating with ſome of his comrades, a few paces from this elephant; the animal took up a ſtone from the ground and holding it balanced in his trunk as if at play, threw it directly into the earthen pot that held his keeper's wine or brandy, which broke it and ſpilt all the liquor: this enraged the man and drew on him another ſhower of blows, which he again took very quietly. Every day theſe animals are ſeen to do every thing their keeper tells them to do, as to ſalute thoſe they paſs, pick up whatever their conductors who are ſeated on their neck, let fall, and immediately give it them. This animal takes an extraordinary affection to thoſe who have the care of feeding him. An example was witneſſed at Pondichery, in regard to a very drunken ſoldier, who every day gave ſome fruit to an elephant. One day this ſoldier, being drunk, after giving ſome fruit to this elephant, fell aſleep at his feet. The animal began to gently rub him with his trunk. Some other ſoldiers, fearful that with his careſſes he might hurt their comrade, would have taken him up: the elephant, far from permitting it, preſented his teeth to whoever attempted to approach, and watched the man till he awoke, without ever allowing any one to come near him.

Similar traits are every day obſerved, which ſhew how grateful this animal is for any kindneſs ſhewn him. He has a natural affection for monkies: for the Siameſe keep a monkey in the place where they have their elephants; they think that if any bad air ſhould paſs through it would fall on the monkey, and not hurt the elephants.

There are other animals he has in abhorrence. He cannot bear a fowl: which obliges them, in veſſels which tranſport elephants, to take great care that the fowls do not get out of their coops. They relate, that on board a veſſel that was carrying elephants, a fowl having got looſe, and jumped upon theſe animals, they became ſo unruly, they were fearful they would deſtroy every thing; fortunately the fowl fell under the feet of an elephant, who inſtantly cruſhed it, which reſtored tranquillity in the ſhip. They equally abhor the tiger and the crocodile; for which reaſon the King of Siam ſometimes gives a combat between an elephant and one of theſe animals. The fight draws an immenſe concourſe of people. In this combat the elephant has the head covered with ſtrong leather, to ſcreen his trunk in it, and protect it from the claws of the tiger; he ruſhes towards him, and endeavours to pierce him with his teeth, or to ſtrike him with his trunk, which he takes care immediately to draw within this leather; for if the tiger caught it with his claws, he would become the conqueror, but if the elephant can put his foot on the tiger, he immediately cruſhes and kills him.

In the ſame manner he fights the crocodile; he endeavours to pierce him underneath with his teeth, or to take him up in his trunk, and throw him into the air, and cruſh him under his feet when he falls again. But his moſt formidable enemy is a ſpecies of tiger, very ſmall it is true, but ſo active, that he ſprings on his back, and tears him till he drops dead. The uſual amuſement of the Kings of Siam is hunting elephants: they do it three ways; one is to nooſe them as they run in the woods; the other to lay ſnares for them, in which they are caught by one foot: the third mode, which is the moſt dextrous, and affords moſt ſport, is to drive them into a circle, from which they cannot get out without being taken: they employ the females to attract them into this ſnare.

Much addreſs is required to nooſe them, and it is in this exerciſe, the young Lords are chiefly inſtructed. The whole art conſiſts in throwing the nooſe without being themſelves entangled in it. They have ſchools where they inſtruct pupils in this art, and many become ſuch adepts, that, mounted on one of theſe tame animals, they nooſe the wild elephant by the foot, although he does not riſe it from the ground more than ſix or ſeven inches. When the animal is in the cord, they let him run in the woods, where he ſoon entangles himſelf in the brambles and roots of trees, in which the nooſe catches. They then try to familiarize him with domeſtic elephants; they tie him to them when he is cowed by hunger: they take him from the woods, and carry him into the city, where, in a few days, he becomes as tractable as the others.

The ſecond manner of taking wild elephants in ſnares, is generally uſed by thoſe who are obliged to ſupply the King with a certain number of their teeth annually. Although according to their principles, it is a great ſin to kill theſe animals, yet intereſt often carries it over religion, and the king allows thoſe to be killed which are ill made, and have natural defects, for examples, the ears, &c. &c. The monarch, to exculpate himſelf from this ſin, alledges that it is not he that kills them, and that he commits that charge to men polluted by iniquity.

They lay theſe ſnares thus. At certain diſtances in the wood they throw nooſes quite open, along the path, where they preſume the elephant will paſs. Theſe nooſes, which are made of cord and buffalo's hide, on one part touch the ground, and on the other are elevated about a foot from it. At the end of the cord, which may be twelve or fifteen feet long, is faſtened a piece of wood in the form of a ſmall anchor. When the elephant has caught his foot in this nooſe he drags it for ſome time, till it faſtens to the roots of the trees; the more the animal ſtrives to diſengage himſelf, the

tighter the nooſe embraces his foot: the pain this creates cauſes him to remain ſtill: he then eats every thing around him within his reach, till he falls from weakneſs and dies.

The third manner of taking elephants is the moſt dextrous and moſt amuſing. They drive them into a place ſurrounded with large ſtakes, from whence they cannot get out without being taken. In the ſuburbs of the royal city, near the bridge which joins it to *terra firma*, is one of theſe large encloſures: it is a long ſquare, ſhut with two doors, made of ſtrong bars: the door next the country is ſimple, but that oppoſite to it, on the outſide reſembles the pen, in which horſes are placed that are difficult to be ſhod. This pen is proportioned to the ſize and ſtrength of the elephants: it has two doors, one of which opens into a place ſurrounded with ſtakes, about a foot diſtant from each other: and the ſecond is at the other end: to get out of it, the door lifts up and down in grooves. They call this invention *piniate*, which has given that name to that quarter of the city, and the bridge that leads to it.

When they would bring the wild elephants to get them into this encloſure, they ſend ten or a dozen female elephants into the woods, at the head of which goes that one which is beſt trained, who carries on its back a large bundle of boughs, in which a man is concealed, to give the neceſſary ſignals. They are no ſooner in the woods than ſome male comes to keep them company; then the man that is concealed, gives his elephant the ſignal to return towards the encloſure. They return ſlowly eating the leaves of the trees they meet with. The male elephants follow them, and if it happens, that they ſtray a little to ſeek for food, the females rejoin them, and take care to keep them in the midſt of them. This ſport ſometimes laſts ſeveral days, when the males, more familiarized with them, follow them inſtinctively. By degrees they approach the encloſure; the beſt trained elephant enters firſt, and the others follow, male and female. When they are all in, they drop the ſliding door, and they are thus all ſhut up in the encloſure.

While the males are on the other ſide, they take out the females by degrees, but when they perceive that the number of females diminiſhes, they become enraged, beat thoſe that remain, and run round the encloſure to find a place to get out at. The door of the pen which leads outwards is opened, and they ſhew a tame male elephant through the bars of the other. As ſoon as the wild elephant perceives him, he enters the pen to attack him; but ſcarcely has he entered it, when the door is let down, and he finds himſelf taken, without being able to turn, becauſe there is only juſt room enough for his body. They then put a nooſe round each foot, taking a half turn round each ſtake that correſponds with his legs. Then the tame elephant retires, the barred door is open, the wild elephant ſtruggles, and makes vain efforts to ruſh on the tame one, who ſhews his teeth at him. They ſlacken the cords that hold him by the feet by degrees, and when all his body is out of the pen, two large tame elephants come and place themſelves one on each ſide, and they tie them all three together. His new companions take care to give him ſmart blows with their trunk, to make him go on; and when his pace is too ſlow, another tame elephant which follows him, pricks him with his teeth behind, which makes him quicken his ſteps. They thus take him to the river, from whence, after being well waſhed and refreſhed, they take him to a ſtable, where they tie his neck and a leg to a ſtake, which turns on a pivot at top and bottom. His exertions fatigue and exhauſt him, and by turning round with his ſtake, he becomes ſtill and quiet. The tame elephants come and take him tied to themſelves to the river the ſame as the firſt time.

To theſe ceremonies they add a rigorous abſtinence, which, by exhauſting his ſtrength in a month's time renders him as docile and tame as the others. They only give him a ſufficient quantity of food to prevent him actually dying with hunger. This diet makes him very lean, but as ſoon as he gets tame, he regains his condition in a ſhort time. All the males that are in the encloſure are ſerved in the ſame way. Tame elephants are ſo numerous in this kingdom, that they can eaſily find four or five for the ſervice of each of the new ones. The King, as well in the city as in the villages, always maintains about five-hundred. This ſport may be looked upon, as the only amuſement of the court and nobles; it is beſides very lucrative to the King, and when thoſe taken are not handſome enough to be preſerved, they are ſold to the Mahometans, who come to buy them, to tranſport them into the empire of the mogul. This ſport would ceaſe to be a pleaſure to them, if intereſt did not find its account in it. This lazy nation never emerges from its natural indolence, except when awakened by the love of gain. It is true they hunt crocodiles and tigers, but it is generally only after thoſe cruel animals have devoured many men and beaſts.

The manner in which the Siameſe take theſe animals is very curious. Sitting one day on the ſhore, I ſaw a number of boats, in which they were ſhouting and ſplaſhing with their oars, to oblige the crocodile to go near the land, where they were to lame or ſhoot him. It is the moſt terrible of all amphibious animals. Its ſhape reſembles the lizard, except that along the ſpine of the back he has as it were fins of two or three inches, which are as hard and as ſolid as the reſt of his ſkin. This animal, which is generally eighteen or twenty feet long, has a large jaw, armed with murderous teeth. The King of Siam has them taken alive, and keeps them in parks, to fight with the tiger and elephant. This is one of the grand diverſions of the court. The combat between the tiger and the crocodile terminates in the death of both.

Of all quadrupeds, the ſtrongeſt and largeſt after the elephant, is the rhinoceros, who lives in the foreſts. His ſkin is a great object of trade. The animal, whoſe ſenſe of ſmelling is very fine, always gets under the wind; it is in marſhy places, which he inhabits by preference, that the hunters lay ſnares for him; he lies down to ſleep or wallow in muddy waters. Though dangerous when enraged, he is very eaſy to ſurpriſe. His ſize is nothing extraordinary, he is in general the height of a large aſs, and would exactly reſemble it as to the head, if he had not above the noſe a horn about a hand's breadth in length. When angry he ſwells, and appears hideous. His ſkin is brown, and ſo hard, that a muſket ball cannot penetrate it. His tongue is briſtled with ſuch a rough membrane that he flays whatever he licks. He breaks with eaſe the hardeſt thorns, and his mouth is ſometimes all bloody with them. The hunter aims his ſhot between his ears, becauſe it is the only place the ball can penetrate.

It is an error univerſally received in Europe, that the rhinoceros is the declared enemy of the elephant. The Siameſe have never remarked this antipathy, and when in travelling I have been obliged to ſtop near ſprings of water, which are found here and there in the woods, I have often obſerved quite freſh marks of the feet of elephants and the rhinoceros, and my guides have never ſpoken of that natural averſion, which it is ſaid divides theſe animals. I could diſcover no ſigns of thoſe bloody combats which always coſts the life of one of the adverſaries. If theſe conflicts were real, trees would be obſerved overthrown, and the earth torn up, as is obſerved in places where elephants have fought againſt one another: and yet it is in places where there is water, that the two ſpecies might eaſily meet. The elephants frequent them to bathe, and the rhinoceros goes there to ſeek the thorny wood, on which they feed.

The Siameſe ſometimes rear theſe animals, to make preſents of them to the Emperor

of China. They are obliged to take all thoſe caught in the woods to the King's court, and this commiſſion is very dangerous, unleſs they take the precaution to kill the dam, who protects them with fury. She never has but one young one at a time, and it is not known how many months ſhe goes, becauſe they have never had the females when with young in a domeſtic ſtate.

The rhinoceros commonly feeds on the ſharpeſt thorns: he never lies down but in muddy places and in the thickeſt foreſts: he turns up the earth like the pigs to find different roots. The Siameſe find his fleſh exquiſite, which is not ſurpriſing, as he feeds on nothing but roots. It is a delicate preſent they make their friends; and when it is ſmoked, they make it an article of commerce. They are alſo very careful to preſerve its blood, and eſpecially that of the heart, believing it to be a ſovereign remedy for complaints in the breaſt, and diſorders incident to women. They diſſolve a little of the blood in brandy or rice-water, and take a ſmall doſe every morning: and from his horn they make cups, which they regard as a powerful antidote againſt all kinds of poiſon; and it is in conſequence of this belief that moſt of the Kings of India will only drink out of cups of this ſubſtance; and ſome horns ſell as high as a hundred crowns. When ſplit through the middle, different figures are obſervable; and the eye, deceived, fancies men, animals, trees, and fruits: in ſhort, every part of its body is conſidered medicinal.

The Siameſe make light ſhields of his ſkin, which are bullet-proof: they prefer the ſkin which covers the thighs and ſhoulders, which are more ſcaly than the other parts of the body. The reſt of the ſkin is not uſeleſs; they dry it in pieces, and when they would eat it they boil it; it becomes very tender, and when well done they attribute to it the quality of purifying the blood. So many uſeful qualities would render the rhinoceros a valuable animal if he could be as eaſily tamed as the elephant; but art has yet never ſucceeded in conquering his natural ferocity.

There are ſeveral ſpecies of tigers in the woods of Siam; and though India in general ſeems to be the country of theſe ſavage animals, it may be ſaid that the kingdom of Siam is their dwelling in particular; the ſpecies are there more various. The royal tigers are the moſt dangerous; they make cruel war with men and horned cattle: their body is covered with black and yellow ſtripes: they are but three feet high, but very long: their paws are immenſe, and their claws very large; they withdraw them or put them out like the cats: their horrid and fiery countenance betrays their reſtleſs and furious diſpoſition; their ſparkling eyes diſcover them in the night, by being perceivable at a conſiderable diſtance. They beat the ground with their tail while watching their prey, and ſpring on it as the cat does on a mouſe: they ſay that if he miſſes his prey in the three ſprings he makes, he quits it for ever. His cry is ſometimes ſhrill and ſometimes dreadful: he has the cunning to hide himſelf among the buſhes, from which he ſeldom miſſes the prey he marks.

The terror of his countenance damps the ſtouteſt courage. Men have been found, till then intrepid, who have let their arms fall from their hand, and ſuffer themſelves to be devoured, without thinking of defending themſelves. This terror that he inſpires extends to all animals: they loſe their ſtrength and become motionleſs at his look, and have not even power to fly. It is however certain, that if one has the courage to remain firm, and not to fly, he himſelf loſes his intrepidity, and ſeems to reſpect valour in others, and only to delight in eaſy conqueſts.

They diſtinguiſh another kind, which they call biba: they are the ſize of our common dogs: their ſkin is yellow, and ſpotted with round black ſpots: he ſeldom attacks

men or cattle, but is very deſtructive to fowls, goats, deer, and young pigs; for the old ones do not fear him, and even ſtoutly defend themſelves againſt the ſtrongeſt tigers.

During my reſidence in this kingdom they told me of a combat between a large tiger and a ſtrong boar, in which they both died of their wounds. There are ſeveral other kinds of ſmall tigers, not larger than our cats; they get into the houſes at night, where they make great havoc among the poultry: when the dogs can lay hold of them, they do not ſpare them. I ſaw one entirely ſpotted with a deep violet colour: I never ſaw ſo beautiful a ſkin: to feed it, it required a fowl every day, which it ſoon devoured.

They have alſo a kind of pole-cat which yields muſk, but whoſe quality is much inferior to that of the muſk-cat, On our return to Europe we had one of theſe pole-cats on board the veſſel, which very much annoyed us by the ſmell it emitted: it had a particular paſſage by which it diſtilled its muſk, and whenever that part was touched it uttered doleful cries. At Siam there is alſo, as in all India, muſk-rats, which get into the houſes. Every time they utter a cry they give an exhalation of muſk, which by its ſtrength cauſes the head-ach; and if it continues its cries the ſmell becomes inſupportable.

The Siameſe breed but few cattle, becauſe their religion forbidding them to eat their fleſh, the trouble of breeding them becomes burthenſome; nevertheleſs, they have domeſtic oxen, but the wild ones, which they call catins, are much ſtronger and larger. Their terrible horns, which they uſe dextrouſly againſt tigers, are their common arms. When the Siameſe kill them in the woods, they ſmoke the fleſh, becauſe it is the only way to preſerve it in a country where the exceſſive heat ſpoils every thing: but they have no great ſale for it; for the continual perſpiration ſo weakens their ſtomachs, that they cannot digeſt ſo ſtrong and groſs a food.

It is not ſo with the fleſh of the buffalo, which they uſe without experiencing any inconvenience from it: perhaps the reaſon is, the buffalo is a very hot animal; even its milk is heating; therefore it is to be preſumed its fleſh has the ſame quality. It is larger than the ox; its colour is an aſhy black, the muzzle much lengthened, and the horns flat and very long, which almoſt form a ſemicircle round his head. They uſe it for labour the ſame as oxen; with this difference, that it cannot bear the fatigue in exceſſive heats: he then runs into ponds, with which this country is covered; he remains there whole days, only ſhewing the end of his noſe above the water, as if he feared he would be required to work; but in the rainy ſeaſon nothing diſheartens nor fatigues him. His lowing is ſhrill and weak, and nothing anſwers to the ſize of his body. An Indian child leads flocks of them, and makes them obey him at pleaſure; but when they ſee whites they run at them, unleſs their conductors prevent them: red cloaths frighten them and enrage them. Europeans do not like the fleſh of this animal, although the Indians find it more delicate and more juicy than that of the ox.

In the woods of Siam are alſo bears, but few are met with on the coaſts. They have no lions; theſe animals are baniſhed from all parts of India, and it appears that Africa is their favourite ſoil. Wild boars are alſo very rare; but wild hogs are extremely multiplied in the woods. At the riſing and ſetting of the ſun they are ſeen coming from the woods, and ſpreading themſelves in droves over the neighbouring plains. At the head of each drove are always two or three boars, who ſeem to act as guides. It is dangerous to hunt them; for if you only wound them, they ruſh on their enemy with fury, and determine on taking his life. The Siameſe never meet them without being armed with good lances to defend themſelves from their attacks. Theſe animals are black, their legs ſhort, the back arched, and their bellies nearly touch

touch the ground. The domeſtic hogs are better to eat, both freſh and ſalt, than the hogs of Europe; the fleſh is lighter, and the fat never hardens: it is all melted into lard, and is uſed inſtead of butter, which is very ſcarce and dear in this country: freſh oil one or two days old is the only kind they can uſe. The wild hogs only feed on roots, which makes their fleſh more delicious. As the Siameſe ſeldom hunt them, they have nothing to fear but the tigers.

Stags are very numerous in the woods. The ſpecies would be very much multiplied if the Siameſe did not make cruel war on them. When we croſs the woods of this kingdom, we remarked that the dung of the tigers was full of the hair of ſtags. They are exactly like thoſe of Europe.

All the ſhores of the Minan are covered with monkeys of different kinds and ſizes: ſome have tails, and others are born without that ornament. Theſe animals go in ſquadrons, and never leſs than twenty or fifty are ſeen, who unite for the execution of their enterprizes. When they fall on a field of ſugar-canes or rice, the harveſt is over in a ſingle night: they are not contented to ſatisfy their voracity, they likewiſe deſtroy every thing their glutted appetite rejects. They are obliged in harveſt-time to have watchmen to frighten them and prevent their approach. They jump from tree to tree, and the noiſe they make gives certain information of their arrival. They generally keep in thick woods, where they find fruit enough to feed on; but when cloyed with their ordinary food, they wiſh to regard themſelves, they fly to the cultivated fields, where they find more delicious fruits. They ſometimes form fiſhing parties: the ſea-ſide is then ſeen covered with theſe animals; ſome break the oyſters with ſtones; others catch lobſters, of which they only leave the ſcales and ſhells. When on a march the females carry their young ones under their bellies, who with their arms embrace the mother's body, and her loins with their legs. Modern travellers have confirmed the wonders the ancients have related of the extreme affection of theſe animals for their young ones: the mothers hold them to their breaſts, and never abandon them, not even when mortally wounded by the hunters. Naturaliſts have obſerved, that they are the only animal ſubject to the ſame inconveniences as women. There is a ſecond kind as ugly as they are miſchievous: their general height is two feet and a half. A third ſort goes ſingle, or in pairs; they always hide their face; the Siameſe look upon them as animals of ill omen. They do not eat their fleſh; but the others are conſidered by them as delicate food. Another kind of monkey is obſerved which moſt reſembles man; they call them onke: they are implacable enemies to the others. They are either all black or all brown; the hair of their hands and feet is white: they always keep in woods of lofty trees; they ſpring from tree to tree with great agility: their arms in proportion to their bodies are much longer than thoſe of other animals, and eſpecially than thoſe of other monkies: when they walk they hold one arm lifted up in the air. They muſt be taken at the breaſt to make them tame; for when once their character is formed, their natural ferocity can never be ſoftened. The hair of their body is very long and thick; the fingers and nails of the hand are exactly like thoſe of men; their noſe is flat, and the eye entirely black: they lie at length, and put one arm under their head to ſerve them as a pillow; but when they are in the trees they ſleep ſitting, their head between their knees, their hands on their ſtomachs, and the length of their hair ſerves them for a covering; the heavieſt rain cannot penetrate their ſkin; they have only to ſhake themſelves to be dry. They take delight in rearing theſe kind of monkies, becauſe, being more mild than the others, they are not ſo indecent. Careful and active, they never break or deſtroy any thing; lovers of peace and compaſſionate, they go and embrace thoſe who weep, and their

their pity increaſes as they hear the ſighs of the wretched; nor will they quit them until they have ſeen their tears dried up.

The woods of Siam preſent phenomena which are not obſerved elſewhere. There are found there flying cats, which much reſemble our cats in ſize, form of the head, and by the whiſkers. They mew and ſpit when angry; their tail is tolerably long; a fine membrane on each ſide, which ſpreads like a ſail from the fore to the hind leg, folds under their belly when they walk on the ground, and opens out when they ſpring from one tree to another: it is covered with very fine and ſhort hair. The Siameſe uſe them as a damper to their ſtring inſtruments.

There are flying lizards in every garden in Siam. The children play with theſe animals, which are not venomous; they are exactly like thoſe ſeen in France. This lizard has two round bladders near his fore paws, and a third under the chin, which is oblong, and which he fills with air when he would go from one tree to another. It ſeems that the one under his chin ſupports his head, as the others ſupport his body; when at reſt, theſe bladders retire and hardly are viſible.

The cameleon is a large lizard, about two inches broad and a foot in length. It ſtands higher on its legs than the common lizard, and its claws are larger. Every garden is full of them; nothing can be more hideous than their face. At the leaſt noiſe he raiſes himſelf on his paws, lifts up his head, looks bold and dauntleſs, and changes colour. At firſt he appears all green, then quite red, afterwards all violet colour, and ſometimes all yellow. When expoſed to the rays of the ſun his colours appear more ſtriking, and give him a terrible appearance. He ſeldom bites any one, though they do not venture to catch him.

The toquè is alſo a large lizard, ſix or eight inches in length and one and a half in breadth; its back is in ſquare compartments, each of a different colour, as red, green, yellow, violet: its head is large, and enamelled with white and a dark brown. This animal, ſo beautiful to the eye, is very dangerous to touch: they kill it wherever they find it. Its claws are ſo piercing that it ſticks them into glaſs. It walks along boards with its back downwards, to which it even faſtens its eggs, which are flat on one ſide, and as large as the end of the thumb. Its ordure has this ſingular quality, that if any of it gets into one's food, it entirely takes away the voice, which laſts near a month. If any of its urine falls on the hand or ſkin of any perſon, it cauſes black ſpots, which can never be got out. When it bites it never lets go its hold, and its claws never come away without taking out the piece. It begins its cry by chirping, which continues increaſing, and afterwards diminiſhes in the ſame proportion.

Tortoiſes are of ſeveral kinds; the rareſt is about eighteen inches broad and as many long; the back is covered with equally-diſtributed compartments. They have ſix paws, four of which, longer than the other two, about ſix inches high from the ground, ſerve them to walk on. There are many other tortoiſes which are only met with at Siam; they are only about ten inches long and as many broad. Their ſingularity is, that as ſoon as they hear any noiſe, whether of man or animal, they draw themſelves in. The tortoiſes, like thoſe ſeen in France, are very delicate eating.

The ſea-tortoiſe may be mentioned here, as they aſcend the rivers of Siam from thirty to forty leagues, to look for beds of ſand to depoſit their eggs in. It is forbidden to kill them, becauſe they bring the King a great profit, who farms out each bed of ſand where they are accuſtomed to lay their eggs as high as forty eggs per annum. The fleſh of young turtles, roaſted under live coals, while their ſhells are only as yet ſoft cartilages, is very good eating.

Hedgehogs are found in all the woods; alſo porcupines; and an animal the Portugueſe

tugueſe call bicho-vergonhoſo: this is more curious than the others; it is a kind of porcupine; only with this difference, that, inſtead of thorns or darts, it has impenetrable ſcales, which ſerve it for defence againſt all other animals. This animal digs deep holes with an induſtry it would be impoſſible to imitate. When ſurpriſed, it becomes like a large ball, neither ſhowing head nor feet, and remains in this ſtate, to take all chance from his enemy, till he hears no more noiſe. It is not leſs delicate eating than the porcupine, which in this country is looked upon as very wholeſome food; and it is from this animal they obtain the moſt eſteemed bezoar, and which is much dearer than that obtained from the moſt valued monkey. A great diſtinction between theſe bezoars is, that produced by the monkey muſt be ſcraped a little to be taken as an antidote againſt poiſon, while it is ſufficient to ſoak that of the porcupine in water, to which it ſoon imparts its bitterneſs, and makes it an excellent antidote. The porcupine bezoar is ſo ſubtle, that though you hold it ſhut up in your hand, you perceive its bitterneſs when you put it near your mouth, and that is the beſt way to know if it is good or bad: for the other kind, put a little ſlacked lime, and dilute it in your hand, and then rub it with the bezoar: if the lime does not change colour, it is a ſtone; but if it turns yellow it is real bezoar.

Fiſh is ſo plentiful in all the rivers of Siam that otters breed very faſt on their banks, becauſe they are ſure of always finding plenty of food. They rear them ſometimes in the houſes; they go to the river to feed; they return for ſome time; but at length, tired of a domeſtic life, they prefer a free and wild one, and return no more.

The country produces few horſes, and thoſe in the army are brought from Batavia. The Siameſe are bad horſemen; they wiſh to be as much at eaſe on a ſaddle as if they were ſitting or lying down. An officer never gets on horſeback but what he has two ſlaves by his ſide, to ſupport him and prevent his falling; therefore they prefer elephants to horſes, becauſe on them they find the ſame eaſe as in their chambers: beſides, horſes cannot be of much uſe in a country ſo interſected with rivers and under water ſix months in the year. The difficulty of feeding them, as well as oxen, makes their ſervice bought at too dear a rate, where neither hay nor oats is produced. The King always keeps a few, which are treated with much attention; and thoſe which are white ſhare the honours beſtowed upon elephants of that colour.

## CHAP. XI. — *Birds.*

THE kingdom of Siam poſſeſſes many birds, from which the inhabitants derive great advantages, whether as food or in trading for their feathers with the Dutch and Chineſe, who come for them to take to Japan; or as thoſe which are carnivorous cleanſe the country from carcaſes whoſe putrefaction might infect the air.

The moſt beautiful bird of this country is called caïpha, which means the fowl of heaven: it is very large, and about the ſize of a turkey, but is much finer ſhaped: it has red legs; all the feathers of the back and the upper part of the wings of a velvet black: the under part of the belly is purple mingled with blue and yellow: its tail, enamelled with various colours, is ſet up like that of the cock: its long neck is covered with feathers of a gloſſy black; its eyes are red, and it has a tuft on its head of the ſame colour.

As the caïpha is rare, ſo is the peacock common: its plumage is of the greateſt beauty, and its fleſh of an exquiſite flavour. Thus the Siameſe have a double advantage in hunting it, but it is difficult to take them, eſpecially when it is only wounded: it

it runs ſo ſwift it is impoſſible to follow it; and though it ſhould have a leg broken, it flies far and goes and dies in the woods.

What they call noeriene is a very large bird, much larger than a turkey-cock, with red feet, and a ſilver-grey plumage: it has a long and ſlender neck: its head, which is very ſmall, is crowned with a red tuft. This bird becomes tame: all the great people keep them, and chiefly the Mahometans who reſide in the city of Siam.

Parrots are very numerous: they have none which are entirely red, nor of the largeſt ſize; the one has a red beak and the other a black one: the black ſooneſt learn to talk. The plumage of both is always very fine. They are ſometimes ſeen in flocks, which when they fight make great havock.

Small parroquets, the ſize of one's thumb, are in the greateſt numbers. They appear in the air in flocks like thick clouds: their back and upper part of the wings is green, or yellow inclining to green; the beak and claws red; the breaſt purple; the eye piercing; under the wings and the belly of different colours: this variety is beautiful. The apple of their eye has a white circle, another red, and a third green or yellow: they have two ſmall feathers which correſpond above their eyes, and which make them appear as if painted. When they ſleep, they hang to a ſmall branch by the feet, with the head downwards, which they take care to raiſe upon their breaſt. They cannot be taught to talk: when old they become quite white: they are naturally gentle and tame, and become uſed to the cage even when full grown. To catch them the children put one of theſe ſmall parrots into a cage, with ſome boiled rice, which they are very fond of; above the cage they place a ſtick a foot long, which they rub with glue; they elevate this cage about thirty-five feet from the ground. The little priſoner being thus in the air, eats, hops, and looks about him; and as ſoon as he ſees any flocks of his ſpecies, he never ſtops crying till he draws ſome from the flock to him: the cage being round, they alight on the glued ſtick at top; thoſe who ſtick there hang with the head downwards; the cage is then lowered to take them: they clean their claws with a little oil: ſcarcely are they put into a cage before they begin to eat: they neither appear wild nor frightened like other birds when they firſt find themſelves priſoners: they are called Surat parrots. They are very fond of a liquor drawn from palm trees, and of which brandy is made; it makes them drunk, and then they are eaſily taken. The children ſometimes take them in ſuch quantities that they ſell them to ſtrangers, who take them on board of ſhip, for a halfpenny a-piece. The cry and chirrup of this bird correſpond with its ſize; their fleſh is much eſteemed, but chiefly the wild ones, who only feed on the moſt delicate fruits.

In the province of Tennaſſerim is ſometimes found the bird called bird of paradiſe, becauſe it has no legs. It is generally believed that it lives in the air, and is flying as long as it exiſts. This opinion is founded on none ever being found on the earth but ſuch as are dead, and that no veſtige of feet is any where to be obſerved. They are found but ſeldom in the kingdom of Siam; they are more common in the iſland of Java. The Dutch dry them and preſerve them as curioſities. Its plumage is of a beautiful golden yellow, without any mixture of colours; it is the ſize of a quail.

Red pigeons are very common in the woods: their feathers are of almoſt all the colours mingled: it is a very beautiful bird, but very difficult to rear when you cannot give it the fruits it is accuſtomed to in the woods: its bill and claws are quite red, which may happen from the fruit it feeds on. It is remarked that parrots loſe the brightneſs of that fine red which is natural to them when they do not get a certain fruit which grows in the woods, and which all birds are very eager after. The wings and body

of theſe pigeons, though red, are mingled with ſome green, yellow, white, and blue feathers.

The turtle-doves are very large, and of a beautiful deep green and red: they diſplay many other colours which appear changing. There are ſeveral kinds: the green turtle-dove coos like that of Europe; but that they call fire-dove, becauſe its colour approaches the red partridge, has a cooing peculiar to itſelf: it begins by crying coocoo ſeven or eight times, raiſing the voice a pitch each time, and the ſound is rather pleaſing; it afterwards coos like the common turtle: they are reared in cages on purpoſe to hear this ſingular cooing.

Red ſparrows are very common in this kingdom: there are few climates where the ſpecies is more multiplied. Theſe birds carry deſtruction to the fields: the Siameſe, to prevent their ravages, make figures of ſtraw which they cover with rags: they have alſo little windmills which they place in the trees, and with the leaſt breath of air they make a noiſe which frightens away theſe deſtructive birds.

The bird that the Siameſe call king of the camerons, that is to ſay, of craw-fiſh, is ſo called becauſe he every day frequents the ſhores of the ſea and rivers, where he feeds on that ſhell-fiſh. The plumage of this bird in beauty yields to none: it is a mixture of feathers of all ſorts of colours, in which the green predominates. It is remarkable, that among all the birds which poſſeſs ſuch beautiful plumage, nature has not endowed any one with its ſhare of an agreeable ſinging voice. The Siameſe ſtrip theſe birds by taking off the ſkin with all the feathers; they dry it and ſtick it on paper, which they ſell for the Japan trade.

It may be ſaid that the fly-bird is a chef-d'œuvre of nature; none is more lively nor has more variegated colours, although it is the ſmalleſt in its ſpecies among the birds: it is not larger than the end of one's little finger; its feathers are an aſſemblage of every colour; its bill is not larger than a needle, and is as long as all the reſt of its body. It only lives on the dew which every morning adorns the flowers: it does not open its bill to ſip it, but under it is a ſmall hole, almoſt imperceptible, through which it thruſts its tongue, which is not thicker than a thread. It is by this mechaniſm that it collects the dew on which it feeds. Its voice is ſo ſmall it can ſcarcely be heard. The children, who often catch them, tie them by a thread and play with them; but they cannot preſerve them long, on account of the difficulty of feeding them. There are two or three other ſpecies of this bird which are twice as large: their bill reſembles that of the ſparrow: they call one of theſe ſpecies leaden bill, becauſe the beak is the colour of that metal. All theſe kinds are very beautiful: thoſe who admire theſe things dry them to preſerve them.

We muſt not here forget a kind of ſmall fowl not larger than a pigeon: the Siameſe call them anas: they are quite white. It is not very uncommon to have them hatched cock and hen at the ſame time, and the attributes of both are common to them. Nothing can be prettier than theſe little cocks, whoſe wings trail the ground, and their tail, full of large white feathers, very much elevated above their head. They all have the ſame inſtinct as other cocks, and are not leſs punctual in crowing at day-break. The marſhes and woods of Siam are full of ducks, geeſe, and teal, like thoſe of Europe: it is nothing extraordinary for a ſportſman to take forty of them in a day. There are alſo excellent ſnipes and quail, rather leſs than thoſe of Europe.

Every body rears fowls, but the natives ſeldom eat them, through a principle of religion, which makes them prefer fiſh. They reckon four kinds. Common fowls like ours: the fleſh and bones of the fowls are quite black. Frizzled fowls have their feathers

feathers the wrong way, and inſtead of lying down along their body they ſtick up in the air, which gives them a ſtrange appearance. There is a fourth kind, which is hatched and lives in the woods; they are wild, and are only to be got by ſhooting them; their claws and bill are very black, and their ſpurs thin, hard, and as long as a needle. They are better eating than thoſe which are fed, which doubtleſs is owing to the difference of their food.

The ducks they call Manilla ducks orginally come from Peru, from whence they were taken to the iſland of Lucon, in which is Manilla. They are ſo plentiful that they are bought very cheap. They are much larger than common ducks; their flight is rapid: above the bill is a piece of red fleſh, which hangs like that on turkeys, of which they have not been able to preſerve the ſpecies at Siam, on account of the inundations and heavy rains.

The Siameſe have a bird they call voulan, which is as big as a large turkey: it is wild, and its head is without feathers, which has procured it that name, which ſignifies bald head. This bird, which is good to eat, has much the reſemblance of a turkey hen, and its fleſh has nearly the ſame flavour. The ſportſmen do not willingly ſeek it, becauſe it is only met with at a diſtance from inhabited places, and as the Siameſe are enemies to fatigue, they are afraid to undertake it.

We muſt not forget the ſmall bird called tire-tire; it is too kind to travellers not to claim their notice. It has nothing remarkable in its plumage: its common cry is tire-tire, which has procured it its name. It lies on the ground with its legs upwards: this attitude has cauſed the Siameſe to ſay, that it is fearful the ſky will fall on it. When it ſees any one on the road or in the woods in danger from wild beaſts, it ſcreams with all its ſtrength, and flutters round him; it afterwards goes and repeats the ſame cries over the place where the animal lies in ambuſcade: this officious care puts the traveller on his guard. If its attention makes it eſteemed by travellers, it excites the hatred of the ſportſman, becauſe its benevolent voice warns thoſe of its kind of his preſence.

The bird the Siameſe call double-bill has very long wings, with which he makes a flapping noiſe in the air. He is thus named becauſe he actually appears to have two bills: above the firſt he has as it were a ſecond horn bill, but which is not ſlit. This bird always goes in pairs. They form their neſts in large holes in old trees, which they eaſily find in thoſe immenſe foreſts. When the female ſits on her eggs ſhe cannot leave her neſt; and the male, the better to confine her to it, ſhuts her up in this hole, the mouth of which he ſtops up with clay, only leaving a ſmall hole to feed her through. The Siameſe ſay, that every time he brings her food he jealouſly examines the clay; and if he ſees any other traces than his own, he opens the hole and kills the female. They ſuperſtitiouſly refuſe to keep the head of this bird in their houſes, becauſe they believe that it would create diſcord between them and their wives: this bird is good eating.

Siam ſeems to be the country of crows, and the air is ſometimes darkened with them: nevertheleſs, as this kingdom has many uninhabited places, and is covered with immenſe foreſts, they do not every where find proper food; to obtain which they frequent inhabited places, where they ſeem to defy the attack of man. They even enter the houſes, from which they take every thing that ſuits them; more eſpecially in the kitchens, where they make their beſt booty, and they carry off every eatable they can find. All the inteſtines of animals which are thrown away they alſo devour, by which they render the inhabitants a ſervice, as they free them from every thing that might infect the air.

The crow will appear dainty and abſtemious if compared with the vulture. This bird is as large as a turkey, which it ſo much reſembles that the Siameſe themſelves can hardly diſtinguiſh them. Though the fleſh of it is not bad they deſpiſe it, becauſe the vulture feeds on dead bodies. Devotees, when dying, requeſt that their bodies may be abandoned to theſe voracious birds. The talapoins cut them in pieces and throw them to the vultures which ſurround them, and which, by being accuſtomed to feed on the fleſh, become more partial to it than to that of other animals. As the crow poſſeſſes the ſenſe of ſmelling in a finer degree than the vulture, he precedes them a day to tear the carcaſes: theſe in their turn ſeize all the putrid food they find, and by their voracity ſtifle the germ of corruption. This bird, though heavy, riſes very high, and ſkims in mid air. It is true that when on the ground he does not riſe at once from the ſpot where he reſted; he begins by running twelve or fifteen paces to give his body motion; he then takes his ſpring, and flies like other birds.

In each flock of vultures is generally obſerved a bird of another ſpecies much larger: its legs are thick, and about a foot and a half in length; its body is twice as large as the vulture's; its beak is very thick and crooked at the end, and eight or ten inches long: it is more voracious than the vulture: its aſpect is gloomy and hideous. The Siameſe ſay it even devours the bones: it carries off carcaſes, and clears the places where they have burnt dead bodies, eſpecially thoſe of the poor, which are always in greater number and not ſo much burnt.

The ſilence of the night is inceſſantly interrupted by the cries of large and ſmall owls and ſcreech owls, which, attracted by the ſmell of the carcaſes, go in the night to devour what the birds left in the day. They afterwards retire into the roofs of large buildings: the temples of the idols are full of them; there nothing diſturbs that ſilence they delight in all the day, becauſe the temples are only frequented during the night while they are ſeeking their food; and that is alſo the time when they celebrate their myſteries and religious ceremonies. The Siameſe, as ſuperſtitious as the common people are in Europe, believe that when one of theſe birds perches on the roof of a houſe death threatens ſome one in it; when an owl ſcreams in flying over a houſe they believe themſelves in danger of ſome ſudden misfortune. They have alſo another ſuperſtition concerning the ſolitary bird, ſo called becauſe it always goes alone: it is rather larger than a ſparrow and of the ſame colour: when it perches before a houſe and utters its little note, they examine if it came from the north or ſouth, to judge if the news they expect will be good or bad.

Beſides theſe night-birds there are others who cry in the night, eſpecially in the foreſts: for beſides the tire-tire, which cries day and night, there are two other kinds; one whoſe cry reſembles a blackſmith beating iron on an anvil, for which reaſon they call it the blackſmith; and another kind which imitates a carpenter when cutting timber, and they call it wood-borer.

It is ſaid that formerly they had no nightingales in their country, although they are now numerous at Margui: they think they have been brought by European veſſels. Of all the birds of Siam there is none but the nightingale which has a pleaſing voice; apparently the heat is injurious to the organ of the voice.

More bats, and of different kinds, are found in this kingdom than perhaps in any part of the world. Their place of refuge is near the temples and the convents of the talapoins. There are large trees covered all day with ſuch an immenſe quantity of them that they appear black: maſſes of bats, clinging to one another, hang from the branches: thoſe who do not know what it is take them for the large fruits of thoſe

trees. If any one ſhould throw ſtones, or fire a gun into the trees, they would ſoon have the Talapoins about their ears, who would uſe them very roughly; for with them it is a crime which merits inſtant puniſhment, to diſturb the repoſe of animals, who have taken ſhelter near places conſecrated to divine worſhip. One kind is as large as a partridge; in the night-time they eat the fruit in the gardens, eſpecially mangoes and guavas. Some Siameſe eat them, and they may be good, as they eat nothing but fruit, but their hideous countenance is diſguſting. The greateſt advantage they derive from them is the ſaltpetre they obtain from their dung, which they are careful to collect among the rocks, and in the temples, which are always full of it.

The diver is ſomething like a fowl. It flies from forty to fifty feet above the ſea. Its ſight is ſo keen, that it ſees the fiſh as they ſwim beneath, and inſtantly dives with ſuch rapidity, that one would imagine it was a heavy ſtone which fell in. It ſeizes the fiſh, and carries it on ſhore to eat it.

The kite does not poſſeſs the ſame faculty as the diver, although he alſo goes a fiſhing. His method is to dart upon the fiſh he ſees on the ſurface of the water, and as he flies to ſeize it in his claws, which are very long and of great ſtrength.

The pelican is a much larger bird. Its plumage is white; under its bill, which is eighteen inches long, it has a kind of large bag, in which it puts the fiſh it catches. Its body is very large, and its wings may be about ſeven or eight feet long. It lives entirely on fiſh, which it takes with its bill, but it does not plunge into the water like the diver. It fiſhes on the ſhore, where it catches a number of ſmall fiſh, with which it fills its pouch, which contains enough to keep it the whole day.

## CHAP. XII. — *Reptiles and Inſects.*

The ſerpent is the largeſt reptile of theſe foreſts: ſome are monſtrous. They may be judged by the ſize of thoſe which penetrate into the houſes. Its bite is not more dangerous than that of a dog.

They call ſnake-ſtones, thoſe which cure the venemous bites of ſnakes: they are black, round and flat, and thicker in the middle than at the ſides. This ſtone is applied to the bite: if the wound is oval it ſticks to it immediately, and does not fall off, till it has extracted all the venom: as ſoon as it detaches itſelf it ſhould be put into milk, which draws all the poiſon from it, otherwiſe it breaks and becomes uſeleſs. The milk into which it is put turns blue and green, a proof of the venom it has extracted. It may happen that it leaves the affected part from being ſaturated with the poiſon: in that caſe after having made it diſgorge, it is put on again, to try if it ſticks a ſecond time, and this is continued till a perfect cure takes place. Theſe ſtones are ſpread all over India; but one is often deceived, becauſe counterfeit ones are made, which is found out on uſing them. This ſtone is highly valuable in a country where ſnakes are ſo common, that they are found ſometimes upon and under the beds.

Of all the ſnakes of India, the moſt dangerous and at the ſame time the moſt common, is the hooded ſnake, ſo called by the Portugueſe becauſe it has a kind of cowl, which it opens when enraged. This ſnake is ſo common in the courts and gardens, that it is dangerous to walk in them in the dark. To avoid them, they carry canes at night, to the end of which are faſtened ſmall pieces of iron, ſtrung on a wire, which as often as the cane touches the ground makes a noiſe, and frightens away any ſnakes that may be near. There is none has a more horrid aſpect, particularly when irritated: they then erect this cowl above their head, which may be about four inches high, and covers

covers two ears of the ſame ſize, and hiſs ſhaking their heads. When they are not confined, they fly at the objects that irritate them. Dogs attack them, and always run round them. The ſnake, which has its head elevated two or three feet from the ground, according to its length, cannot turn ſo nimbly; it however tries always to face its enemy, till the dog finds an opportunity to ſeize it by the middle of the body; he ſhakes it with all his ſtrength, not to allow it time to bite him, and then throws it away from him. If he ſees the ſnake get up again he begins the ſame method, till he has broken the ſpine of its back. When the ſnake can no longer get up, he then eaſily approaches it, and takes it, and ſhakes it till it ceaſes to move. This is the moſt venomous ſnake of them all. Its bite is mortal if an immediate remedy is not applied. Its poiſon ſeems to coagulate the blood; to prevent its effects, a good doſe of orvietan and treacle muſt be immediately taken: a little is put on the wound, after the bad humour has been taken away.

A ſingularity in the Siameſe, is, that though they fear theſe dangerous reptiles as much as any body elſe, they not only dare not hurt them, but as they are glad for them to take up their abode under their houſes, as a ſign of good luck, they think if they were to kill them, the ruin of their proſperity would enſue; and when they ſee that the Chriſtians do not ſpare them, they ſay, "it is aſtoniſhing misfortune does not fall on theſe Chriſtians." Though the Siameſe do not deſtroy theſe animals, as it is ſeldom their bite is attended with death, they accuſtom themſelves to walk among the graſs with as much unconcern, as we walk the ſtreets, where a tile may ſometimes fall on our heads and wound us. They add, that they take the precaution not to ſtir, if when they are lying down, they feel a ſnake crawl over them, and that then it never hurts them. I know not if I ſhould have that reſolution, but it has never been known that theſe animals have hurt any one while aſleep.

The foreſts of Siam, are filled with vipers and leeches, more eſpecially in rainy ſeaſons. Travellers who ſtop, are immediately covered with ſmall leeches, which are ſeldom larger than needles; but very large ones are found by the ſide of brooks, which the Siameſe uſe to draw the blood from any part of the body in which they may feel pain: for they do not know how to bleed like the Europeans. There are alſo ſea-leeches, which the Chineſe who live in the kingdom of Siam trade in. They get them on the ſhores of the iſlands. Theſe leeches are an inch broad, and the longeſt about four inches. They ſplit them and dry them: they reliſh them, though to us they ſeemed like a piece of boiled leather; they however ſell them, and carry great quantities to China.

Centipedes are ſo common in this country, that they abound every where. The thinneſt appear the moſt dangerous; they are not thicker than a thread, and two or three inches long; wherever they touch the ſkin they burn it. At night they ſeem all on fire. In the houſes, and among old ruins, they find ſome as thick as the finger, and three or four inches long, which have two little pincers on their heads, ſimilar to thoſe of the lobſter, with which they wound, and cauſe an exquiſite pain, without being dangerous. The Siameſe think them a treat when roaſted.

Scorpions are equally as numerous. Some are white, and are found in houſes; their ſting is not incurable, though it is very bad: the others are black, and are found among the rubbiſh of the gardens and courts: the ſting of theſe is mortal. The white in general are not larger than the thumb, but the black ones are as large as the hand, and have two pincers as ſtrong as thoſe of a lobſter. The ſight of this animal inſpires a certain horror. A captain of a Madras veſſel told the French miſſioners that he had found a ſcorpion in the hold of his ſhip, which it had turned quite blue, and that

after they had killed it they ſtretched it out; it was at leaſt eighteen inches wide and the knots, with which its tail was furniſhed, were like buttons. The ſting of ſuch an animal would be nearly inſtant death. The common cure for it is the oil of ſcorpions, in which they drown theſe inſects; for which reaſon the natives put all they catch into a jar of oil.

It is not ſurpriſing that ſo hot a country as Siam ſhould produce numbers of caterpillars. One kind is very dangerous: they are black, ſhort, and very much briſtled with fine hair, which carries a very ſubtile poiſon; ſo that if one of theſe hairs touches the ſkin, it ſticks to it, and immediately cauſes a violent itching, which brings on an ulcer. The remedy is immediately to rub the part that itches with wax to draw the hair, for ſhould it remain, it would cauſe terrible ſores: theſe caterpillars are more dangerous for the hands and body, than for the feet; as the Siameſe wear no ſhoes, the ſoles of their feet are ſo hard, that common thorns cannot penetrate them.

Gnats and other flies are very troubleſome in this country, in the evening, till towards ten o'clock at night; and the elephant-flies, which they call, *ſting-quick*, are inſupportable during the day, for as ſoon as they alight, they ſting ſmartly, even through the cloaths. The Siameſe call them elephant-flies, becauſe they follow that animal, and they ſcarcely find any where he is not. Theſe large black flies have a ſtronger ſting than the bee: otherwiſe they derive much profit from them, on account of the gluten with which they infect the honey; nobody uſes the latter, becauſe it is too bitter.

In this kingdom black and white ants are of ſo many ſpecies, and ſo numerous that ſometimes they do much injury: the white ones particularly devour every thing, ſtuffs, books, &c., even wood and houſes. The red and ſmall black ones bite very hard, and leave bliſters on the ſkin: it is difficult to eſcape them on the roads, as well as gnats, flies, and muſquitos, but they make a ſmoke under the houſe, and the heat drives them away: they alſo take away all lights, becauſe they attract them. When the ſeaſon is very dry, and there is a north wind, there are ſcarcely any.

Nothing can afford a finer ſight in the night-time, than to ſee a tree entirely covered with fire flies: it ſeems decked with bright ſparks, which expire and rekindle almoſt at the ſame inſtant. Theſe flies are not hurtful. It is eaſily perceptible that they give this light, when they ſwell a little, and inhale the air.

The glow-worm has a different quality: its brightneſs, which does not ceaſe, is all in the head, it is very ſmall, and is not venomous.

There are ſeveral kinds of butterflies. At certain times of the year the ants acquire wings, and fly in ſuch numbers that they oblige one to quit the place where they alight towards the evening: fortunately this inconvenience does not laſt more than two or three hours, after which they periſh, ſo that the ground is often covered with them. The bats feed on them. When theſe clouds come, one is obliged to put out all the lights; if not they would fill the houſe. If one is at ſupper, they cover and ſpoil all the victuals, which cannot be touched afterwards. This irruption only happens once or twice in the year. Butter-flies of various brilliant colours are ſeen at almoſt all times, except during the rains; ſome have the centre of their wings as tranſparent as glaſs, and the reſt, of different colours, repreſent peacocks' feathers.

The noiſe the crickets make in the woods is ſurpriſing: in the ſtillneſs of the night they are heard on board the veſſels, though anchored a quarter of a league from land, and this noiſe is ſometimes as tuneful as muſic.

The golden May-fly is the moſt beautiful inſect. It reſembles in form thoſe of Europe; but its wings appear enamelled with green and gold; the head has the ſame tints, or is red and dull gold. They are found, very large, in trees they call ervil, the

the wood of which is ſoft; it keeps in among its roots: their eggs are not larger than a ſmall grain of ſhot.

There is a very ſingular animal, which may be ranked with the preceding ſpecies, bred in the dung of elephants. It is entirely black, its wings are ſtrong, and its head extremely curious: it is furniſhed on the top with ſeveral points, in the form of a trunk, and a ſmall horn in the middle: it has four large feet, which raiſe it more than an inch from the ground: its back ſeems to be one very hard entire ſhell. It flies to the very top of the cocoa-trees, of which it eats the heart, and often kills them, if a remedy is not applied. Children play with them, and make them fight. I have alſo obſerved that champignons rather larger than ours grow in elephants' dung.

## CHAP. XIII. — *Sea and River Fiſh.*

Every body in Siam is allowed to hunt and fiſh, without paying any tax, but a king's officer, called Aprataenum, governor of the waters, prevents them from fiſhing in a manner that would deſtroy too many fiſh at a time.

The rivers and ſea-coaſts of this kingdom abound more with fiſh than elſewhere: the reaſon doubtleſs is, becauſe the rivers for ſix months in the year overflow the ſown grounds, and then the fiſh find plenty of food: they become larger by it, and do not prey on one another. But before we mention their kinds, it may be proper to deſcribe the method of fiſhing at Siam.

The caſting net, which they call taraſa, is the moſt generally uſed. They ſerve ſome to amuſe them in fiſhing, and others to gain their livelihood by this trade. They have alſo ſeins, and uſe them as we do in Europe. They put ſtakes at the entrance of ſmall arms of rivers, and when it is high water, they ſhut up the bottom of the river with hurdles, which the ſtakes confine, where the fiſh aſſemble in ſuch quantities, that they may be taken with the hand.

Thoſe who cannot procure a net fiſh with a line, or elſe they go with baſkets along the rivers, which they put in the water from time to time, and take out the fiſh they find in them by an opening made on the top. Some fiſh with a bait, which they put in fiſh pots faſtened to ſtakes. In ſea fiſhing they harpoon the large fiſh; but to take common ones on the banks of ſand, at the entrance of large rivers, where there are many ſtreams, they drive ſtakes in the water near to each other, and make two hurdles, one end of which is not more than fifteen feet wide, and the other more than three or four hundred feet, which forms an immenſe narrow cul-de-ſac: they put in this, hurdles which they raiſe up when the tide riſes, and let down before it falls. The fiſh which is carried by the ebbing of the tide, is ſtopped againſt this hurdle, which they raiſe like a trap; they then let it fall into their boat which is along-ſide

The head-fiſh is the moſt plentiful; it is carried in the ſurrounding countries, when ſalted or dried. The Dutch ſend for it from Batavia to the iſland of Java; it ſerves them as a kind of ham. Its form is nearly like that of a whiting, but much larger. The black is the beſt flavoured, and dreſſes better than the white, whoſe fleſh is very beautiful: in certain ſeaſons, however, there are black ſpots in it, which are very diſagreeable. The Siameſe ſay, that it is during the time theſe fiſh eat coal that their fleſh ſpoils, during which they eat them as little as poſſible. To ſalt it, they ſplit it down the back, and give it two ſlaſhes on each ſide, without ſeparating the pieces towards the head and tail. They then lay it out to dry, after having ſprinkled it with ſalt. When it is a little dried, it can be kept, and carried to ſea.

A fiſh

A fiſh called ſalite is not larger than the hand, and is ſo plentiful in rivers, that they are very cheap eating; there are more of them eaten ſalt than freſh: it ſomewhat reſembles a plaice.

The ſaliman is a fiſh of the ſize and ſhape of a herring; towards the tail it has a dart, with which it often wounds the fiſherman, but without any danger; they are quit for a day or two's pain. It is very good and plentiful in the rivers and ponds.

They have many ſprats: the ſea ones are ſimilar to thoſe of Europe: the freſh water ſprat is almoſt as large as the hand, flat and very thick; they are excellent eating, and their own fat fries them. To take them, they uſe a caſting-net made of white wire, which they are careful to keep very clean; for if it was not, they believe they ſhould not catch any.

It is unneceſſary to mention eels, muſcles, lobſters, and other fiſh known in Europe. The Siameſe ſeldom eat them, becauſe they are found in dead bodies brought down by the river.

So wet a country naturally breeds plenty of toads, frogs, &c.; they are of the ſame form with ours: the Siameſe only eat the frogs; the toads are not venomous.

The ſea fiſh are, as every where elſe, better than thoſe of the rivers; but it is almoſt impoſſible, on account of the heat, to have them freſh at the city of Siam, which is nearly forty leagues from the ſea: they generally there eat the ray, becauſe it comes up before the city. They take them curiouſly: they throw a large rope into the middle of the water, furniſhed with a number of bits of packthread of different colours, each of which has a hook; the rope is ſtretched and ſecured by an anchor at each end, being ſupported by ſmall pieces of wood faſtened at certain diſtances, ſo that it can only ſink two feet deep; they bait the hooks; the fiſh are caught every moment, and when they take out the rope, there are a great quantity. They catch them alſo with the line. They are generally about four feet long: their tail, which is fit to make whips, is nearly as long. The large rays are not very good eating, particularly when freſh, but its liver is delicious.

The large kind is the leaſt dangerous; it has not any dart on its tail, while the ſmall ſort has, in the middle of his, a thorn four or five fingers long, as white as ivory, very ſharp, and armed on both ſides with teeth. When they put it in the boat, it ſtrikes with its tail, and leaves its dart in the wound. When boiled they are very delicate. Thoſe called fire rays are very ſmall; they bliſter whatever part of the body they touch, and they pain as much as a burn. All the fiſhermen ſay, that when you touch them with a rod, let it be ever ſo long, you feel a ſhaking in the hand that obliges you to let it go.

The ſword-fiſh is alſo very common in theſe ſeas, and they are often found among the iſlands: it reſembles the dog-fiſh, and its fleſh has the ſame taſte. From the end of its head projects a bony ſubſtance nearly as large as its body: there are teeth on both ſides in form of a ſaw; the extremity of it is very ſharp, and ſeems to run from the head.

The lamentor is ſeldom found in theſe ſeas, becauſe few of the ſhores afford it graſs, where it loves to retire, and where it brings forth its young. The Siameſe call it the ſhe-fiſh, becauſe it has breaſts, and parts like thoſe of a woman. It ſuckles its young one: its voice is plaintive, from whence doubtleſs its name of lamentor. Its head more reſembles that of a ſaw than any other. It is apparently this fiſh which gave riſe to the ancient fables of ſyrens.

Sharks and porpoiſes ſwarm, but they are ſeldom caught, becauſe they are not good to eat, conſequently nobody buys them: they ſometimes take their oil to burn,

or to prepare pitch which they ſhip; though they uſe but little of it, as they have better oil.

The fiſh they call pampre is very good; the white and the black are the beſt kinds; they can only be diſtinguiſhed by the colour of their ſkin, for in other reſpects they are all alike: the largeſt are about a foot long, and thick in proportion.

The ſea-hen is alſo very excellent eating; it has no reſemblance to the common fowl. This fiſh, although flat like the pampre, has a large bone, which makes its back much thicker, and on its body are very bright red and blue colours.

The ſer and naire are very good fiſh: when the Siameſe take a good many of them they open and ſalt them, or dry them on ſtones: they have nearly the ſame taſte as ſalt fiſh, and their fleſh is likewiſe flaky.

The fiſh the Siameſe call bégoude is ſeldom larger than the thumb, and ſeven or eight inches long: its fleſh reſembles the whiting, but has more flavour.

The needle is a fiſh rather inferior in taſte: its long and ſharp head obtained it its name. Such are the moſt common fiſh found in this kingdom, and which are any way remarkable.

## CHAP. XIV. — *Shell Fiſh.*

THIS country is not wanting in ſhell fiſh. The ſea muſcles, which are excellent, are very plentiful. Oyſters are very common, but the Siameſe do not eat them; they do not even take the trouble to gather them off the rocks; thoſe who wiſh for any go and get them themſelves, for which reaſon ſtrangers do not often eat them: they are of three different kinds. Pearls are found in oyſters like thoſe of Europe, and they get mother-of-pearl from them: whole ſhells make it. The Siameſe clean the top of the oyſter with vinegar or lime juice, and afterwards ſaw the ſhell to make different articles of it. At the ſeminary of St. Joſeph they had made a very beautiful crucifix, in which the head and body of Chriſt were of mother-of-pearl in one piece; the legs and arms were of pieces joined together. Formerly the great people had a quantity of little boxes, writing ſtands, and canes covered with this mother-of-pearl, repreſenting drawings of flowers and leaves.

The Chineſe and Siameſe uſe a very different kind of oyſter: the ſhells are not thicker than paper; they are tranſparent, and have ſcarcely any cavity within: the oyſters, which are as large as the palm of the hand, are as thin as the leaf of a tree. The Chineſe uſe them as glaſs for their windows: the light they afford is very good, but objects cannot be diſcerned through them. The Siameſe call theſe oyſters ſabula, and find them better eating than thoſe of Europe.

The ſea throws up in every country large glaires, known in Europe under the name of Flemiſh hat. This ſubſtance does not appear to have any animal form; there is only ſeen a large round ball of matter, thick in the middle, and diminiſhing towards the edges: quantities are found on the ſhore of Mergui. The Chineſe diſtinguiſh the good from the bad better than the Siameſe: thoſe that are eaten they envelope with red earth mixed with ſalt: it is in this ſtate that they have the form of a Flemiſh hat. To dreſs them they have only to waſh them, and they immediately become like the fineſt white tranſparent jelly. It is cut in ſmall ſhreds, and mixed with ſlices of ſmall cucumbers to make a ſalad. Theſe ſhreds crack under the teeth, and have a very pleaſant certain marine taſte.

The bontal is a very ugly fiſh, quite round, from which iſſues a little head, and at the two ſides of its body two ſmall fins. The Siameſe maintain that this animal is formed

formed from the fruit of a tree which grows in abundance by the ſea-ſide; and when it falls into the water it changes by degrees into a ſea-toad. Several affirm they have ſeen one which was yet half fruit and half toad, which might very naturally happen: the ſpawn of the toad attaching itſelf to this fruit, the animal grows in proportion as the fruit decays; but it muſt not on that account be ſaid that the fruit changes into a toad.

The Siameſe are very fond of crabs, and have a method of dreſſing them which ſeems excellent: they take out all the fleſh, chop it very ſmall with herbs, and afterwards roaſt it in the ſhell of the crab, which makes a very good little pie. They catch them with a line, and when the crab has ſeized the hook, they do not take them quite out of the water till they have put a ſmall baſket under them; for as ſoon as the crab feels the air, it quits the hook and falls into the ſea again, but the baſket catches it, and it is not loſt. A great number of theſe crabs are found petrified in the beds of mud which appear when the ſea ebbs, and thoſe which are found whole are very curious. It is ſtrange that an animal ſhould become a ſtone, and yet it cannot be reaſonably queſtioned but that ſtones are formed of them. The ſhape of the animal is frequently found whole with its claws. This petrified crab is a good remedy againſt diſſenteries; a little is taken pounded, diluted in brandy.

They call an animal tourlerou, almoſt ſimilar to the crab, which makes hummocks of earth where it reſides. They are found in great quantities in the marſhy places of Mergui. It walks ſideways, and has a red back like the crab: when dreſſed, it is good for nothing.

I have forgot the name of another ſpecies of crab. Its form is peculiar: the ſhell which covers its back is in the ſame form as an officer's gorget, from under which iſſues a long and ſtraight tail. This animal is dangerous, for its eggs are of ſuch a ſubtle poiſon, that the Siameſe ſay there is no remedy for it; nevertheleſs they eat them, but they muſt dreſs them themſelves, for any one elſe might be deceived.

The homars, or ſea lobſters, and other cruſtaceous fiſh, are alſo very common in theſe ſeas, and eſpecially ſhrimps, which are ſo plentiful, that they form a conſiderable article of trade in the country where they are generally eaten.

## CHAP. XV. — *State of the Kingdom.*

TOWARDS the end of the ſeventeenth century the kingdom of Siam was flouriſhing at home and reſpected abroad. The aſſiſtance that Louis XIV. had ſent them ſecured its proſperity, and perhaps was ſufficient to correct the errors of its conſtitution: but what ought to have beſtowed on it an additional luſtre, was the cauſe of its misfortunes and overthrow. The Siameſe forgot the value of a kindneſs which conſtituted their ſecurity and prepared the way to their glory. Their puſillanimous Prince was fearful of being enſlaved by five hundred men that had been ſent for his defence: they were viewed as ambitious men, who, under the name of affectionate friends, were only come to tyranniſe over them. The prieſts raiſed their ſeditious voice againſt their generous protectors, and placed an ambitious man on the throne, who had dazzled them by the parade of an affected zeal for their religion.

Pitracha, placed on a throne, polluted with the blood of the royal family, was born with all the talents of great men, and all the vices of conſpicuous villains. As ſoon as he had obliged the French to quit his ſtates he ſaw nothing to moleſt him. While, ſurrounded by the worſhippers of his fortune, he enjoyed the fruit of his crimes, a prieſt of Pegu, who gave himſelf out as the eldeſt of the two brothers of the laſt King,

kindled the flame of a new rebellion. He had for a long time been a priſoner at Juthia, and, during his detention, he informed himſelf correctly of the ſtate of the court. This impoſtor decked his romance in the moſt ſeductive colours, and ten thouſand Siameſe ranged themſelves under his ſtandard. It was eaſier for him to make dupes than to ſubſiſt an army: but the fanaticiſm he inſpired made them blind to the magnitude of the dangers, and all ſeemed determined to avenge their chief or periſh with him.

The King's ſon intending to take his pleaſure at a place ſome leagues diſtant from the capital, went with a numerous and magnificent court. The Peguan prieſt determined to lie in wait for him in a wood through which he muſt paſs. His intention was to maſſacre him and all his attendants, to march afterwards to the city, where all were in a falſe ſecurity, and to make away with the King and all his family. This plan, concerted with the greateſt ſecrecy, would have entirely ſucceeded, if the miſtruſt, natural to the children of tyrants, had not opened the eyes of the Prince to the danger he had ran into. He ſaw this armed multitude, and immediately ſuſpected it was an attempt upon his life: inſtead of defending himſelf, he precipitately fled, leaving a rich booty, the allurements of which prevented the conſpirators from purſuing him.

When they had glutted their avidity, they marched towards the capital, which they hoped to find defenceleſs. Pitracha, informed of the danger his ſon had been in, inſtantly aſſembled twelve thouſand ſoldiers, which he ſent off to diſperſe this wretched mob. The rebel prieſt at firſt appeared reſolute, but he commanded troops without either courage or diſcipline, who had every thing to fear and nothing to hope. His little army, panic-ſtruck, fled without fighting. Only three hundred priſoners were made, and only three hundred periſhed by the ſword. The impoſtor wandered for ſome days in the woods with a young man who had not forſaken him. He was taken aſleep under a tree, and conducted to Juthia, where, chained to a ſtake, he was expoſed for ſeveral days to the inſults of the populace: he was afterwards ripped up alive, and, while ſtill exiſting, ſaw his entrails ſerve as food for dogs.

It ſeems that Pitracha did not long enjoy his uſurpation, ſince we find his ſon on the throne in 1700. He ſignalized the firſt years of his reign by the infamous alliance he contracted with his father's widow, who beſtowed her hand on him without giving her heart. The fate of this Princeſs was moſt ſingular: ſhe was ſucceſſively the wife of the father, ſon, and grandſon. This victim of love never experienced the paſſion ſhe had the misfortune to inſpire; and, to eſcape from the arms of a huſband ſhe abhorred, ſhe retired into a convent, where ſhe died in 1715.

The new Monarch, ſuperſtitious and debauched, gave himſelf up entirely to the guidance of his idolatrous prieſts, who by their penances undertook to redeem his errors. By his example every one built idolatrous temples; commerce and induſtry languiſhed; and the people, occupied with ridiculous ceremonies, no longer thought of ſecuring themſelves from foreign invaſion. Theſe falſe gods had numerous adorers, and the ſtate wanted ſoldiers to defend it. Fortune befriended the kingdom in the abſence of prudence: the neighbouring Kings were warring againſt each other, and too much occupied at home to attempt foreign conqueſts.

It was during this reign that the kingdom was ſtruck with the ſcourge of ſterility. A long drought converted the moiſt fruitful ſoil into parched ſand. Rice, which is the common food, was ſoon exhauſted; and to complete the diſtreſs, the fiſh, which ſupplies its place, became ſcarce and poiſoned. The waters of the Menan, which are naturally

naturally clear and limpid, became all at once ſo thick and green, that they became encruſted in that colour. A kind of cream, ſtill thicker and greener, covered the whole ſurface of that noble river; they could only find dead or dying fiſh. The King, fearing that theſe corrupted waters might encreaſe the diſorders with which the country was afflicted, forbade the drinking of them, or bathing in them. This prohibition excited the murmurs of the people, to whom water is the moſt neceſſary thing. Revolt was near enſuing, when the court applied the curb of ſuperſtition to reſtore tranquillity. The prieſts gave out, that a divinity named Praïn had appeared near one of the gates of the city, and had declared that the change in the waters was one of his bleſſings, and that they were a certain remedy to ſtop the contagion. At this intelligence the people paſſed from dejection to the ſweets of hope; all ran to the river to waſh themſelves, and anoint with this cream, which a moment before they eſteemed deadly. At length, at the end of fifteen days, this phenomenon diſappeared: an inundation, brought on by an abundant rain, ſpread over the fields and haſtened their fruitfulneſs.

The reign of this prince, like that of his ſucceſſors, affords nothing worthy of being handed down to poſterity. His ſon, the inheritor of his throne, is only known by his defeats. His army, fifty thouſand ſtrong, and his fleet, which carried twenty thouſand combatants, entered the kingdom of Cambaye, then torn by domeſtic diſſentions. This army would have conquered it, if it had been led by a more ſkilful general: but the Siameſe Monarch, benumbed in the luxury of his ſeraglio, had truſted the command of it to his firſt miniſter, born for pacific employments, and totally unfit for war. This miniſter, who was ſenſible of the extent of his own abilities, had not ſought for the honour of the command; but the King, who never doubted his own diſcernment in the choice of his agents, imagined that he who could govern empires could alſo conquer them.

The King of Cambaye, too weak to oppoſe the torrent which threatened to overwhelm him, ordered all his ſubjects inhabiting on the frontiers to retire with their effects into the capital, and to burn whatever they could not carry off. The fields were ravaged: fifty leagues of country were changed into ſterile deſerts, which ſcarcely furniſhed food for animals. The King declared himſelf the vaſſal of the Monarch of Cochin-China, to obtain from him the aſſiſtance of fifteen thouſand foot ſoldiers, and three thouſand on board of galleys deſtined to protect the coaſts.

The Siameſe army, full of confidence in the ſuperiority of their numbers, and ſtill more proud at not finding any enemy to diſpute their paſſage, raſhly penetrated into the country; but the greater their progreſs, the faſter they approached deſtruction. Famine, more cruel than the ſword of the enemy, made the moſt horrid ravages in their camp. The waſted fields afforded no fruit for the men nor forage for the animals: they were obliged to kill the ſumpter cattle to eat their fleſh: the ſoldiers, not accuſtomed to ſuch food, were attacked with dyſenteries and fevers which carried off the half of them. The general, who had foreſeen this misfortune without being able to prevent it, retired with the wreck of his army, and his retreat was inceſſantly interrupted by the enemy who teazed him.

The Siameſe fleet, four times more numerous than that of the enemy, had no better ſucceſs. Their ſmall galleys reduced the city of Ponteamas to aſhes. Two hundred tons of elephants' teeth were the prey of the flames. The Cochin-Chineſe profited by the abſence of theſe gallies to attack the tranſports which were in the road, more than four miles from the burning city. The Siameſe galleys, which were detained in the river,

river, then very low, could not come to the aſſiſtance of their veſſels; and fearing that, after this blow, famine would be as fatal to the fleet as it had been to the army, ſailed back to their own country.

## CHAP. XVI. — *Revolution of* 1760.

BEFORE we relate the revolution which overturned the kingdom of Siam in 1760, it may be proper to give the ſummary of the ſucceſſion to the throne. The heir of Pitracha had ſeveral ſons; and as he was diſſatisfied with the eldeſt, he deſigned the ſecond to ſucceed him. He ſhowed himſelf truly worthy of the throne, by his refuſal to aſcend it in prejudice to his elder brother, whom he reinſtated in the enjoyment of his natural privileges. He only required one condition of him, which was, to be his ſucceſſor in caſe he ſhould die firſt. This condition was accepted. The eldeſt inherited his father's eſtate, and his brother was declared Grand Prince; that is, the preſumptive heir to the throne.

The new King had ſeveral children, and, ſeduced by paternal affection, he ſtifled the ſentiments of generoſity of which his brother had given him ſo noble an example, and, faithleſs to his engagements, he named his eldeſt ſon, who had embraced the prieſthood, as his ſucceſſor. This young Prince, reſpecting the faith of treaties, was ſhocked to become the accomplice of his father's perjury. He preferred the ſimplicity of a religious life to the pomp of greatneſs, which he could not enjoy without ſullying the memory of the author of his days. The King finding him obſtinate in his refuſal, in 1733 named his ſecond ſon as his ſucceſſor, and died ſome time after of a cancer in the throat.

The brother of the deceaſed Monarch was poſſeſſed of the title of Grand Prince, and the Siameſe were accuſtomed to reſpect it, as being ſome day to become their maſter. Five thouſand ſoldiers, whom he always kept in his palace, were ready to devote themſelves in ſupport of his rights. His nephew, by favour of his father's will, aſſembled forty thouſand ſoldiers in the grand palace to awe the rival of his power. He had taken care to get the four firſt officers of the kingdom in his intereſt; and, poſſeſſor of the treaſure of the ſtate, he could eaſily purchaſe adherents. The people were dependant on the miniſters, who all flattered themſelves they ſhould fix and extend their authority under a young and inexperienced King, who would be obliged to throw the weight of public affairs on them.

The great, thus united under the ſtandard of the young Prince, ſeemed to announce the ſucceſs of his cauſe, and it was what prepared his fall. The envy of commanding created diviſion, and it is ſeldom there are rivals who do not become enemies. The great officers imagined that the barcalon, or prime miniſter, abuſing his unlimited authority, wiſhed to make them the inſtruments of his ambition and greatneſs. They ſeemed to fear, that after being powerful enough to keep the Grand Prince in ſubjection, he might fall under the temptation of building the edifice of his fortune on the ſpoils of the royal family, and place the crown on his own head. It ſeemed to them more glorious to obey their ancient maſters, than to ſee themſelves obliged to cringe in dependance to one of their equals: thus every thing tended in ſecret to deſtroy their work.

The war broke out between the two rival Princes. The divided inclinations of the people every where ſpread diſorder and tumult. The grand and ſmall palaces thundered at each other with cannon. The inhabitants, alarmed, awaited death in their houſes,

houſes, and the city would ſoon have preſented but a heap of ruins, if they had not had artillerymen to direct thoſe deſtructive globes.

The Barcalon, full of that preſumptuous confidence with which vain men are inſpired from a ſuperiority of ſtrength, reſolved to bring on a deciſive engagement, the ſucceſs of which would render him maſter of the little palace. They engaged; the troops of the grand Prince were routed, and purſued to the very foot of the walls of his palace. The conquerors conſulted if they ſhould give the aſſault. The Barcalon and his party were for the affirmative: but one of the great officers repreſented that night coming on would render the attack more bloody and deſtructive; that beſides, the ſoldiers, having no witneſſes of their courage or cowardice in the dark, were leſs eager to fulfil their duty, and that by deferring the aſſault till the next day, the precious blood of the people would be ſaved. This advice prevailed and the attack was delayed.

The grand Prince, informed by his ſecret emiſſaries of every thing that paſſed in the enemy's camp, profited by the intoxication cauſed by a firſt ſucceſs, and, convinced that he who attacks becomes formidable, he fell with impetuoſity on thoſe who were advanced to the foot of the walls. Darkneſs doubled the terror this attack ſpread. The noiſe of arms, the cries of the combatants who gave or received death, made the Siameſe believe that this dreadful night would plunge them in eternal darkneſs. The aſſailed, motionleſs and without defence, ſuffered their throats to be cut, like ſo many ſenſeleſs animals. Others fled, and threw away their arms; they were purſued to the walls of the grand palace. The King ſent freſh troops, to oppoſe a rampart againſt the torrent that was ready to overwhelm him. The ſtubborn and rebellious ſoldiers were deaf to his voice, and, inſtead of obeying his orders, joined the ſtandard of his uncle.

Then finding himſelf betrayed and abandoned by his ſubjects, he placed his whole confidence in the Malays that were in his ſervice; and after having encouraged them by magnificent preſents, and the hopes of greater recompence, theſe troops left the palace, with a bold and confident air, which ſeemed a teſtimony of their zeal, and a preſage of victory. But ſcarcely were theſe mercenaries ſome diſtance from the palace, than they afforded an example of the greateſt treachery, or of their cowardly diſpoſitions. Theſe foreigners, loaded with preſents, quitted the ſtandard of their benefactor. Some retired into their own country to enjoy the fruits of their treaſon, and the others, ſtill more guilty, enrolled themſelves among the troops they were ſent to fight.

The Barcalon and Chacri * were the ſad witneſſes of this deſertion from the walls of the grand palace. Deſpairing then of their ſafety, they diſappeared, under pretence of going to give orders. The other officers, not ſeeing them return, diſperſed to ſeek an aſylum from the firſt reſentment of the conqueror. The King, left alone with his two brothers, only awaited death, which aſſaſſins ſoon came and gave him. The eldeſt had retired to his pagoda, where he bewailed over diſorders, of which he was neither the author or accomplice. The two Princes, forſaken by their mercenary flatterers, ſaved themſelves with a few ſervants in a boat, taking with them a conſiderable ſum of money.

As ſoon as the grand Prince was informed that the King's palace was abandoned, he ordered his people to take poſſeſſion of it. Several Princes of the royal family

* The Pia Tchacri is preſident of the council of State, and has the department of the whole police of the kingdom. At this tribunal all the concerns of the provinces are decided. All the governors are obliged to render him an account of their adminiſtration, and orders which have not his ſeal, are not to be attended to.

remained

remained in it, ſhut up as in an inviolable and ſacred aſylum. They loaded them with chains; made them ſuffer every torture that ingenious vengeance can deviſe, and having ſtripped them of all their wealth, they had nothing but death to hope for. This civil war cauſed the ſhedding of much blood; but fewer periſhed in battle, than under the axe of the executioner.

The new monarch, on aſcending the throne gave an example of the greateſt moderation, which obliterated the remembrance that he had obtained it by the blood of his ſubjects. He offered the eldeſt of his nephews the crown; but he could not draw him from his condition. This religious Prince reſolved to die a prieſt, as he did ſome time after.

The King thought himſelf ſeated but on a tottering throne, as long as the two fugitive Princes were not in his power. The former miniſters, wandering through the kingdom, kept up the flame of civil diſcord, which was rather ſtifled than extinguiſhed. The Barcalon and Chacri had the imprudent audacity to appear ſometimes afterwards in the capital, in the habit of their prieſts. They counted on the impunity of their error, in appearing under ſo reſpected an exterior. The monarch, not to encroach on the privileges of the rank they had embraced, had them ſeized by the chief prieſt. They appeared at the tribunal of their judge, when they underwent a ſtrict examination. Their artful and ſubtile replies remained unanſwerable. They alledged that they had only executed the orders of the King, to whom they owed abſolute obedience. By this excuſe they eſcaped the dreadful death prepared for them. It had been determined to hang them up with hooks under their chin, and to have ſuſpended them in air, till they ſhould have yielded their laſt ſigh. They wiſhed their death to be like that of fiſh, of which their paſſion for fiſhing had exterminated a great number: an abominable crime in the eyes of the Siameſe, who make a ſcruple of killing them.

The firſt judges not having found ſufficient reaſon to condemn them, the King ſought other means to get rid of them. He conſulted the miniſters and guardians of the laws of the kingdom, who after having examined the heads of accuſation, replied, that ſo far from meriting puniſhment, they were deſerving of the greateſt rewards. This deciſion ought to ſurpriſe, being pronounced by judges trembling under the ſceptre of a deſpot, who with a word might degrade or annihilate them: but tyrants always ſeek the aid of the laws, when they tend to proſcribe obedience to the people, and they violate their purity when they would aſſign bounds to their own uſurped power. It was the deſpot himſelf who dictated this deciſion, which taught "that a ſubject is never wrong in executing the commands of his maſter."

He immediately ordered the accuſed to be releaſed: and, as if to reward their fidelity, he made them ſuperiors of the two chief temples of the city, where they hoped to lead a tranquil life, under favour of their obſcurity, which is the only barrier of the ſubject againſt the attacks of arbitrary power. But ſcarce had they arrived at their retreat, than towards the middle of the night, five or ſix Malays came to demand them in the King's name. They ſuſpected they brought their ſentence of death. The Barcalon, careleſs of life, only expreſſed his contempt for it, and, far from appearing alarmed, he upbraided the Chacri for his weakneſs and cowardice. When at a little diſtance from the pagoda, they ſtripped them of their prieſt's habit, and put a cloth round their loins. The Barcalon beheld the approach of death without emotion, he preſented his boſom to the dagger of his executioners, and expired with a ſingle blow. The Chacri on the contrary, eager to defend his life, received many wounds before he fell. Their bodies were taken away to be impailed: they were expoſed to the view of the multitude, as a monument of the juſt vengeance of the monarch.

The two Princes who had eſcaped, were always the ſubject of great uneaſineſs. They for a long time avoided the ſearch that was made to diſcover their retreat. It was of conſequence to prevent their eſcaping to any neighbouring nation, where they might ſow the ſeeds of a revolution. They had concealed themſelves in a field of rice, where they were ſoon forſaken by their ſervants with the exception of one, who remained faithful. This honeſt creature brought them a little rice, and fiſh for their food. They paſſed a month in this manner, expoſed to the inclemency of the air, and a prey to want and fear.

At length this ſervant was recognized in the market-place where he was buying ſome food for his unfortunate maſters. Several people depoſed that he was the companion of their flight, and therefore muſt know where they were concealed. Tortures forced his ſecret from him. The Princes were carried off from their retreat, and thrown into the priſons of the palace. From this moment they were convinced their death was nigh, and that their uncle would never pardon their being the ſons of his enemy. They were interrogated, and in their anſwers ſhewed more reſolution than could be expected from Princes ſo young, whoſe education could nowiſe have corrected their civil propenſities. Their condemnation had preceded their trial, and they were both at the ſame time adjudged to death.

This King died in 1748, at the age of eighty-four. His ſon Chaoual-Padou was immediately acknowledged by all the officers of ſtate. This Prince, brought up from his tendereſt infancy in the pagodas among prieſts, had imbibed the poiſon of error. A zealous partiſan of the ridiculous religion of his country, he had gained the hearts of all the nation, who ſaw their ſuperſtitions ennobled by ſuch an illuſtrious example. A ſevere obſerver of juſtice, he rigorouſly puniſhed fraud and robbery. His marriage which took place ſoon after his coronation, was looked upon, as a forerunner of the proſperity of the empire. Some of his baſtard brothers endeavoured to light up a civil war; but their revolt did not paſs unpuniſhed. They were thrown into priſon where they died from want. Their death reſtored tranquillity to the ſtate. The people ſubmiſſive gave him no uneaſineſs: but his brother, who, for his vices and inceſtuous crimes, had been deprived of the ſucceſſion and impriſoned for life by his father, and who he now had the weakneſs to recall to court, afforded an example of ſcandalous licentiouſneſs; and a ſevere cenſurer of public adminiſtration, he rather aſſumed the King than acted as a ſubject; and to ſoften the vexation of his degradation, he affected to take the right of the King, who was too modeſt and too weak to puniſh him. At length diſguſted with inceſſantly enduring his haughty caprices, the King reſolved to abdicate a crown whoſe weight oppreſſed him. He renounced the tumult of public affairs, and preferred the ſilence of the pagodas, where nothing diſturbed the tranquillity of his ſoul.

While he thus lived loſt to the world, an enemy carried deſolation and terror to the very gates of the capital. The King, without ability either for government or war, was incapable of averting the ſtorm. The Princes and great officers of ſtate, ran in crowds to the pagoda of Chaoual-Padou, and earneſtly beſought him to reaſſume the reigns of the tottering empire. He yielded to their wiſhes; and his brother, diveſting himſelf of his haughtineſs, becauſe he could no longer conceal even from himſelf, his weakneſs and incapacity, replaced in his hands, a ſceptre he was unable to ſway: and himſelf requeſted him to reaſcend a throne who he alone was worthy to fill. But before we enter into the details of this revolution, it may be proper to give ſome account of the power and ſituation of the people who came to attack them.

In 1754, the Bramas, a people of the kingdom of Ava, had for five years languiſhed under the Pegouan yoke. They had beheld their King, their Queen, and the greater part of the Princes periſh. The remembrance of paſt misfortunes, and the actual ſufferings of their preſent ſlavery and humiliation, cauſed them inceſſantly to ſigh for a deliverer. But they ſought him not among men enervated by the luxury of courts, and who, vain of their uſurped titles, eſtimate their talents by their ambition. They caſt their eyes on one of their companions, named Manlong, a gardener by profeſſion, who, in a body, condemned to mean and laborious functions, contained the courage and firmneſs of a hero. They all beſought him with one general voice to accept the ſceptre and the crown, to free them from the yoke of their tyrants. "Yes", replied this extraordinary man, "I conſent to be your King, but firſt, I muſt prove you to be worthy to have ſuch a leader as me. I command you to go and ſtrike off the heads of thoſe ſubaltern tyrants whom the Pegouans have appointed to oppreſs you." They replied, if that ſacrifice is all you require of us, you ſhall ſoon be obeyed: and they inſtantly flew and maſſacred all the military and civil officers, whom their tyrants had ſent to maintain them in obedience. They then returned to their hero, their hands dyed in the blood of their oppreſſors, and with unanimous voice proclaimed him King.

This monarch diſtributed arms to his ſubjects. He taught them to ride, and to uſe the muſket to advantage; two things in which he excelled. His fuſileers had orders to fire on whoever ſhould be cowardly enough to give way, either in a ſiege or battle. This new diſcipline was ſtrictly obſerved. The Bramas become invincible, gave laws to all the inhabitants of Pegue. One of their generals, who had retired with his army into the foreſts, learning that the Bramas were returned to the kingdom of Ava, profited by their abſence to retake Siriam, a city and port of Pegu. He there ſeized a ſhip, ſoon fitted it out, and ſailed in the beginning of 1759 for Pondicherry on the coaſt of Coromandel. At the ſame time he wrote a letter to the governor of the French ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies, accompanied by rich preſents, to obtain from him cannon and warlike ſtores.

This ſhip could not reach the coaſt of Coromandel; the winds obliged her to put into Mergui, a city and port of the kingdom of Siam. The army of the Bramas returned to Siriam, three days after the departure of the veſſel. Their new king, who was at their head, determined to intimidate the people by examples of ſeverity. The city was utterly deſtroyed. At the very report of his coming, the Peguans buried themſelves in their foreſts with their general.

The governor of Tavail, a neighbouring city of Pegu, had there eſtabliſhed an independent ſovereignty. The King of the Bramas advanced ſo far as Martavan, a city adjacent to Tavail, where he ſent for the governor, who, too weak to reſiſt, reſolved to obey. His ſubmiſſion could not ſecure his life; his head was ſtruck off as ſoon as he arrived. It was in this palace, that the King hearing of the riches of Siam, conceived the deſign of making a conqueſt of it: but wiſhing to veil his cupidity with a decent pretext, he made an excuſe to demand the ſhip that had been taken from Siriam, and had put into Mergui. The court of Siam informed of the deſtination of this veſſel for Pondicherry, ordered that it ſhould be allowed to purſue its route, in order to maintain the good underſtanding which ſubſiſted between the Siameſe and the French ſettlements. This refuſal ſerved as a pretext for a war which cauſed the effuſion of much blood. The King of the Bramas, after having ſeized all the ſhips and riches of the country, fixed his reſidence at Tavail; from thence he detached thirty veſſels, to pillage and reduce the city of Mergui to aſhes, with

orders to make Tennaſſerim, the capital of the province of that name, undergo the ſame fate.

At the approach of this fleet, the inhabitants of Mergui fled, and the city once ſo populous, became a vaſt deſart. The fugitive inhabitants, after long wandering without an object, ſought an aſylum in the woods and deſert iſlands.

The King of the Bramas, aſtoniſhed at the terror inſpired by his name and arms, concluded that the conqueſt of the whole kingdom of Siam would not be difficult. A whole province ſubdued by his little fleet, made him hope that nothing could oppoſe the ſucceſs of his united forces; and he repaired in perſon to Tavail, which he had appointed as the rendezvous for the different corps of his army.

When the court of Siam received the news of the irruption of the Bramas, the Barcalon ſent to aſk for ſome Chriſtians to the Biſhop of Tabraca, who replied that he would willingly ſend all thoſe, whom he thought able to defend their King and country. He immediately called together his flock, to repreſent to them the danger with which the country was threatened, and to elevate their courage above all dangers. More than an hundred took arms in the common cauſe. This militia, contemptible in number, was ſufficient to ſet the example of courage to others.

The King prieſt, had juſt reaſcended the throne, but as he was only qualified for pacific concerns, he was deſtitute of reſources to maintain a war with glory, againſt ſo warlike a people. He too well knew the cowardice of his ſubjects, to put his truſt in them. His magazines were filled with cannon, mortars and other weapons; but he wanted arms to make uſe of them. He commanded a confuſed and trembling multitude, equally incapable of attack or defence. It had been neceſſary to raiſe in a hurry, troops without diſcipline, or courage; who turned pale at the report of a muſquet. They formed a numerous army, embarraſſing to itſelf by its confuſion, and no-ways formidable to the enemy.

This puſillanimous militia threw down their arms at the approach of the Bramas, and vanquiſhed without fighting, they took refuge in the royal city, which they overcrowded with uſeleſs inhabitants. The Chriſtians on the contrary were animated with an heroic boldneſs. The idea entertained of their courage had determined the King to entruſt them with the protection of the palace, and the baſtions of the city; but they could not multiply themſelves to oppoſe the torrent which inundated the plains. They had left their habitation without defence: and more attached to their duty than their poſſeſſions, they had abandoned them to the rapacity of an enemy, who only armed to plunder.

The hour of its deſtiny was not yet arrived for Siam. The King of the Bramas was then three days march from the royal city, when he was attacked with a mortal abſceſs. This Prince, leſs affected with his own misfortune, than at the obſtacle which ſtopped him in the triumphant courſe of his proſperity, called to him ſome Europeans who ſerved in his army. He aſked them how long it would take them to reduce the city; theſe adventurers replied that they only required three days to make him maſter of it. Fly then inſtantly, ſaid the King, to that rich conqueſt, and if fortune ſhould not ſecond your courage, immediately return to me.

The army moved forward; all the towns and villages fell a prey to the flames. The ſuburbs of the royal city ſhared the ſame fate. Only the quarter belonging to the Chriſtians was ſpared. The Bramas, convinced of their courage, dared not contend with men too detached from this world to fear death. Some Chriſtians who had not imitated others in their flight, killed two of the enemy with the muſkets of the ſemi-

nary, and this bold reſiſtance was the ſafety of all. The Bramas frightened had no farther inclination to attack them. The quarter of the Dutch was reduced to aſhes; only the warehouſe was ſpared, which contained too rich and precious merchandize not to tempt the greedy cupidity of theſe military robbers.

While the country afforded this deſolating ſpectacle, the royal city of Siam was vigorouſly attacked; but the enemy, after many uſeleſs aſſaults, was obliged to abandon his enterprize, and, profiting by the darkneſs of the night to hide his ſhame and retreat, he made the ſame ſignals as uſual, to lead the Siameſe to believe he was ſtill round their walls.

It was the intelligence of the death of their King which determined the Bramas to renounce their conqueſts. The youngeſt of his ſons, who had received his laſt ſigh, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed King. He had occaſion for the army to eſtabliſh his yet young authority, and to awe thoſe inclined to murmur. The troops received orders to evacuate the provinces of the kingdom of Siam, and never was retreat conducted with more precipitation.

The Siameſe, delivered from their oppreſſors, returned to their former poſſeſſions. Inſtructed by experience, they ſhould have ſought the means of preventing freſh invaſions. The Dutch ſettled in the kingdom could have ſupplied them with artillerymen, of whom they had a great number at Batavia, in the iſland of Java; but their ſtupid tranquillity diſſimulated the danger, and, preſumptuous without courage, they would have thought they diſgraced themſelves in requeſting the aſſiſtance of a foreign nation to inſtruct them. The high idea this people entertain of themſelves led them to believe that the Chriſtians brought up at Siam were a bulwark againſt foreign aſſaults. The proofs of intrepidity they had given made them reſpected as heroes who watched over the public ſafety. They called the French church the church of victory; and in recompence for the ſervices they had received from them, they made preſents to the biſhop, his prieſts, and their diſciples, of habits ſuitable to their ſtations. All the Chriſtians who had contributed to the defence of the country were remunerated with a ſum of money. Eight of them who had moſt diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the hour of danger were advanced to the firſt military rank.

Every thing announced a laſting calm, when the ſtate found itſelf again thrown into confuſion. The King paſſed ſentence of death againſt one of his brother's favourites, ſuſpected of having maintained a ſecret correſpondence with the enemy. This ſentence was looked upon as an abuſe of his power: the people called for an account of the blood ſpilt on ſlight ſuſpicions. A general diſcontent determined the monarch to return to his pagoda, and he ſeemed to deſcend from the throne with more pleaſure than when he took poſſeſſion of it. His elder brother again took the reins of the empire, and his rekindled ambition made him aſſume a ſituation whoſe elevation more plainly expoſed his vices and follies.

It was in May 1762 that the Prince abdicated the crown to embrace the ſtate of prieſthood. Numbers of Siameſe followed his contagious example: all were ennobled by the precedent of a maſter. The prieſts, more proud of the dignity of their ſtate ſince the King had aſſumed their habit, demanded the ſame honours that were paid to their gods. The ignorant and ſeduced multitude exhauſted their fortunes to beſtow alms on them and ſupport their idleneſs. The holy miniſters, who were poor from the rules of their ſociety, found wealth in the folly of the people—an inexhauſtible fund, and ever open to impoſtors. It was not that their manners inſpired much reſpect for them: they often preſented ſcandalous ſcenes, and, ſure of impunity, they even diſdained

diſdained to draw a veil over the beaſtly and impure pleaſures they gave themſelves up to. Avaricious and crafty, they ſeized by the cunning of chicanery whatever they could not obtain by ſeductive arts.

The reigning monarch, by his example, authorized all theſe diſorders. Unreſtrained in his deſires, unbluſhing in his actions, he had no other rule than his inclinations; and in the intoxication of his brutal paſſions, he had the impudence publicly to marry his ſiſter by his father's ſide. The miniſters, beſotted by debaucheries, into which they plunged to gratify their maſter, were neither capable of foreſeeing nor fearing the ſtorms. Their ſecurity was founded on the information that the King of the Bramas, a reſtleſs and warlike Prince, had, on his return to the kingdom of Ava, been dethroned, and that his elder brother, contented with reigning over his own ſubjects, had no ambition for conqueſts.

Firm in his determination to maintain peace, he loudly blamed thoſe who had adviſed his father to attempt an invaſion of the kingdom of Siam, which had been watered with the blood of the Bramas, more precious than the vile ſpoils they had brought away. Such pacific diſpoſitions promiſed a laſting calm to the neighbouring nations; but the deſtined hour arrived that was to puniſh a people buried in ſloth and debauchery. The pacific monarch was carried off by a premature death; and his ſucceſſor, full of ambition, and too confined in his ſtates, was the rod that heaven made uſe of to puniſh the Siameſe.

## CHAP. XVII. — *Revolution of* 1767.

THE new King of the Bramas breathed nothing but war and ſlaughter. Led away by the reſtleſſneſs of his character, he placed his glory in ſpreading the tempeſt that reigned in his own boſom over foreign nations. Too proud and preſumptuous to diſſimulate, he loudly proclaimed that he had promiſed his dying father to complete the deſtruction of a baſe and cowardly nation, which only waited for a conqueror to wear his chains. Some of his mandareens ſuſpended his ambitious deſigns. His firſt victories were gained over his ſtubborn and rebellious ſubjects. As ſoon as he had conquered and puniſhed them, he ſent one of his generals, at the head of five thouſand of his beſt troops, to retake Tavail, the governor of which, although a Brama, had made himſelf independent in 1761.

This rebel, not finding himſelf powerful enough to ſupport his cauſe with his own forces, ſought the alliance of the Engliſh, who furniſhed him with all kinds of warlike ſtores. At the ſame time a veſſel from the coaſt of Coromandel, laden with rich preſents for Pegu, was obliged to put into Tavail. The temptation of a rich prey ſeduced the governor, who reſolved to appropriate ſo many valuable effects to himſelf, to purchaſe the alliance of the Siameſe, who alone could ſupport him in his uſurpations. Unjuſtly ſeizing theſe magnificent ſpoils, he ſent them to the King of Siam, whoſe aſſiſtance he ſolicited. The miniſters deliberated if it was conſiſtent with their maſter's dignity to receive this embaſſy; and, for a long time, uncertain as to the advantages or evils which might reſult from it, they thought they ſhould leave it to the prudence of the biſhop of Tabraca and the miſſionaries, who having no perſonal intereſt to interfere, ought to view it in a juſter and more extenſive light. They anſwered with their natural candour, that it would be contrary to juſtice and policy to become the protectors of a rebel. They added, that Tavail had always been ſubject to the Bramas; and that by affording aſſiſtance to the ambitious perſon who had uſurped its ſovereignty, was

was to become accomplices in his rebellion, and to expoſe the kingdom to the vengeance of a formidable neighbour, who had nothing to fear from defeat, and every thing to hope from victory. The King's miniſters, ſatisfied with this anſwer, required them to give it in writing; being perſuaded that the authority of the prelate and miſſioners, proved by their morals and prudence, would have great weight in the King's mind.

The memorial was drawn up, and the miniſters gave it to the King's brother-in-law, whoſe covetous heart in ſecret devoured the preſents of the rebel governor. He ſeemed hurt that, through falſe delicacy, they ſhould deprive him of the food for his avarice. He tore the writing which contained the principles on which depended the peace and proſperity of the empire. It is thus that, in all ages, the public deſtiny has depended on the avarice of individuals.

The intrigues of favourites prevailed, and the ambaſſadors were received with honour, and heard with complacency. Inſtant orders were ſent to the governor of Tennaſſerim to ſend off men and arms to the relief of Tavail; but this ſtep was uſeleſs, the governor of that city had rendered himſelf the object of public execration; it was by the effuſion of the blood of its firſt citizens that he fought to eſtabliſh his infant power, and his new ſubjects were all become his enemies. The oppreſſed people had two or three times attempted his life in 1762; and the more he puniſhed the more he became hated. So many conſpiracies are a leſſon to Kings and miniſters who abuſe their power: it only needs to ſhed one drop of blood to create thouſands of avengers; and ſeverity of puniſhments has often converted thoſe into rebels who at firſt were only murmurers.

The general of the Bramas was arrived at Martavan with his army; from thence he wrote to the governor, requiring of him to receive him into the place without reſiſtance: he threatened thoſe in the ſevereſt manner who ſhould refuſe to concur in his deſigns. The people of Tavail, who ſaw an army ready to inveſt their ramparts, declared they were determined to return to the obedience of their lawful maſter. The uſurper, ſurrounded by foreign and domeſtic enemies, weak within, and threatened without, had no reſource but in flight.

This rebel, for a long time a wanderer and fugitive, ſought an aſylum in the port of Mergui, where he was followed by his relations and a few partiſans, generous enough to ſhare his misfortunes, or perhaps guilty enough to dread the vengeance of an angry judge. His fleet, compoſed of ſixty galleys, did not inſpire confidence in the inhabitants, frightened at having within their walls a fugitive followed by a victorious army. The conſternation was general: ſome fled into the woods, and others among the deſert iſlands, dreading leſs to periſh by famine, than to have to anſwer to an enraged conqueror.

The governor feared that thoſe who had given him an aſylum might not long reſpect the laws of hoſpitality. He only aſked them for a ſmall aſſiſtance to retake his city, which he left on falſe reports. He had conſidered that the letter from the general of the Bramas had been brought by the advanced guards, which he even kept in time of peace: from that he began to doubt its authenticity, and ſuſpected that it was the work of ſome diſcontented perſons, who had forged it to create a falſe alarm and oblige him to fly. He became ſo familiarized with this idea, that he perſuaded himſelf he had no other enemies than his own ſubjects. Thus the victim of his credulity, he went to give himſelf up to the diſcretion of an offended maſter.

This conjecture gained ſuch ground, that the captains of veſſels that were in the port of Mergui, and who had been alarmed at the firſt intelligence of the approach of the

the Bramas, thought themſelves in perfect ſecurity. Trade, which had been interrupted for ſome time, flouriſhed as before. The fugitives returned home, and the city, which for eight days had been a deſert, again beheld its former inhabitants. The Chriſtians had teſtified the utmoſt eagerneſs to embark for the coaſt of Coromandel, and now not one would accept the officious offer of a Portugueſe captain, who ſailed on the 8th of January, 1765; but it was not long before they perceived they had been the dupes of their own ſecurity.

On the 10th of January, in the evening, on the ſide next the river, was heard, all of a ſudden, the confuſed noiſe of a multitude, who made the air ring with their clamours. This tumult made it believed the enemy was approaching, and that the firſt apprehenſions were but too well founded. In fact, he was only three or four leagues from the city, and a pilot had ſeen ten of the ſhips. A ſlight calm ſucceeded this firſt confuſion. The pilot, when queſtioned, ſaid he had not ſeen any thing, and on his teſtimony every one returned quietly to his home.

The miſſioners more calm, as they had beheld the tranquillity which reigned on board the ſhips that were at anchor in the middle of the river, affirmed that the uproar that they thought they had heard was but an error of the imagination diſturbed by fear; but ſome fifty diſcharges of cannon, about four o'clock in the morning, was the unequivocal ſignal of the arrival of the Bramas. The weeping inhabitants now only contemplated the image of death or approaching captivity. The captains of merchant veſſels inſtantly cut their cables, and, fearful of falling into the power of a ſavage enemy, they abandoned themſelves without a pilot to the courſe of the waters, heedleſs of the accidents to be apprehended in a river, the inequalities of whoſe bed made them liable to ſhipwreck.

The Chriſtians, who had a recent remembrance of the miſeries of the laſt war, ſhuddered with horror on contemplating thoſe ſavage animals imbrued in the blood of decrepid age, and infants ſlaughtered on the ſtill reeking bodies of their mothers. All fled to their barks, and exerted their utmoſt to fly from inevitable death. The Bramas landed without reſiſtance. The love of life made them forget the means of defence. The volumes of flames which aroſe on all ſides made the inhabitants conclude that their whole country was only one vaſt funeral pile, whoſe fire was to conſume them.

The general, who remained on the ſhore, made ſtrict enquiries to diſcover where individuals had depoſited their riches, and he tore their ſecret from them by torture. The Bramas are inceſſantly thirſting after riches, and though born with warlike diſpoſitions, it is rather the love of pillage than glory that makes them prodigal of their blood. War to them is only a trade, and he who returns with the richeſt ſpoil has the greater ſhare of the reſpect of his country. An enemy who falls into their power has every thing to fear when unable to ſatiate their avarice; and it may be ſaid that they are only cruel from an exceſs of avarice.

The Bramas were too avaricious to confine their cupidity to the conqueſt of Mergui: one of their generals marched with the main body of the army, and advanced againſt Tennaſſerim, the capital of the province of that name. This city, fortified by art and nature, did not appear a ſufficient bulwark to ſtop this horde of vagabonds, who arrived at the foot of their walls without meeting with any reſiſtance. The gates were open: the affrighted inhabitants had fled to the woods to avoid a danger they were ſtrong enough to have reſiſted. Fear had exaggerated the number of their enemies, and, in the eyes of the timid, phantoms are realities. Their governor had ſet them the example of deſertion, and they were rather vanquiſhed by their fear than by the arms

and

and courage of the enemy. The Bramas loaded their ſhips with their ſpoils, and when they had carried off every thing that could tempt their avarice, they reduced the city to aſhes, and their army returned triumphant to Mergui.

More occupied in pillaging than in making conqueſts, their army conſumed in debauchery the wealth of the conquered. When they had exhauſted their booty they ſought a new prey. The general, vain of his firſt ſucceſs, promiſed himſelf eaſy triumphs. He marched againſt Juthia, perſuaded that the conqueſt of the capital would give the other cities the example of ſubmiſſion. Immenſe foreſts were to be traverſed, and ſteep mountains were to be climbed. All theſe obſtacles were foreſeen and overcome. The provinces ſituated to the north-weſt of the royal city were ravaged: the inhabitants only eſcaped death or ſlavery by diſperſing in the woods, where they diſputed their food with the wild beaſts. The fire which devoured the towns and villages threw the capital into conſternation. The Siameſe, threatened with approaching ruin, united their forces: they marched trembling againſt an enemy whoſe valour they had ſo often experienced. They riſked an engagement, and fought with more courage than they were accuſtomed to do: their bloody defeat left all the country in the power of the conqueror: the fields, laid waſte by fire, only preſented ſcorching aſhes; and the famine which threatened was as terrible a ſcourge as the ſword of the barbarians.

While this victorious army every where ſpread deſolation, a new ſwarm of barbarians covered this devaſtated kingdom. The Bramas finding no reſiſtance, overran the provinces, and every where left traces of their ravages. They built a city at the confluence of the two rivers, which they called Michoug. This new bulwark was an aſylum they prepared for themſelves in caſe of a reverſe of fortune, to make it the centre of their force.

While ſtorms ſhook the whole empire, the King of Siam, ſhut up in his ſeraglio, conſoled himſelf with his concubines for the miſeries of his ſubjects. The news that the enemy had evacuated Tennaſſerim and Mergui had given room to believe that the danger was over, and that the ſtate had no farther occaſion for protectors. In ſhort, the Bramas were at the gates of the city, and they had not the ſhadow of an army to oppoſe them. The King awoke from his profound ſleep at the noiſe of the inhabitants of the country, who ruſhed in crowds to take refuge in the royal city. They employed them to repair the fortifications: they raiſed columns forty feet high to mount cannon on. The Chriſtians refuſed to aſſiſt at this labour, convinced of its inutility, and that they would crumble under their own weight.

The enemy, before they began the attack on the royal city, laid waſte all the territory. They were certain of finding ſubſiſtence in the back country, of which they were maſters, and their deſtructive policy was to oblige the Siameſe to ſurrender by famine. One of their detachments extended its ravages to the very gates of the city. Bancok, a fortreſs which defended the approaches to it, was deſtroyed; the gardens, ſtripped of their ornaments, were covered with ruins. A college the miſſioners had eſtabliſhed in the environs was reduced to aſhes. After this excurſion the incendiaries retired with precipitation to the main body of their army, and their retreat for a moment allayed the alarm.

At this period two Engliſh veſſels arrived. The captain brought the King an Arabian horſe, a lion, and ſeveral valuable articles. This captain, whoſe name was Powny, had on ſome occaſions proved his courage. The King, who had more confidence in his valour and talents than in his cowardly and effeminate courtiers, begged him to undertake the defence of the city; but the Engliſhman, convinced that he ſhould be badly ſeconded by a people void of courage, refuſed the honour of the command:

mand: the example of the Dutch, who had withdrawn, confirmed him in his repugnance to accept it. They would not have abandoned their factory, which contained ſuch valuable effects, if they had thought the Siameſe capable of ſeconding of them in the common defence. He was irreſolute on the part he ſhould take, when he ſuddenly found himſelf attacked by the Bramas, who, maſters of Bancok, took their diſpoſitions to batter him with cannon.

The brave Engliſhman, too weak to defend himſelf, and too brave to ſubmit, took the wiſe reſolution to tow his veſſel up to the narrows, where the barbarians were endeavouring to fortify themſelves; but the fire from the artillery of the ſhips deſtroyed their works, and carried death among their ranks. Protected by their cannon, the Engliſh could defy the fury of the Bramas with impunity. The inaction they experienced on board their ſhips wounded their pride, and, impatient to puniſh their aggreſſors, they made ſeveral deſcents, and throwing themſelves in order on their undiſciplined enemies, they made a dreadful carnage of them.

Powny, forced by neceſſity, conſented to undertake the defence of the city, on condition that they would furniſh him with cannon, and whatever was neceſſary for attack and defence. His demand was complied with, and, as a pledge for his fidelity, the Siameſe required him to depoſit his merchandiſe in the public magazine. This condition wounded his pride, but he was obliged to ſubmit to it. He delivered thirty-eight bales of valuable effects, and embarked the reſt in different ſhips, and after having ſettled every thing with the miniſters, he went on board his own ſhip, where he prepared to juſtify the opinion they entertained of his courage. He ordered deſcents, which were all murderous to the enemy: their forts, ſcarcely erected, were deſtroyed: every day was marked with their defeat or flight. In order to profit by theſe advantages, he wrote to the court of Siam for cannon and ammunition, but he experienced a refuſal. The Siameſe, ſuſpicious, were fearful of his becoming too powerful, and of their being dependant on a foreigner. Their diſtruſt fettered their protector: it was to forge thoſe very chains they feared to wear. The miniſters replied, that as the enemy was preparing to make an attack on the other ſide of the city, they wanted all the cannon they had to repulſe them.

The Engliſhman, irritated at this infraction of their promiſes, reſolved to abandon a people who could neither fight themſelves, nor ſupply their friends with the means of defending them: but before he ſailed, he publiſhed a kind of manifeſto againſt the Siameſe Monarch to juſtify his deſertion. He ſeized ſix Chineſe veſſels, one of which was loaded on the King's account; the other five came to trade at Siam, and were ſtopped in the gulph, where they were much ſurpriſed to find themſelves ſtripped of their effects. The Engliſhman, to indemnify them for what he had taken, gave the captains letters of exchange drawn on the King of Siam, to the amount of the thirty-eight bales he had depoſited with him. After having thus ſecured himſelf, he boldly paſſed before his enemies, who, inſtead of troubling his retreat, congratulated themſelves on being freed from a rival who alone could hinder their ſucceſs.

His departure raiſed the courage of the Bramas, who now only having to fight againſt effeminate men, every where carried deſolation. The pagodas became a prey to the flames, and the lead they ſtripped from them ſerved them to make balls. The enemy, for a long time maſter of the country, had not allowed the lands to be ſown; and, uſeleſsly cruel, they even envied the Siameſe the bounties of nature. But the fruitfulneſs of the ſoil produced an abundant harveſt, neither the reward of the labourer, nor the produce of ſowing. The grains of rice which the year before had fallen from the hands of the reapers, took root, and came to maturity. This un-

expected bounty was a great consolation to people threatened with famine. But what should have been a resource to them, was the cause of their misfortune: the inhabitants being spread over the fields to gather in the rice, were surprised by the Bramas, who led them captive to their camp.

While the Bramas, spread through all the provinces, warred against man and nature by their devastations, the King and his superstitious ministers put all their trust in their magicians. The officers and soldiers, led away by this example, consulted them on the means to render themselves invisible, that they might attack the enemy without being seen; and the hopes of learning a secret which favoured their cowardice, prevented them from exposing themselves to fight till it had been revealed to them. The illusion was so strong, that experience was unable to convince them of the vanity of that lying art. The chiefs, as cowardly as the subalterns, seemed only to have taken arms to turn them against their fellow citizens. They dispossessed them of their money and corn, under pretence of providing for the wants of the soldier, to whom they distributed but the most worthless portion of their plunder, and that trifling bounty served them as a veil to cover their extortions.

A Siamese Prince, who had been exiled to Ceylon, was touched with the miseries of his country. He forgot that he had been ill treated; he was still powerful enough to raise an army, which he had the generosity to offer to his persecutors. The court of Siam, too proud to accept the assistance of a banished man, whose zeal censured his injuries, rejected his offers with contempt, and instead of seeking him as a protector, sent several detachments against him, which were sometimes victorious, sometimes defeated. This conduct was the more imprudent, as it divided their forces at a time when the army of the Bramas became every day stronger by the junction of discontented Siamese.

It was in the month of March that the enemy's army advanced to within two leagues of the city. It was arrested on its march by the death of the general, who was carried off by a quincey. It was judged expedient to hide his death from the soldiers, and the secret was only disclosed by the dissentions which broke out among the chiefs, who all wished to assume the command; but soon united by their thirst for plunder, they put themselves in motion, to proceed to the pillage of the most celebrated and richest temple in the environs of the capital. They flattered themselves with finding the foot of an idol which was of massive gold; but the King of Siam had the precaution to remove into his palace this monument of public worship, which the barbarians, though superstitious, would but have little respected.

The Bramas, irritated at being deprived of this prey, revenged themselves on the walls of the temple, which they demolished, and on its ruins erected an edifice consecrated to profane uses. The other pagodas built round the city were not spared. They were built with brick and surrounded with ditches, which appeared to defend them from fire or the assaults of an enemy. The Christian churches, on the contrary, were only constructed of stakes and boards, less fit to protect them than to facilitate the progress of the flames. But, in spite of their weak state, they were maintained by the vigilance and courage of those who had the charge of defending them; and the enemy did not set a foot in them till after the Siamese and Chinese had experienced frequent defeats.

The 7th of September, 1766, they got possession of a very high tower, about three furlongs distant from the royal city. They planted a battery of cannon on it, to bear on the strand, which made them absolute masters of the river. The danger becoming more pressing, the Siamese had no hope but in the Christians, whose heroic valour

had been proved in the laſt revolution. They gave them the defence of the baſtions; they granted them thirty pieces of cannon, balls, and powder. Six thouſand Chineſe were ordered to defend the Dutch factory, and a large pagoda contiguous to it; and, by a particular favour, they made them a preſent of rather better than four hundred pounds ſterling.

The Chriſtians were but eighty-four in number to defend different poſts, expoſed to the ſurpriſals of a numerous army. This brave militia were not trained to military diſcipline, nor to the uſe of arms; a ſword and muſket in their hands would have been a ſubject of deriſion in the eyes of an European ſoldier. But notwithſtanding their awkwardneſs, they were the flower of the Siameſe army, and there was only the abuſe of their courage to be apprehended from them. The firſt days paſſed in ſkirmiſhes, but at length the enemy, having united his forces, got poſſeſſion of five large temples, which were converted into ſo many fortreſſes, from whence they battered the advanced works, and eſpecially the church of St. Joſeph, the roof of which was ſhot through, without the leaſt injury to the multitude aſſembled in it.

On the 8th of December they were informed that the beſiegers were preparing a freſh aſſault. The Chriſtians immediately marched out of the church with drums and trumpets; they engaged, and made a great ſlaughter of the enemy, who were rather vanquiſhed by their fears than the arms of the Chriſtians. This firſt ſucceſs inſpired them with courage to become the aggreſſors in their turn: they attacked the Bramas, who were entrenched in a pagoda; nothing could withſtand them: they returned with an elephant, a brilliant pledge of their victory. Their name became formidable to the enemy and the boaſt of their fellow citizens.

The Portugueſe, who dwelt about two ſhort leagues from the biſhop of Tabraca, alſo gave ſtriking proofs of their bravery: they cut to pieces a number of Bramas who had attempted to ſtorm their college. Confounded and diſheartened at the uſeleſſneſs of their attacks, they retired filled with admiration for this handful of Chriſtians, whom they feared much more than fifty thouſand Siameſe, who had neither the courage to wait for them, nor to purſue them in their retreat. It is true that theſe Chriſtians, though more courageous, were not better diſciplined, and it was that fault which cauſed the loſs of the French quarter. The guard was buried in a profound ſleep, when the Bramas, recovered from their firſt terror, ſet fire to the upper part of the biſhop's quarter. The Chriſtians took refuge in crowds in the church, where the cries of the women and children announced a peril, the horrors of which were redoubled by the darkneſs of the night. One Chriſtian, who had ſtrayed, was unmercifully maſſacred; the others made an obſtinate defence; and though ſurpriſed, they appeared invincible. The enemy, every where repulſed, attempted an attack on the Dutch quarter.

The reputation of their courage drew many Siameſe and Chineſe to their quarter, who, under their ſhade, thought themſelves ſheltered from the tempeſt. All contributed to the general defence: they raiſed walls on the ruins of deſtroyed pyramids: the Chineſe found among them a great deal of ſilver: the Chriſtians had the leaden gutters for their ſhare, of which they made balls.

The city, ready to fall into the power of the Bramas, would have been buried in its ruins, if they had not had recourſe to negociation to ſoften the beſiegers, already armed with torches to reduce it to aſhes. The Bramas, proud of their ſuperiority, replied that they had no other conditions to preſcribe than for them to ſurrender at diſcretion, and that they were determined to uſe all the rights that victory gave them. Such hard laws were rejected, and hoſtilities recommenced. On the 28th of April, 1767, the

city was taken by aſſault. The riches of the palace and pagodas became a heap of aſhes and ruins: the golden images of the falſe gods were melted, and the blind rage of theſe barbarians deprived them of the rewards which had awakened their cupidity. Their own fury robbed them of their prey; and to revenge their loſs, they made their reſentment fall on the inhabitants, whom they burnt on the ſoles of their feet, to make them diſcover the places where their treaſure was hid. They violated their weeping daughters before their eyes.

The prieſts, ſuſpected of concealing riches, were run through with darts or lances, and many were knocked on the head with clubs: the fields, as well as the pagodas, were ſtrewed with the dead: nothing was to be ſeen but carcaſes floating down the rivers, and the ſtench attracted ſwarms of flies, who revenged the country by the ravages they cauſed in the army during its retreat. The great officers of the kingdom, and the Monarch's favourites, were loaded with irons and condemned to row in the galleys. The King, witneſs of the miſeries of his courtiers, endeavoured to eſcape the horrors of their fate; but he was diſcovered, and maſſacred at the gate of his palace.

The King, prieſt-torn from the ſilence of his retreat, was led captive with the Princes and Princeſſes of his blood; and all, through fear of death, owned they had concealed treaſures. When the avarice of the enemy found nothing further to glut itſelf with, and the country only preſented the ſpectacle of the dead and the dying, the victorious army began its march towards Pegu. It led in its train the King of Siam, who, inſtead of courtiers, had only the companions of his captivity, leſs wretched than himſelf, as they had not fallen from ſuch a height. The biſhop of Tabraca, included in the general misfortune, was put on board a galley. The detachment that guarded him was commanded by a man who had nothing of the barbarian in him. His courage and ſervices had procured him the government of Tavail, a poſt of truſt, which juſtified the diſcernment of the maſter in the choice of a ſervant.

## CHAP. XVIII. — *Sequel of the Revolution of 1767.*

AS ſoon as the army of the Bramas had evacuated the kingdom it had juſt conquered, the wandering and diſperſed Siameſe emerged from the woods that had ſerved them for retreats, and, uniting, they approached their capital. Animated with vengeance and the recollection of their misfortunes, they every where carried deſolation: they ſacrificed every one of the Bramas they could meet with. But the blood of their oppreſſors with which they were imbrued could not alleviate the horrors of famine which raged among them. Rice was ſo dear that it had ceaſed to be a reſource: they were reduced to feed on wild roots and bamboo ſprouts, which ſhoot up out of the earth like the aſparagus of Europe. They were likewiſe afflicted with a ſingular diſorder; thoſe who were attacked by it loſt their memory and ſpeech: they became delirious, but at intervals had lucid moments, which made them more ſeverely feel the horrors of their ſituation.

The Siameſe, though united by a thirſt for vengeance, were divided among themſelves by the ambition of the command. Phaia-Thaè, a Siameſe officer, born of a Chineſe, had attracted the eyes of the nation. Equally politic and warlike, he paved the way to his greatneſs by affecting to deſpiſe it. He was called to the command by the unanimous voice of the nobles and people. At firſt he only aſſumed the modeſt title of defender of the nation; and covering his ambitious views with the veil of moderation, would only appear as citizen that he might really be King. Armed with the ſupreme power, he had the policy to obtain allies, perſuaded that the people,

inconſtant in their affections, quickly paſs from love to hatred, and delight in deſtroying their own work, as ſoon as ever that the maſter they created ceaſes to reſpect their caprices.

Experience had taught him that the prieſts, abuſing their power over the ignorant multitude, fomented revolts and popular commotions. He conceived a hatred for them which he took no pains to conceal. He looked upon the veneration paid them, as a diminution of his power, and this competition made him deſire the extinction of theſe religious idolators, who, poor by profeſſion, enjoyed in indolence the fruits of the labour of the artiſan and cultivator. A Sancrat, who enjoyed a high reputation, was accuſed of incontinence. Phaia Thaè made him appear before his tribunal, and condemned him to undergo the proof by fire. The ſoles of his feet were wounded by the burning coals, and this was a proof that he was guilty. He would have been ſentenced to loſe his head, if powerful interceſſions had not obtained his pardon, under the ſpecious pretence, that his death would be an opprobrium, and the gods would be leſs reſpected when their miniſters were diſgraced.

Phaia-Thaè elevated all thoſe who had been the architects of his greatneſs to the firſt dignities of the ſtate. An implacable enemy to the Bramas, he denounced ſevere puniſhment on their partiſans, who ſowed the ſeeds of rebellion in the kingdom. In 1769 he ſhewed his benevolence towards the poor. A drought had cauſed a great ſcarcity, the general conſequence of war, which ſuſpends labour, and ſlackens the induſtry of the huſbandman. Deſtructive rats had not waited the ripening of the rice to devour it: the ſeeds had been deſtroyed in the earth, radiſhes and herbs had fallen their prey. The reſource of the yam had failed, which is a kind of potatoe, ſo large, that ſometimes one is as much as a man can carry. Swarms of flies and gnats, attracted by the ſmell of the dead bodies, darkened the air, and made troubleſome warfare with the living.

It was under theſe deplorable circumſtances that Phaia-Thaè diſcloſed his compaſſionate diſpoſition. The poor did not long pine in want. The public treaſury, generally exhauſted to ſupport luxury, was opened for the relief of the wretched. Foreigners for ready money furniſhed thoſe productions which the ſoil of the country had denied. The uſurper by his bounty juſtified the titles of his greatneſs. Abuſes were reformed: ſecurity was re-eſtabliſhed. Frequent and bloody executions puniſhed and prevented crimes. The law which never creates murmurrers, was ſubſtituted for arbitary power, which ſooner or later makes rebels. In ſecuring the public tranquillity he ſtrengthened his uſurped power; and his right to the throne could not be conteſted, if it fell to the lot of him who only ſought the public good.

On the firſt intelligence of the revolt of the Siameſe, the King of the Bramas had ſent orders to the governor of Tavail to enter that rebellious kingdom with fire and ſword, and to augment his army with the inhabitants of his city, to make them the inſtruments of the entire ruin of their country. Theſe people had contrived to diſguiſe their hatred againſt their new oppreſſors, under an affectionate exterior.

The general only took a ſmall number of Bramas with him, becauſe, deceived by appearances, he had put all his truſt in the Siameſe, who he thought were ſincerely attached to him. It was not long before he found he had been the dupe of their hypocritical zeal. He detached them againſt the city of Beancham, and as ſoon as they became maſters of it, they ſhut the gates, and declared they had only taken up arms to uſe them againſt their oppreſſors. They turned the cannon of the place againſt thoſe

thoſe who till then had been their companions. The general abandoned by theſe traitors, if that name ſhould be given to the avengers of their country, every where ſought for proviſions, and every where he found enemies. The fields themſelves were rebellious to his wiſhes, and refuſed to ſupply his wants. The Bramas in their laſt irruption, had ſtripped them of their fruit-trees. The beaſts of burthen, who found nothing to feed on in theſe plains, which only preſented heaps of aſhes, diſperſed to ſeek their food elſewhere. At length the army had only proviſions for three days. A longer perſeverance would rather have been obſtinacy than heroic fortitude. The general thought he ought to preſerve the lives of the reſt of the men entruſted to his care; he therefore made a retreat, which had nothing diſgraceful in it, becauſe it was neceſſary. As ſoon as he arrived at Tavail, he informed his maſter of the bad ſucceſs of his expedition, the failure of which he threw on the defection of his army.

The King of Ava, humbled to experience reverſes in a country which had been the theatre of his triumphs, meditated the moſt cruel vengeance. But when he prepared to march againſt it in perſon to realize his threats, he was prevented in the execution of his projects by diſputes he had with the Chineſe, of which this was the cauſe or at leaſt the pretence.

The Bramas, after having laid waſte the kingdoms of Pegu, Siam, and Aracan, declared war againſt the Chineſe, under pretence of taking revenge of a ſmall nation of what they called barbarians, but who were leſs ſo than themſelves. This obſcure people, and who were ſatisfied to remain ſo, lived in foreſts which ſeparate the kingdom of Ava from the empire of China, where, confining themſelves to the productions of an ungrateful ſoil, they had no ambition to attempt the liberty of their neighbours. This wild nation, which knew no other wealth than its independance, ſeemed by its poverty to be free from ever tempting the avarice of a conqueror. The Kings of Ava, had always been its protectors, and it had ſubmitted to pay them a ſmall tribute. But the Caſſiens, poor and haughty, ſeeing all the neighbouring kingdoms agitated with foreign and domeſtic wars, wiſhed to free themſelves from a tribute which was leſs burthenſome than humiliating. It was in 1749, that they declared they no longer needed any protectors, that their foreſts were their ſtrongeſt ramparts, and that their courage had taught them to brave every thing and fear nothing.

For ſome time they enjoyed their natural independance; but when the kingdom of Ava had regained its original ſplendour, they found themſelves inceſſantly interrupted by the Bramas, whoſe frequent irruptions ravaged their lands, which of themſelves ſcarcely furniſhed the means of ſupplying their moderate wants. To be protected from their tyranny, they ſought the aſſiſtance of a neighbouring Chineſe King, who alone could protect them, and who was intereſted in their defence, becauſe they were a barrier between him and thoſe brigands.

While a torrent of Bramas inundated the kingdom of Siam, another ſwarm of theſe barbarians ſpread themſelves into the provinces of China, where without meeting with any reſiſtance they ſeized ſeveral ſtrong places, the inhabitants of which were all put to the ſword.

On hearing of ſo many evils, the governor of Canton raiſed an army to free the country from ſo terrible a ſcourge; but the news of his march made the Bramas retire to their own country, to depoſit their booty, and get reinforcements.

Some time after the Chineſe engaged with advantage on the river, but the triumph was followed by the moſt ſanguinary reverſe. Their army was cut to pieces; 100,000 men

men were led captive to Ava, from whence they were diſperſed into the different provinces of the kingdom, to labour at the public works.

The defeat of the Chineſe was a loſs eaſily repaired. The Emperor aſſembled an army of 500,000 combatants, which he deſtined to carry deſolation among the enemy's poſſeſſions. The King of Ava, too weak to oppoſe ſuch a torrent, aſſembled the troops from all the provinces into the capital. All the inhabitants of the country contiguous to China abandoned their property; the country was become a deſert, laid waſte by its former inhabitants, who wiſhed to deprive their enemy of the means of ſubſiſting. At the commencement of 1769 the movements of the enemy were not yet known, who could not penetrate to Ava, without being exhauſted by famine and diſtreſs. No intelligence could be received till the month of October of this preſent year 1771.

# A DESCRIPTION OF THE KINGDOM OF TONQUEEN.

*By S. BARON, a Native thereof* *.

## CHAP. I. — *Taverniere's Account of Tonqueen animadverted on.*

THE kingdom of Tonqueen has been diſcovered by the Portugueſe above a hundred and twenty years ſince, and the relations that Padre Martin and Alexander de Rodes, both jeſuits, give of it, is in general more true than this of Taverniere; for what contradictions we find in them may be imputed to the alteration of things by mutation of time.

Taverniere talks of eleven or twelve voyages his brother made to Tonqueen, from Achien, Batavia and Bantam; on the confidence of whoſe relation, together with what he enquired of the bonzes, or prieſts, that came while he was at Bantam, he has compiled his hiſtory, as fabulous and full of groſs abſurdities as lines.

For firſt, the Tonqueeneſe have no bonzes or prieſts, however they came to Bantam and Batavia; and then he ſaith, when the Tonqueeneſe make voyages they take their wives and families with them; I ſuppoſe he means thoſe voyages they make on the river of Tonqueen, from one village to an other, but for foreign voyages, they are altogether unacquainted with them, unleſs it be ſome few of the poorer ſort that go to attend ſtrangers, or are forced otherwiſe for a livelihood. He notes how the Tonqueeneſe were raviſhed with admiration, when he ſhewed them his Atlas, and ſome particular maps about the compoſure and ſtructure of the whole world, and its ſeveral kingdoms and ſtates, which they heeded as much as a world in the moon. Neither can I hear of a Taverniere that has made eleven or twelve voyages to Tonqueen on his own account: only thus much I have heard, that there has been one Taverniere, a purſer in the Dutch ſervice, and once in Tonqueen.

He commends his brother for a perſon of courage and cunning, how juſtly I cannot tell; but this I am ſure, he has uſed but little cordiality, and leſs ſincerity, notwithſtanding all his proteſtations, in his account of Tonqueen: he magnifies the great ſums of money his brother always carried with him, when he went on that voyage, but it is too well known what a purſer in the Dutch ſervice can do, and what they are allowed to do; hindering ſo ſtrictly the private trade.

He talks of a large preſent he gave the King and Prince, together with his favourable reception and familiar converſation with them; if this be true, I ſay the Tonqueeneſe are much degenerated; yet it cannot be denied, that ſtrangers at their firſt entrance into this country, had, in many reſpects, better uſage than at preſent; but not ſo as

* Churchill's Col. Vol. vi.

to

to permit themſelves to play with a foreigner the good companion: at this time they keep their diſtance to all ſtrangers, making but ſmall account of them. To kiſs the King's hand is not the Tonqueen mode, much leſs permitted to ſtrangers: and when he ſpoke the Malayan language ſo fluently, he might as well have ſpoken French to them, that underſtood not a word of either. When he played amongſt thoſe lords, I wonder what game it was that he loſt ſo many thouſand crowns at, as he mentions; but it is moſt to be admired, that a calf and two jars of Tonqueen arrack, the uſual largeſs and liberality of this King, (water diſtilled out of rice) ſhould ſupply his great loſſes. He farther tells you, that by the great familiarity his brother had at court, and by the frequent diſcourſes he had with a great many Tonqueeneſes, (who never ſtir out of the country, however he met them at Bantam and Batavia) he laid the foundation of his work, which is both faithful and exact. Furthermore he ſaith, no other conſideration than the ſpeaking of truth has invited him to undertake this relation, all which being notorious contradictions and falſe tales, ſhame indeed the author the more.

Our author, as all other Europeans, terms and intitles the general of Chova, King, becauſe he diſpoſes of the kingdom at his pleaſure, receiving all foreign ambaſſadors, except that of China. However this is a miſtake, for they have their King or Bova, though he ſignifies no more than a cypher, as will be noted in ſeveral places of this relation.

He not only vaunts of his cuts, which he ſays were drawn on the place, and will contribute much to the divertiſement of the reader, but alſo praiſes for its exactneſs the map which he gives of the country; than which nothing can be more falſe, for compare it with our ſea draughts, it will plainly appear what it is: but as fabulous ſtories and fictions, invented at pleaſure, are pleaſing only to the ignorant, ſo it is moſt certain, the ingenious reader will blame him for promiſing ſo much, and uſing ſo little probity in his hiſtory.

## CHAP. II. — *Of the Situation and Extent of Tonqueen.*

WE have no more reaſon to admire why our predeceſſors had no earlier knowledge of this kingdom than they had of that of China, becauſe its diſcovery was ſomething poſterior to that; for the Portugueſe had no ſooner diſcovered the laſt, but they ſent out ſhips to viſit this alſo.

It is true, this kingdom was a province of China formerly, and pays tribute ſtill to that Emperor: but that was not the reaſon why we had no ſooner knowledge thereof, conſidering theſe people have been governed by their native Princes for above theſe four hundred years without interruption, which was long before the Portugueſe came to make their diſcoveries in India. The true reaſon ſeems to be, that the people did never ſtir abroad, nor do yet, for commerce or other aſſociation; and they ſomewhat affect in this the Chineſe vanity, thinking all other people to be barbarous, imitating their government, learning, characters, &c. yet hate their perſons.

I do not know why Taverniere ſaith moſt people ſhould believe this country to be in a very hot climate, conſidering it is ſituated under the tropic, and ſome part of it more to the northward; nevertheleſs he affirms it to be very temperate, by reaſon of the great numbers of rivers (and altogether free from thoſe ſand hills, and barren mountains, that cauſe ſuch heat in Commaroan, and other places in the gulph of Perſia) that water it, together with the rain that falls in its ſeaſon; whereas the truth thereof is, that the rains, indeed, generally fall in the months of May, June, July, and

Auguſt, and ſometimes ſooner, which moiſten the ground, but cauſe no freſh breezes at all; on the contrary, the ſaid two months of July and Auguſt make the weather here unſufferably hot. Doubtleſs the country would be plentiful in fruits, were there not ſo many inhabitants, who living by rice chiefly, find therefore the greater neceſſity to cultivate what ground they have with that grain, not neglecting the leaſt ſpot.

To the north-eaſt of this kingdom lies the province of Canton; to the weſt it is bounded by the kingdoms of Laos and the Bowes; to the north it borders on two other provinces of China, Junam and Quanci, or Ai; to the ſouth and ſouth-eaſt on Cochin-China. The climate is temperate and wholeſome from September till March, ſometimes very cold in January and February; though froſt and ſnow are never ſeen here: the months of April, May and June, are not ſo healthful, both becauſe of the rains and fogginеſs of the air, and the ſun's coming to the zenith: but June, July, and Auguſt are exceſſive hot months. The winds are here divided between the north and the ſouth for ſix and ſix months; the country is delightful from May till Auguſt, the trees being then in their verdure, and the fields all covered with paddy, very pleaſant to the beholders.

The great winds that are called amongſt our ſeamen the hurricanes, and known here by the name of Tanffoons, reign on this and the adjacent coaſts, and the ſeas thereof are very terrible, but the time of their coming is very uncertain, ſometimes once in five or ſix years, and ſometimes in eight or nine; and though this wind is not known in other oriental ſeas by that name, and with that exceſſive violence, yet that which is called the Elephant in the bay of Bengal, and the coaſt of Coromandel, is not much inferior to this; and the ſad effects thereof are but too often experienced by the ſeamen. I cannot find an aſtronomer in all Tonqueen, to aſk from whence theſe winds ſhould proceed, ſo I cannot affirm that they are cauſed by the exhalations of the mines of Japan.

As for the extent of the country, which he makes equal to that of France, it is a groſs miſtake, for this kingdom is reckoned by men experienced, not to be much bigger than Portugal; but may be thought to contain four times the number of inhabitants. Taverniere makes its limits unknown, forgetting that he had ſo lately deſcribed the borders and extent thereof.

As for iſlands belonging to this kingdom, there are ſeveral in the bay of Tonqueen, the chief whereof is called by the natives Twon Bene, and by the Dutch Rovers Iſland. It is ſituated in the latitude of 19 degrees 15 minutes north; is long one and a half, and broad half a league at moſt, the better part high land, and diſtant from the main one league, between which and the main ſea ſhips may paſs, as the Dutch did formerly, but the navigator muſt obſerve to keep the iſland ſide aboard, within a muſket ſhot; where you will find ſix, ſeven, and ſeven and a half fathoms, ouzy ground. On the ſame ſide of the iſland, which is its weſt part, are two ſmall bays, the northernmoſt has a ſmall pearl bank, but not rich; yet none dare to fiſh here without the King's ſpecial grant. In both the bays there is ſweet water, which we found to be exceeding good, and eſteemed the beſt we taſted there. At the ſouth-weſt point of this iſland is a ridge of rocks, extending from the ſaid point one hundred paces into the ſea, and may be diſcovered at half ebb, by the breach thereon; for the reſt, a clear coaſt.

Towards the north-weſt, is a fair bay, three fathoms and a half, and four fathom water, clay ground; here reſort many fiſhing boats, beſides what appertain to this village, whoſe inhabitants I compute between three or four hundred perſons, moſt fiſhermen.

In

In this iſland is the watch-houſe general, which is a place of the greateſt profit in the kingdom of Tonqueen: for all trading boats, either to the province of Tingway or Guian, or from thence to the north, muſt ſtop here and pay cuſtom, viz. for a large boat about the value of a dollar and a half, with ſome preſents for the waiters, the reſt proportionable; ſo that the cuſtoms of this place cannot yield leſs than a million of dollars per annum.

As for the ground, it is ſtony and mountainous, therefore not proper to manure; cattle we ſaw but few, though the inhabitants told us of many antelopes that ſheltered amongſt the rocks and ſhrubs of the mountains, ſo that rice and other proviſions for ſuſtenance, are brought hither from the adjacent ſhore. Some good regulations would make this place plentiful, and with ſmall expence this port might be made a good one.

For cities and towns, excepting that of Ca-cho, there are not above two or three in the whole kingdom of any note. As for aldeas or villages, queſtionleſs the number is great, and more than I can exactly affirm, or any man elſe that hath not made it his buſineſs to inquire after them; neither is it an eaſy matter to find the truth thereof: the city of Ca-cho is the metropolis of Tonqueen, lieth in the latitude 21 degrees north, about forty leagues from the ſea, and may, for its capaciouſneſs, be compared with many cities in Aſia, and ſuperior to moſt for populouſneſs, eſpecially on the 1ſt and 15th of their new moon, being their market days, or grand bazar; when the people from the adjacent villages flock thither with their trade, in ſuch numbers as is almoſt incredible; ſeveral of the ſtreets, though broad and ſpacious, are then ſo crowded that one finds enough to do if he can ſometimes advance through the multitude a hundred paces in half an hour. Every different commodity ſold in this city is appointed to a particular ſtreet, and theſe ſtreets again allotted to one, two, or more villages; the inhabitants whereof are only privileged to keep ſhops in them, much in the nature of the ſeveral companies or corporations in European cities. The courts of the King, General, Princes, &c. grandesa and high courts of juſtice, are kept here, of which I can only ſay they ſtand on large tracts of ground: the principal ſtructure makes but a mean appearance, being built of wood, the reſt of their houſes of bamboos and clay, not well compacted; few of brick, except the factories of ſtrangers, which outvie the reſt. Stupendous, indeed, are the triple walls of the old city and palace; for by the ruins they appear to have been ſtrong fabrics with noble large gates, paved with a kind of marble; the palace to have been about ſix or ſeven miles in circumference; its gates, courts, apartments, &c. teſtify amply its former pomp and glory. In this city is likewiſe quartered a formidable militia, to be ready on all occaſions; and here alſo ſtands the King's arſenal or magazine for war, ſeated on the bank of the river, near a ſandy iſland, on which the Thecadaw is kept, as hereafter will be mentioned. This river is called by the natives Songkoy, or the head river; it riſes in China, and after it has rolled many hundred leagues, it paſſes here and diſgorgeth itſelf in the bay of Aynam, by eight or nine mouths, moſt of them navigable for veſſels of ſmall draught. This river is exceeding commodious for the city, ſince all ſorts of merchandize are brought hither as to the epitome of the kingdom, by an infinite number of boats trading up and down the country; yet they have their houſes in their reſpective aldeas, and do not live altogether in their boats, as Taverniere reports, but when they are voyaging.

## CHAP. III. — *Of the Nature and Productions of the Kingdom of Tonqueen.*

THIS country is for the moſt part low and flat, not unlike the United Provinces, eſpecially for its moats and banks. The hills make the frontiers towards the north-weſt and ſouth: it is watered by one ſpecial river, which diſgorgeth itſelf into the ſea by many branches, moſt of them navigable for ſhips of mean burthen. Theſe rivers ſwarm with boats and large barks, which make it very commodious for traders: indeed in this country grows neither corn nor wine, which is not occaſioned by the want of rain, for both of them require rather dry than wet ground; but by reaſon the inhabitants do not much care for them, as being ignorant of their goodneſs, and therefore do not plant them. Rice indeed is the chief ſuſtenance of theſe people, and the country produces ſufficient quantities thereof; and if this grain would have grown only by the rains of the months of June and July, we ſhould not have experienced the ſad effects of a moſt dreadful and calamitous famine, that ſwept away ſo many millions of ſouls in theſe two preceding years.

From the rice they diſtil a liquor called arrack, but much inferior to aqua vitæ. Their ploughs, and the manner of uſing them, are much after the Chineſe faſhion deſcribed in the hiſtory of China: the paddy they tread out with their feet, wherein their practice has made them very expert.

The fruits are equally good in their kinds with thoſe of other oriental countries, but their oranges far exceed all that I have taſted. What Taverniere calls a palm tree is indeed a cocoa nut; the pulp within is white, and taſtes ſomething like an almond: this fruit is ſo plentiful in Siam, that they lade ſhips with the oil that is made of the ſaid pulp to ſupply their neighbours, which is uſed to burn in lamps.

The liquor thereof is very cold and pleaſant enough, but reckoned bad for the nerves: queſtionleſs it is the moſt uſeful tree that is found in India, ſerving for meat, drink, cloathing, firing, building, &c.

The grava is a fruit much like his deſcription, but he is mightily out in the effects thereof; for whether green or ripe it is always binding, but not uſually eaten green.

The papay is a fruit indeed reſembling a melon, and ſomewhat of the taſte, not unpleaſant.

The arreak, called by the Malays penang, grows ſtraight upright, bearing no branch, but at the top like a crown, the fruit of which is in bigneſs like a large pigeon's egg, which moſt Indians uſe to eat with the leaf called beetle by the Portugueſe, and ſera by the Malays. It is good to ſweeten the breath, faſten the teeth, and revive the ſpirits: in chewing, the juice thereof turns red; it is ſo much in uſe that they think they do not make their friends welcome without preſenting them with a diſh of it. The Tonqueeneſes, Siameſes, Malays, and Javas had rather loſe a third of their diet than be without it. They have a fig called by them hungs, in taſte ſomething like a carrot, but much more pleaſant, not at all like our European figs.

The other ſort, called bonana, or plantain, which he calls Adam's figs, ſome are in length about a ſpan, ſome leſs.

The highways are here and there beſet with trees and many ſheds, where they ſell tea and beetle, &c., very commodious for travellers; and for thoſe exceeding great trees, that ſhade ſo many thouſands of men, called the baman tree, I cannot contradict him; but what I have ſeen at Swallow, Mareene, at Surat, far exceed any of thoſe in bigneſs.

In

In this country we have the fruit lechea, called bejay by the natives, in great plenty, which indeed no where elſe comes to maturity but in the latitude from 20 to 30 degrees north. It grows on high trees; the leaves reſemble ſomewhat the laurel; the fruits, in cluſters on the branches, ſhew like ſo many hearts, of the bigneſs of a ſmall hen egg; when ripe of a crimſon colour; the ſhell thin and rough, yet eaſy to be pulled off; the kernel is full of a white juice. This fruit is of an excellent taſte, and moſt pleaſant to the ſight, but it does not laſt above forty days in ſeaſon: the time of its maturity is April, about when the general will cauſe his chiaop or ſeal to be fixed on moſt trees of the beſt lecheas in the country, belong they to whom they will, which obliges the owner not only not to meddle with his own, but alſo to watch narrowly that others do not touch them, which would be to his peril, ſince it is ingroſſed by the court, who allow him nothing for his fruit or pains.

The fruit called jean, or lungung (that is, dragon's eggs, by the Chineſe), is very plentiful here: the tree much as the former; the kernel white, but exceeding luſcious; the fruit round, and leſs than a ſmall plum; the ſkin not rough, of a pale olive colour, and near to a withered leaf. This fruit, though it pleaſes many of the Tonqueeneſes, yet it is reckoned hot and unwholeſome. The ſeaſon is May, and laſts till July.

The na, or as the Portugueſe call it, annona pampelmoor, and two or three ſorts of plums, with other kinds of Indian fruits (except durrions, which will only grow in hot countries, that is, from Siam towards the ſouth, as Mallaya, Mallacam, Java, &c.), are to be found here. But what exceeds all I have taſted in other parts of that kind is the jaca, or myte, in Tonqueen: this is the largeſt fruit I think in the world; and, becauſe of its bigneſs, provident nature has placed its growth on the ſtock or body of the tree; not on the branches, leſt it ſhould not be ſufficient to bear the burthen. The ſkin, when green, is very hard, but ripe, of a yellow colour, and eaſy to be cut with a knife. There are ſeveral ſorts of them; but that which eats dryeſt, without ſticking either to the fingers or lips, is the beſt and pleaſanteſt. The greateſt part are of a ſlimy ſubſtance, and, as it were, a yellow pap covers the nuts, which lie in little holes. Some of the poorer people will boil or roaſt the nuts and eat them, which have a kind of taſte like our cheſnuts, but are reckoned hurtful to the lungs.

Taverniere tells a long ſtory of the rare mice that are in this country of many ſorts, yet I never was at a feaſt of any, and therefore am no competent judge of their dainti-neſs: I know the Portugueſe eat them phyſically in ſeveral diſtempers.

The next thing to be taken notice of is a particular kind of birds' neſts, which indeed are in great eſteem among the Indians, and kept at a great price, being taken as great reſtoratives, and by ſome counted ſtimulaters to venery; but Taverniere ſaith they are not to be found but in the four iſlands of Cochin-China, A. B. C. D., which I am ſure is a great miſtake; neither do I know thoſe iſlands, or of any birds' neſts to be found in Cochin-China. The birds which make theſe neſts are leſs than ſwallows. As to the form and figure of theſe birds' neſts, they are much as he deſcribes them, and the greateſt quantities of them come from Jehor, Reho, Pattany, and other Malayan countries; but that they are, when boiled, of that exceeding fragrance and odoriferouſneſs as he pretends, is a fiction. Theſe neſts are laid to ſoak in warm water two hours, then pulled out in ſtrings, the ſmaller the better, and ſo ſtewed with hens, pigeons, or any other fleſh, with a little water: in ſtewing they diſſolve almoſt to a jelly, without either taſte or ſmell.

And

And as M. Taverniere is very erroneous in his map, ſo I do not know, nor have I heard of thoſe iſlands 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, that afford, as he ſays, ſuch infinite numbers of tortoiſes. The goodneſs of the ſaid turtles is ſufficiently known to our Engliſh ſeamen in their homeward-bound voyages; but that the Tonqueeneſe or Cochin-Chineſe do not believe that they have entertained their friends at a banquet as they ought till the tortoiſe is brought in is altogether fabulous; for when we were at the iſland Tevan Bene, or, according to the Dutch, Rover's Iſland, a tortoiſe of about twenty pounds weight was brought to the cuſtom-houſe, where I lodged, to be ſold, and the Tonqueeneſe not caring to buy it, I had it for a ſmall matter. Moreover, coming from Siam I touched at Pulo Ubi, where my mariners took five or ſix very large tortoiſes, and brought them on board, but the Tonqueeneſe ſeamen that were with me (who were compelled to take up that employ becauſe of the great famine that ravaged their country) would not touch them; neither do I know, as he aſſerts, that any of thoſe tortoiſes are wont to be pickled by either of theſe two nations, or that there is any commerce carried on therewith amongſt them; therefore I wonder how M. Taverniere could dream of a war between them, merely on account of catching them.

Tonqueen affords no great ſtore of ananas, or pine-apples. The citrons he mentions are not altogether ſo large as thoſe of Europe, which look green before they are ripe, and being mature look yellow.

They make good ſtore of ſilks in the kingdom of Tonqueen, of which both rich and poor make themſelves garments, ſince they can purchaſe them as cheap almoſt as outlandiſh callicoes.

As for ſweet-ſmelling flowers, though I do not profeſs myſelf a floriſt, yet I know above two ſorts in Tonqueen; but what he calls the bayne I cannot ſmell out: for, firſt, there is a beautiful roſe, of a white colour mixed with purple, and another of almoſt the ſame kind, red and yellow; it grows on a buſh without prickles or thorns, but has no ſcent.

The flower, that is nothing elſe but a bud, and reſembles a caper, but much leſſer, ſmells as fragrant and odoriferous as any flower I know, and will retain the ſcent above a fortnight though off the tree: the ladies of the court uſe it amongſt their wearing apparel.

The Indian lily grows here as in ſeveral other parts of India; the ſhape ſomewhat reſembles the European lily, but is a great deal leſs; it grows on a pretty high tree, is of a white colour, and yields a good ſcent, though a little faintiſh.

Here is a ſmall flower, ſnow white, in ſcent like jeſſamine, but more vigorous; it grows on a low tree, or rather ſhrub. In Perſia there are ſuch great quantities of it, that they load whole ſhips with the water diſtilled from it. Theſe flowers being of no great eſteem among the natives I ſhall paſs them by.

Here are great plenty of ſugar-canes, but they have no great ſkill to refine the ſugar they make from them; however, they do it after their manner, and uſe it, but not after meals, as Taverniere ſaith, for concoction.

Tigers and harts are here, but not many: apes in great plenty: of cows, hogs, hens, ducks, geeſe, &c. there is no want. Their horſes are ſmall, but very mettleſome and lively; and were it not that they are ſo ſeldom rode, and kept too tender, they might be of good uſe and fit for ſervice.

Their elephants are all trained up for war, and are not of that prodigious bigneſs he would make one believe, for I have ſeen larger in Siam; neither are they nimbler than other elephants that are taught to lie down for the rider to mount.

They

They have many cats, but no great mouſers, which defect is pretty well ſupplied by their dogs, which are fit for little elſe.

Birds here are not many, but wild-fowl in abundance.

Near the ſea-ſide and in the city they have a great many muſquetoes, but in the country they are not ſo much troubled with them: thoſe that will be free of them muſt either ſmoke their rooms or lie in cloſe curtains, made of thin ſilks for that purpoſe. The cold northern wind drives them away, and frees the country of thoſe tormentors for a while.

What he ſaith of the white emmets is true: this vermin is very miſchievous; in Siam hardly any houſe is free from them, ſo that merchants are forced to make hearſes, and to rub the feet thereof with oil of earth (which ſcent they cannot endure), in order to ſecure their merchandize.

The way of pickling hen or duck eggs, as Taverniere deſcribes, is true, but theſe eggs ſerve only for ſauces, and not to be eaten otherwiſe.

## CHAP. IV. — *Of the Riches, Trade, and Money of the Kingdom of Tonqueen.*

THE chief riches, and indeed the only ſtaple commodity, is ſilk, raw and wrought: of the raw the Portugueſe and Caſtilians in former days, the Hollanders lately, and at preſent the Chineſe, export good quantities to Japan, &c.: of their wrought ſilks the Engliſh and Dutch expend the moſt.

This kingdom has no lignum aloes at all but what is imported by foreign traders.

Muſk we have here, brought from Bowes and China annually; ſometimes the quantity of five or ſix peculls, ſometimes leſs; neither have they any gold but what comes from China. Their ſilver is brought in by Engliſh, Dutch, and Chineſe trading to Japan. They have iron and lead mines which afford them juſt enough of thoſe minerals to ſerve their occaſions.

Their domeſtic trade conſiſts in rice, ſalt fiſh, and other ſuſtenance; little raw and wrought ſilk for their own wear. They likewiſe drive a commerce with Bowes and Ai, though with no great profit, by reaſon of high expences and large preſents to the eunuchs, who command the avenues; nor do the Chineſe that paſs thoſe ways fare better, being often exacted upon, and ſometimes ſtripped of all they have by the ravenous mandareens. And ſince it is one of the policies of the court not to make the ſubjects rich, leſt they ſhould be proud and ambitious, and aſpire to greater matters, the King connives at thoſe diſorders, and oppreſſes them with heavy taxes and impoſitions; and ſhould he know that any perſons were to exceed the ordinary means of a private ſubject, they would incur the danger of loſing all on ſome pretence or other; which is a great diſcouragement to the induſtrious, and neceſſitates them to bury their wealth, having no means to improve it.

As for foreign traders, a new comer ſuffers, beſides hard uſage in his buying and ſelling, a thouſand inconveniences; and no certain rates on merchandizes imported or exported being impoſed, the inſatiable mandareens cauſe the ſhips to be rummaged, and take what commodities may likely yield a price at their own rates, uſing the King's name to cloak their griping and villanous extortions, and for all this there is no remedy but patience.

Yet ſtrangers that are experienced here are leſs ſubject to thoſe irregularities and oppreſſions, eſcaping their clutches, though not without ſome trouble and coſt: in a word, the Tonqueen trade is at preſent the moſt faſtidious in all India, wherefore I wonder our author ſhould ſay it is a great pleaſure to deal with them; for if you bar-

gain for any thing, and are likely to loſe thereby, you are ſure to bear the loſs. Nothing almoſt is ſold but upon truſt for three or four months time, and yet then you run the hazard to loſe what is ſo ſold, or at leaſt to undergo a thouſand troubles for the recovery of the debt, and at laſt are likely to ſuffer, either in bad coin or unmerchantable goods. This defect and diſorder in trade proceeds more from their indigency and poverty than from any thing elſe; for there is not a Tonqueeneſe merchant that has or had ever the courage and ability to buy the value of two thouſand dollars at once, and to pay it upon the nail. But, after all, the Tonqueeneſe are not altogether ſo fraudulent, and of that deceitful diſpoſition, as the Chineſe; it may be by reaſon they are inferior to them in craft or cunning.

There is this further difference between theſe two nations; a Tonqueeneſe will beg inceſſantly, and torment your purſe ſufficiently, if you have buſineſs with him, whereas a Chineſe is cruel and bloody, maliciouſly killing a man, or flinging him into the ſea for ſmall matters.

Another occaſion of hindrance and ſtop to trade is, that they permit the greater part of what ſilver comes into the country (commonly a million of dollars per annum) to be carried to Bowes and China, to be exchanged for copper caſh, which riſes and falls according as the Chova finds it agree with his intereſt; beſides, this caſh will be defaced in few years, and conſequently not current, which grand inconvenience cauſes conſiderable loſſes to merchants, and ſignal prejudice to the public. Thus goes the ſilver out of the country, and no proviſion is made againſt it, which is very bad policy.

And though the Chova values foreign trade ſo little, yet he receives from it, embarraſſed as it is, conſiderable annual incomes into his coffers, as taxes, head-money, impoſitions, cuſtoms, &c. But though theſe amount to vaſt ſums, yet very little remains in the treaſury, by reaſon of the great army he maintains, together with ſeveral other unneceſſary expences. In fine, it is pity ſo many conveniences and opportunities to make the kingdom rich and its trade flouriſhing ſhould be neglected; for if we conſider how this kingdom borders on two of the richeſt provinces in China, it will appear that, with ſmall difficulty, moſt commodities of that vaſt empire might be drawn hither, and great ſtore of Indian and European commodities, eſpecially woollen manufactures, might be vended there; nay, would they permit ſtrangers the freedom of this inland trade, it would be vaſtly advantageous to the kingdom; but the Chova (jealous that Europeans ſhould diſcover too much of his frontiers, by which certainly he can receive no injury) has, and will probably in all times to come, impede this important affair.

They have no coin but copper caſh, which comes from China as aforeſaid. Gold and ſilver they caſt into bars, about fourteen dollars weight, and they are current amongſt them.

## CHAP. V. — *Of the Strength of the Kingdom of Tonqueen.*

THE kingdom of Tonqueen might be reckoned very formidable, were the ſtrength wholly to conſiſt in the number of men; for the ſtanding force cannot be leſs than one hundred and forty thouſand, all well trained up, and fit to handle their arms after their mode; and they can raiſe twice that number on occaſion: but ſince courage in the men is to be likewiſe attended to, we cannot eſteem them very formidable, being of dejected ſpirits and baſe diſpoſitions, and their leaders being for the moſt part capadoes, and want their manhood.

The

The general may muſter up about eight or ten thouſand horſe, and between three or four hundred elephants: his ſea force conſiſts in two hundred and twenty galleys, great and ſmall, more fit for the river than the ſea, and rather for ſport and exerciſe than war. They have but one gun in the prow, which will carry a four-pound ſhot; they have no maſts, and are forced to do all by ſtrength of oars; the men that row ſtand all expoſed to great or ſmall ſhot, and other engines of war. They have about five hundred other boats, called twinquaes, which are good and ſwift to ſail, but too weak for war, being only ſewed together with rattans; however, they ſerve well enough for tranſportation of proviſions and ſoldiers.

In one of theſe boats I was forced to go to Siam the laſt year, with three other gentlemen in company with me, we being left by a Chineſe, in whoſe junk we had taken a paſſage, on an iſle on the weſternmoſt part of the bay of Tonqueen, where we were forced to this ſhift; yet, thanks be to God, we got our paſſage in twenty-three days, to the admiration of all that knew of it.

They are likewiſe provided with guns and cannons of all ſorts, as alſo calibres, ſome of them of their own fabric, but the greateſt part bought of the Portugueſe, Dutch, and Engliſh, and ſtored with other ammunition ſuitable to their occaſions.

But to return to the condition of the ſoldiery of Tonqueen: it is a very toilſome and laborious ſituation, and of little advantage; once a ſoldier and always a ſoldier; and hardly one in a thouſand riſeth to preferment, unleſs he be very dextrous in handling his weapons, or ſo fortunate as to obtain the friendſhip of ſome great Mandareen to preſent him to the King. Money may likewiſe effect ſomewhat, but to think of advancement by mere valour is a very fruitleſs expectation, ſince they rarely find occaſion to meet an enemy in open field, and ſo have no opportunity to improve themſelves or diſplay their proweſs; not but that ſome few have, from mean beginnings, mounted to high preferment and great dignity by ſome bold achievement; but this being extraordinary, is not to be generally reckoned upon.

Their wars conſiſt in much noiſe and great trains; ſo they go to Cochin-China, look on the walls, rivers, &c.; and if any diſeaſe or ſickneſs happens amongſt their army, ſo as to carry off ſome few of their men, and they come within hearing of the ſhouts of the enemy, they begin to cry out a cruel and bloody war, and turn head, running, *re infecta*, as faſt as they can home. This is the game they have played againſt Cochin-China more than three times, and will do ſo in all probability as long as they are commanded by thoſe emaſculated captains called capons.

They have had amongſt themſelves civil wars, wherein they contended for ſuperiority; and he that has been the cunningeſt has prevailed always againſt him that has been valiant; but in former days, when they fought againſt the Chineſe, they have ſhowed themſelves bold and courageous, but it was neceſſity that forced them to it. The general will ſometimes take delight in ſeeing his ſoldiers exerciſe, either in his arſenal, or with his galleys on the river; and ſometimes, when he finds a ſoldier to exceed his companions, it may be he gratifies him with the value of a dollar in caſh.

The ſoldiers have very ſmall pay, not above three dollars in a year, beſides rice, except thoſe of the life guard, who have twice as much; they are free of all taxes, and are diſperſed among the Mandareens; which Mandareens have certain aldeas aſſigned them, which pay an income to them for the maintenance of the ſoldiers.

Caſtles, forts, ſtrong holds, citadels, &c. they have none, nor do they underſtand the art of fortification, and make but ſmall account of our ſkill therein; though they have ſo little reaſon to depend, like the Lacedemonians, on the bravery of their ſoldiers.

## CHAP. VI. — *Of the Manners of the People of Tonqueen.*

THE people of Tonqueen are rather of a working and turbulent ſpirit, though cowards, than naturally mild and peaceable, ſince quiet and concord can hardly be maintained amongſt them, without a heavy hand and ſeverity; for they have often conſpired and broke out in open rebellion. True it is, that ſuperſtition, to which the meaner ſort are miſerably addicted, did further the evil very much, and drove them headlong to the precipice, no leſs than ambition; but perſons of great note, or mandareens of quality, are very ſeldom found to be embarked in thoſe dangerous attempts, and rarely aim to make themſelves heads of public factions, which, queſtionleſs, proceeds from the little credit they give to thoſe fictions and fopperies of their blind fortune tellers, who delude and miſlead the ignorant and ſuperſtitious vulgar, and from this their conſciouſneſs, that their folly and perfidiouſneſs will hardly fail to meet with deſerved deſtruction.

They are not much given to choler, yet are addicted to the far worſe paſſions of envy and malice, even to an extreme degree. In former times they had in great eſteem the manufactures of ſtrange countries, but now that paſſion is almoſt worn out, and only a few Japan gold and ſilver pieces, and European broad cloth remain at preſent in requeſt with them. They are not curious to viſit other countries, believing they can ſee none ſo good as their own, and give no credit to thoſe who have been abroad, when they relate what they have ſeen.

They are of happy memory and quick apprehenſion, and might prove of eminent abilities by good and due inſtructions. Learning they love, not ſo much for its own ſake, but becauſe it conducts them to public employs and dignities. Their tone in reading is much like to ſinging. Their language is full of monoſyllables, and ſometimes twelve or thirteen ſeveral things are meant by one word, and have no other diſtinction but in the tone, either to pronounce it with a full mouth, heavy accent, preſſing or retaining voice, &c. and therefore it is very difficult for ſtrangers to attain any perfection therein.

I do not find any difference between the court language and the vulgar, except in matter of ceremony and caſes of law, where the China characters are uſed as the Greek and Latin ſentences among our learned.

Both the ſexes are well proportioned, rather of ſmall ſtatures and weak conſtitutions, occaſioned perhaps by their intemperate eating and immoderate ſleeping.

They are generally of brown complexion, like the Chineſe and Japaneſe, but the better ſort and women of quality are almoſt as fair as the Portugueſe and Spaniards.

Their noſes and faces are not ſo flat as the Chineſe; their hair black, and if long it is reckoned an ornament; both men and women without diſtinction wear it down as long as it will grow; but ſoldiers when they are in their exerciſes, and handicraftſmen about their trades, put it up under their caps, or tie it in a great roll on the top of their heads. Both boys and girls, when they are paſt ſixteen or ſeventeen years of age, black their teeth as the Japaneſe do, and let their nails grow as the Chineſe, the longeſt being accounted the fineſt, which has place among perſons of quality and thoſe of wealth only.

Their habit is long robes, very little differing from thoſe of China, and not at all reſembling the Japan garb, or the picture in Taverniere's deſcription, where he makes them to wear girdles, a mode that theſe people are ſtrangers to.

They

They are forbidden by an old tradition the wear of hoſe and ſhoes, except the literadoes (literati) and thoſe that have taken the degree of Tuncy or doctor; however, at preſent the cuſtom is not obſerved ſo ſtrictly as formerly.

The condition of the vulgar ſort is miſerable enough, ſince they are impoſed on by heavy taxes, and undergo ſore labour; for the males at eighteen, and in ſome countries and provinces twenty years of age, are liable to pay the value of three, four, five, ſix, and ſeven dollars per annum, according to the goodneſs and fertility of the ſoil of their aldea or village; and this money is gathered in two ſeveral terms, as April and October, being the harveſt of the rice. From this tax are exempted the royal blood, the King's immediate ſervants, all public miniſters and officers of the kingdom, together with the literadoes or learned men, from a Singdo upwards: for the latter are obliged to pay half tax; all ſoldiers and military perſons, with a few others that have obtained this fredom, either gratis or bought it for money, which exemption is granted only for life, and is purchaſed of the Chava, or general: yet thoſe that deſire the continuation of the ſaid privilege, may have their patent renewed for a moderate ſum of money, by the ſucceeding Prince, who ſeldom denies to grant them their redemption on ſuch an account; but merchants, though they live in the city, are rated in the aldeas or villages of their anceſtors and parents, and are liable beſides to the vecquun, or lords ſervice of the city, at their own expences, and are obliged to work and drudge themſelves, or hire another in their room, to perform what the governor orders, whether it be to mend the broken walls, repair the banks and ways of the city, dragging timber for the King's palaces, and other public buildings, &c.

The handicraftſmen, of what profeſſion ſoever, are bound to this vecquun ſix moons in the year, and receive nothing, nor dare they demand any thing for their labour in all that time; it depends on their maſters' (the Mandeereens) direction and bounty, to allow them the charges for their very victuals; the other half year they are allowed to make uſe of for themſelves and family, and it muſt be ſuppoſed to be hard enough with them, eſpecially if they are burdened with many children.

As for the poor aldeans, who inhabit barren ſoils, and therefore are unable to pay their taxes in rice or money, they are employed to cut graſs for the General's elephants and horſes; and though their ſtations and villages be often very remote from the place where they fetch the graſs, they are obliged to bring it by turns the whole year on their own expences to the city.

By what is ſaid, it appears with what politic maxims this Prince keeps his ſubjects poor and needy; and, in truth, it ſeems to be neceſſary enough; for if their proud turbulent ſpirits were not kept in the bounds of their duty and allegiance with a ſtrong rein, they would often forget themſelves: however, every one enjoys what he gets by his own induſtry, and may leave his eſtate to his heirs and ſucceſſors; always provided, that the rumour of his wealth ſounds not ſo loud as to charm the General's ear.

The eldeſt ſon's portion is much larger than the reſt of the children of the deceaſed: the daughters have ſome ſmall matter allowed them, yet can claim but little by law, if there be an heir male.

And as the Tonqueeneſe are ambitious of many dependants and opulent kindred, ſo they have a cuſtom among them to adopt one another, both ſexes indifferently, to be their children, and of their family; and thoſe ſo adopted are obliged to the ſame duty as their own children, viz.

At feſtival times to ſombey and preſent them; to be ready on every occaſion in their ſervice; to bring them the firſt fruits of the ſeaſon, and the new rice at harveſt;

to contribute to the ſacrifice made to ſome of the family, as the mother, brother, wife, &c. or near relations of the patroun, that are dead, or ſhall die. To theſe and ſeveral other expences, they are obliged ſeveral times in the year, at their own coſt; and as this is the obligation of the adopted, ſo the patroun takes care to advance or promote them, according as occaſion and their power will admit, defending and protecting them as their own children; and when the patroun dies, they have a legacy almoſt equal to the youngeſt children; and they mourn for the patroun as for their father and mother, though they be both alive.

The manner of adopting is thus: he that intends to be adopted, ſends to acquaint the perſon of whom the requeſts that favour with his intention, who, if content therewith, returns a ſatisactory anſwer; upon which the ſuppliant comes and preſents himſelf before him, with a hog and two jars of arrack, which the patroun receives of the party, who having made four ſombeys, and given ſatisfactory anſwers to ſome queſtions, he is adopted.

Strangers who reſide here, or uſe the trade, have often taken this courſe, to free themſelves from thoſe vexations and extortions which they uſually meet with from ſome inſolent courtiers. I myſelf was adopted by a Prince, who then was preſumptive and now heir apparent to the general, and had his choap or chop, which is his ſeal. I always gave him preſents at my arrival from a voyage, which chiefly conſiſted in foreign curioſities. This Prince, though he be of a generous noble mind, and had an extraordinary kindneſs for me, yet I was not the better for him in my troubles; for on the deceaſe of his grandfather, it pleaſed God to viſit him, in the height of his proſperity, with madneſs, which was the overthrow of my buſineſs, by incapacitating him to protect me in my greateſt trouble and neceſſity, but lately I underſtand he is recovered again.

The aldeans, or villagers, for the moſt part are ſimple people, and ſubject to be miſled by their over much credulity and ſuperſtition. The character that is given of ſome other nations is applicable enough to them, that is, they are either extraordinary good, or extreme bad.

It is a great miſtake, that the people of Tonqueen live out of pleaſure or choice in their boats upon the rivers, when mere neceſſity and indigence drives them to that courſe of life; for to run from port to port, and from one village to another with wife and children, to look out for a livelihood, in a ſmall boat, cannot be very pleaſant, although they do not know here what a crocodile means.

The largeſt of the Tonqueeneſe rivers has, as I ſaid before, its ſource in China, and the great rains there in the months of March, April and May, cauſe the waters to deſcend here with that incredible rapidity (this country being without compariſon lower than China) as threatens banks and dams with deſtruction; ſometimes the waters will riſe ſo faſt, and ſwell to that degree, as to over top moſt barricadoes, all human induſtry notwithſtanding, drowning thereby whole provinces, which cauſes lamentable diſorders, and great loſſes both of men and beaſts.

## CHAP. VII.—*Of the Marriages of the Tonqueeneſe.*

THE Tonqueeneſe cannot marry without the conſent of their father and mother, or of the neareſt kindred. When a young man comes to the age of ſixteen, eighteen or twenty, his father and mother being reſolved to get him a wife, make their application to the parents of the party they deſign for him, carrying with them an hundred dreſſed beetles in a decent box, one jar of arrack, or ſtrong liquor, and a live hog; under

under favour of ſuch a preſent only this is to be propoſed. The friends of the maid ſeeing the viſitants thus prepared, and knowing by the cuſtom of the country whereto it tends, give fitting anſwers to the queſtion in hand, according to their inclinations; for if they are unwilling it ſhould be a match, they find their ſubterfuges and excuſes, by pretending their daughter's youth, and inability to take upon her the burthen of a houſehold; and that, however, they will conſider of the matter further hereafter, and the like compliments; wherewith they and their preſents are ſent back again.

But in caſe they are content to beſtow their daughter on the young man, the preſent is readily accepted of, with expreſſions of their approbation of the buſineſs; and then immediately, without any other formality, they conſult and agree about the moſt auſpicious time, in which they are guided by their blind ſuperſtition, for the ſolemnization of the wedding. In the meantime the parents of the bridegroom ſend often preſents of victuals to the bride, and viſit her now and then, yet the young people are not permitted ſo much as to ſpeak to each other,

At the prefixed time the wedding is kept with a feaſt, agreeable to the condition and abilities of the parents of the young couple, which doth not laſt above a day. The ceremony of their marriage is barely this: in the afternoon of the day that precedes the wedding, the bridegroom comes to the bride, and brings with him, according to his quality, either, gold, ſilver, or a quantity of caſh, the more the greater honour, and victuals prepared, all which he leaves there, and retires to his own home. The next morning being the wedding day, the bride is dreſſed in her fineſt robes, with bracelets of gold pendants, &c.; her parents' acquaintance and ſervants are ready to conduct and wait on her to the bridegroom's, whither ſhe goes about ten o'clock in the forenoon, with all this train attending her, whilſt all her moveables, houſehold ſtuff, and whatever elſe her father and mother give for her portion, together with what ſhe had of the bridegroom, is carried in great ſtate, and for a more glorious ſhew, it paſſes in a long field before her and the whole company, all which enter the bridgeroom's houſe, who receives her and them with kindneſs and courteſy, after their mode, and preſents them with victuals prepared for the purpoſe, whilſt muſic and other expreſſions of joy are not neglected: and this is the whole ſolemnity of the wedding, without any farther formalities of either magiſtrate or prieſt, as our author talks.

Polygamy is here tolerated; however, that woman whoſe parents are of the greateſt quality is chief amongſt them, and has the title of wife.

Rapes, and the like, are not known, much leſs practiſed in this country. The law of the land permits a man to divorce his wife, but the woman has not the ſame privilege, and can hardly obtain a ſeparation, againſt the good liking of the huſband, unleſs ſhe be of a family that is able to compel him to it, by mere authority. When the huſband deſigns to repudiate his wife, he gives her a note, declaring under his hand and ſeal that he has no more pretenſions to her perſon, and that ſhe is free to diſpoſe of herſelf as ſhe finds occaſion, which liberty capacitates her to marry another; neither would any perſon dare to pretend to her, without being certain of the ſaid note, for fear of her former huſband, who in that caſe can claim her again, and thereby embroil ſuch a one in the labyrinths of the law, and recover a good ſum of money from him.

The woman ſo repudiated, when ſhe departs from her huſband, may take along with her the ſame quantity of gold, ſilver, caſh, &c. as he brought to her houſe at the time of his eſpouſing her. The children born during the time of their mutual cohabitation the huſband keeps; but their Mandareens ſeldom, and only on urgent occaſions or for capital offences, will deal thus ſeverely with their wives, yet their concu-

concubines are thus ſerved on every light occaſion, when the humour takes them to make an exchange, or that they are ſatiated with their perſons. Among the meaner ſort, when a man and his wife diſagree, and mutually deſire a ſeparation, they are divorced in the preſence of ſome ſmall judge and public officers, by mutual diſcharges in writing; but the village huſband, that cannot write nor read, breaks a copper caſh, (this country money) or a ſtick, in the preſence of his wife, as a teſtimony of his reſolution to diſmiſs her; the one of the half he keeps himſelf, the other he gives to her, which ſhe carries to the heads and elders of the aldea, or village, requeſting them to bear witneſs her huſband had diſcharged her of her duty to be any longer his wife, and that he has nothing more to pretend to her for ever; ſo ſhe may either keep or throw away the piece of caſh, or ſtick, and marry again as ſoon as ſhe pleaſes.

As for adultery, if a man of quality ſurpriſes his wife in the fact, he may freely, if he pleaſes, kill her and her paramour with his own hands; otherwiſe the woman is ſent to be trampled to death by an elephant; the adulterer is delivered to the juſtice, who proceeds with him to execution without any farther delay. But with the meaner ſort of people it is not ſo; they muſt go to law, where the offenders will have ſevere puniſhment inflicted on them, if they are proved guilty of the crime.

The ſtory that M. Taverniere relates to have happened whilſt his brother was at Tonqueen, is not at all agreeable to the cuſtoms of this people, or congruous with their diſpoſitions; wherefore, in all probability, it is only a fiction.

## CHAP. VIII.—*Of the Viſits and Paſtimes of the Tonqueens.*

THEIR viſits are generally made in the afternoon. It is uncivil to come to any great man's houſe before dinner, unleſs neceſſitated by urgent buſineſs, or expreſsly invited, becauſe they then have the leaſt time to ſpare; for in the morning very early they go to court to attend the general, which attendance takes them up till eight o'clock; when they come home, they employ themſelves awhile in ordering their domeſtic concerns among their ſervants, if more important ſtate affairs will permit it; the little ſpace that remains between that and dinner is reſerved for their retirement and repoſe.

The Princes, or great Mandareens, ride either on elephants, or are carried in a hangmack, and followed by moſt their ſervants, ſoldiers, dependants, &c. that are not otherwiſe occupied in ſuch a ſeaſon, which is more or leſs numerous, according to the degree of the perſon's dignity; thoſe of leſſer rank ride on horſeback, and are followed by as many as they are able to maintain, without limitation, which uſually is not above ten perſons, but to be ſure all that can muſt go, for they are very ambitious of many attendants.

If he that gives the viſit is of greater quality than the perſon viſited, he dares not to offer him any thing of meat or drink, no not ſo much as a beetle, unleſs he calls for it. Their water and beetle is always carried with them by their ſervants.

In diſcourſing with them, eſpecially if the perſon be of authority, care muſt be had not to move any mournful ſubject, either directly or indirectly; but things that are pleaſant, in commendation of them, are beſt approved. But that which is moſt intolerable in theſe lords is, that they permit the men of their train (a rude brutiſh gang) to enter with them into the moſt private apartments of other people's houſes, eſpecially when they come to viſit Europeans, where they behave themſelves very apiſhly, and commit many abſurdities and impertinencies in their talk and jeſtings;

and moreover often ſteal whatever they can lay hold on; in all which their ſtupified maſters rather take delight, than check them, for their faucineſs and miſdemeanors. But if they are invited by their ſuperiors or equals, then they entertain them as they find occaſion, either with tea or meat, &c. not omitting beetle, which is always the firſt and laſt part of the regale. The boxes wherein the beetle is preſented, are generally plain lacquered, either black, red, or ſome grave colour; yet the gentry, and the Princes and Princeſſes of the royal blood, have them in maſſy gold, ſilver, tortoiſe ſhell, or inlaid with mother of pearl; the painted and gaudy ones are only uſed at their ſacrifices in their pagodas. But ſuch rich boxes as M. Taverniere avers to have ſeen, to have the value of four and five hundred thouſand livres, at the Great Mogul's court, were certainly no Tonqueen ones; for diamonds, rubies, emeralds and other jewels do not grow in this country, neither are they in requeſt among the natives; nor could that have been brought thither by any Tonqueen ambaſſador, ſince the Kings ſend none thither, nor is there the leaſt commerce between the two nations.

They ſeldom viſit ſick perſons, and they hardly care to admit any but their kindred and relations to put them in mind of death, how deſperate ſoever their ſtate may be, and the leaſt admonition to ſettle their affairs and concerns would be a heinous crime and unpardonable offence; ſo that thoſe that die make no will, which defect often creates vexatious lawſuits among the kindred, if the deceaſed leaves no children behind him, even to the ruin of their own eſtates, and the loſs of what they contend for.

In the halls of great men's houſes are ſeveral alcoves, where they ſit croſs-legged upon mats, according to their degree, the higher the more honorable; and theſe ſeats are all covered with mats, anſwerable in fineneſs to their ſtations, except in time of mourning, when they are obliged to uſe courſe ones. As for carpets they have none, neither can they afford them; wherefore I wonder at our author's ſaying, that the mats are as dear as a fine carpet, which at the cheapeſt coſts from thirty to fifty rupees and upwards in Perſia and Surat; whereas the beſt and fineſt mat may be bought here for the value of three or four ſhillings at the moſt; neither do I believe any European, beſides himſelf, has ever ſeen a Tonqueen mat nine ells ſquare, and as ſoft as velvet: however, this is like the reſt of his fables. As for cuſhions, theſe people uſe none, either to ſit or lie on; but they have a kind of bolſter made of reeds or mats, to ſleep or lean on.

As for their victuals they are curious enough therein, though their diet does not generally pleaſe ſtrangers. The common ſort muſt be content with green trade, rice, and ſalt fiſh, or the like; the great lords may if they pleaſe feed themſelves with the beſt in the land.

I can make no compariſon for neatneſs between the Europeans and them, in their houſes, wherein they have but little or no furniture more than uſual in the meaneſt cots, ſometimes tables and benches, ſeldom chairs. They uſe neither table cloths nor napkins, nor do they want them, ſince they do not touch their meat with their fingers, but uſe two ſticks, as the Chineſe and Japaneſe do. All their victuals are ſerved in little plates and diſhes, not made of wood, and then lacquered and varniſhed over, as M. Taverniere affirms, but of China and Japan wares, which are in eſteem here. Perſons of quality or condition uſe a kind of formality and decency at their feaſts; but as for the reſt, as ſoon as they are at the bandeſes, which are ſmall lacquered tables, they do not ſo much as mind any diſcourſes; and this not out of good manners or reverence to the aged and grave perſons, but a greedy deſire to fill their guts, they

they being generally great eaters and true epicures; alſo they may be afraid to loſe their ſhare by prating, whilſt others make all the ſilent haſte they can to empty the platters and diſhes. I have often ſeen the followers and attendants of Mandareens at the like ſport; and uſed to admire their eating both for quantity and greedineſs, in which I believe no nation under the cope of heaven can match them.

As for drinking, though the clowns and meaner ſort ſeldom fall under the exceſs and debauchery of ſtrong drink, yet amongſt the courtiers and ſoldiers drunkenneſs is no vice. A fellow that can drink ſmartly is a brave blade. It is no cuſtom of theirs to waſh their hands when they go to table, only they rince their mouths, becauſe of the beetle; yet after meals, they often waſh both; and having cleanſed their teeth with a piece of bamboo, prepared for the purpoſe, they eat beetle. At a friend's houſe the entertained may freely, if he pleaſe, call for more boiled rice, or any thing elſe, if he is not ſatisfied, which the hoſt takes very kindly. They do not aſk one another how they do, but compliment them with a "Where have you been thus long?" and "What have you done all this while?" And if they know or perceive by their countenance that they have been ſick or indiſpoſed, then they aſk "How many cups of rice they eat at a meal?" (for they make three in a day, beſides a collation in the afternoon, amongſt the rich and wealthy), and "Whether he eats with an appetite or no?"

Of all the paſtimes of the Tonqueeneſe, they affect moſt their balls, ballads, and ſinging, which are for the moſt part acted in the night and laſt till morning, and are what M. Taverniere calls comedies; a very improper name, and reſembling them in no reſpect; much leſs are they ſet out with beautiful decorations and machines, as he ſays, very pleaſing to behold; and they are as ſkilful to repreſent ſea and river water, and marine combats thereon, as they are able to deſcribe the fight in 1588, between the Engliſh and the Spaniards; neither have they in the city any theatres to act upon, but every Mandareen's hall, and the yards of other houſes, muſt ſerve in turn: yet in their aldeas they have ſinging houſes, erected at the expence of three, four, or more aldeas, or villages; and in this they celebrate their feſtival times, ſinging and banquetting after their mode. The actors of one houſe are ſometimes three, four or five perſons; their fees are no more than a thouſand caſh, to the value of about a dollar, for a whole night's labour: but the liberal ſpectators give them preſents, as often as they perform any thing dexterouſly. They are uſually habited in country taffeties, palong, ſatin, and the like. They have but few ſongs, and not above five different tunes, and thoſe compoſed moſt in praiſe of their Kings and generals, interſperſed with amorous interjections and poetical elegance. The women only dance, and ſhe that dances muſt ſing too, and will be between whiles interrupted by a man that plays the part of a jeſter, who is generally the wittieſt mimick they can find, and ſuch a one as is able to make the company laugh at his inventions and poſtures. Their muſical inſtruments are drums, copper baſons, hautboys, guittars, with two or three ſorts of violins, &c. Beſides this, they have another kind of dancing, with a baſon filled or piled up with ſmall lamps lighted, which a woman ſets on her head, and then dances, turning, winding, and bowing her body in ſeveral ſhapes and figures, with great celerity, without ſpilling a drop of oil in the lamps, to the admiration of the ſpectators; this act will laſt about half an hour.

Dancing on ropes their women are alſo expert at, and ſome will perform it very gracefully.

Cock-fighting is a mighty game amongſt them, ſo that it is become a princely

ſport, and much in faſhion with courtiers. They loſe much that lay againſt the general, for right or wrong he muſt and will win, whereby he impoveriſhes his grandees, ſo that they are not able to undertake any thing.

They delight much in fiſhing, and have the convenience of many rivers, and infinite ponds.

As for hunting, there is ſcarce a wood or foreſt proper for this exerciſe, in all the country, neither are they expert in that ſport.

But their grand paſtime is their new-year's feaſt, which commonly happens about the 25th of January, and is kept by ſome thirty days; for then, beſides dancing and the recreations aforeſaid, all their other ſorts of games, as playing at football, ſwinging on an engine erected of bamboos, at moſt corners of the ſtreets, tricks of bodily activity, and a kind of hocus-pocus, are brought on the ſtage, to encreaſe merriment; neither are they behind-hand to prepare their feaſts and banquets plentiful and large, ſtriving to outdo each other therein, for the ſpace of three or four days, according to their ability; and as this is indeed the time to gormandize and debauch to exceſs, ſo he is accounted the moſt miſerable wretch that doth not provide to welcome his friends and acquaintances, though by ſo doing he is certain to beg the reſt of that year for his livelihood.

The firſt day of the year the ordinary ſort do not ſtir abroad, unleſs they are dependants of ſome lords, but keep themſelves cloſe ſhut up in their houſes, admitting none but their neareſt relations and domeſtics; to others they would deny, on that day, a draught of water, or a coal for fire, and be very angry too at any one's making ſuch a requeſt, ſuperſtitiouſly believing its conſequence would be to ſubject them to infallible malediction; and that if they ſhould give any thing that day, it would be their bad deſtiny to give continually, and beggar themſelves thereby at laſt. Their reaſon for not ſtirring abroad proceeds from the ſame cauſe, which is, fear to encounter with ſome ominous thing or other that might preſage evil to them that day which would make them unfortunate all the year; for they obſerve ſuperſtitiouſly many frivolous niceties, as good and bad luck. But the ſecond day of the new year they go to viſit each other, and acquit themſelves of their duty and obligations to their ſuperiors, to ſombey them; as likewiſe do their ſoldiers and ſervants to them. But the mandareens go the firſt day to the King and general, of which they are as careful obſervers as the others are ſharp and preciſe exactors of this attendance.

Some reckon their new year from the 25th of their laſt moon, but very improperly; their ground for it is, becauſe the ſup unu, implying as much as the great ſeal reverſed, is then put into a box, with the face downward, for a whole month's time, and in that interval the law is, as it were, laid aſleep, and no acts whatſoever paſs under the ſaid ſeal; all courts of judicature are ſhut up; debtors cannot be ſeized on; ſmall crimes, as petty larceny, fighting, beating one another, &c., eſcape with impunity; only treaſon and murder the governors of the city and province take account of, and keep the malefactors priſoners till the grand ſeal comes to be active again, to bring them to their trial, &c. But their new year more properly begins at the firſt of their new moon, which falls out uſually about our 25th of January as aforeſaid, and laſts, according to the China cuſtom, one whole month.

By what is related it appears how exceſſively our author has hyperbolized on theſe paſſages, eſpecially where he commends the Tonqueeneſe for laborious and induſtrious people, prudently employing their time to the moſt advantage, which in ſome degree may be granted in the women, but the men are ſo lazy and idle generally, that were

they not, by mere neceſſity, compelled to work, I verily believe they would be glad to ſpend their time only in eating and ſleeping; for many will ſurfeit themſelves by overgorging their ſtomachs, feeding as if they were born only to eat, and not to eat for the ſupport of life chiefly.

It is alſo a miſtake to ſay the Tonqueeneſe deem it a diſgrace to have their heads uncovered; for when an inferior comes to a mandareen, either upon buſineſs or ſome errand from a mandareen, he has always his black gown and cap on, and the mandareen receives him bare; but if the meſſenger comes with an order from the King, verbal or in writing, then they dare not hear the meſſage, or peruſe the note, without putting on their gown and cap. Of this more will be ſaid when I come to ſpeak of the court of Tonqueen.

As to criminals, they are ſhaved as ſoon as they are condemned to die, becauſe they may be known and apprehended if they ſhould chance to outrun their keepers, which is a different thing from being uncovered, which M. Taverniere talks of. So likewiſe to nail malefactors on croſſes, or to diſmember them by four ſmall galleys that row ſeveral ways, are torments unheard of in this country.

## CHAP. IX. — *Of the learned Men of Tonqueen.*

THE Tonqueeneſe have a great inclination for learning, becauſe it is the only ſtep to acquire dignity and preferments, which encourageth them to a ſtudious and diligent application to learning, which is often attended with good or ill ſucceſs, as in other countries, according to their ſeveral talents, and as they are endued with vivacity, ſpirit, and more eſpecially as they are furniſhed with a good or bad memory, which is the chief requiſite for muſtering that ſort of learning which is in repute in this country, which, conſiſting moſtly in hieroglyphic characters, whereof they have as many as words or things, requires a very retentive memory. Hence it is that ſome ſcholars are fit to take degrees upon them after twelve or fifteen year's ſtudy, others in twenty-five or thirty, many not in their life-time.

They may, as ſoon as they think themſelves able or capable, adventure their trial, without either obligation to continue longer a ſcholar or limitation of years. Nor have they any public ſchools, but every one chuſes ſuch a preceptor for his children as he fancies at his own coſt.

Their learning conſiſts not in the knowledge of languages, as among us in Europe, much leſs are they acquainted with our philoſophy; but they have one Confucius, a Chineſe (or, as the people call him, Congtu), the founder of their arts and ſciences, which are the ſame with thoſe of the Chineſe. This man compoſed himſelf but one book, but he compiled four others from the works of the ancient Chineſe philoſophers, containing moral and political precepts, with their rites and ſacrifices, &c. Moreover, his diſciples have, out of his works, extracted divers rules, ſentences, and ſimilies fit for the ſtate in general, and every perſon in particular; all which is collected into one volume, divided into four parts, and entitled The Four Books, which, with the five before mentioned, make nine books, and are the ancienteſt they have, and of that reputation, that they will admit no contradiction whatſoever againſt them; and theſe are the ſole foundation of the learning not only of the Chineſe and this nation, but alſo of the Japaneſe, ſome ſmall differences excepted.

The ſaid books comprehend likewiſe the greateſt part of their hieroglyphical characters, the multitude of which none can eaſily affirm, yet they reckon ninety or a hundred

hundred thouſand, becauſe their learned have a way of compounding and connecting them to ſhrink that number; and as it is not neceſſary for the vulgar ſort to know ſo many, ſo very few do, and twelve or fourteen thouſand is ſufficient for uſual writing.

They are wholly ignorant of natural philoſophy, and not more ſkilled in mathematics and aſtronomy: their poetry I do no underſtand, and their muſic I do not find very delightful and harmonious; and I cannot but wonder by what faculty M. Taverniere has diſcovered them to be the moſt excellent of all the oriental people in that art.

Having thus confuſedly mentioned a word or two in general of their learning, I return to the ſcholars. They muſt, in the acquiſition of employ and dignity (I do not ſay nobility, for the cuſtom is here, that all the honours die with the perſon, and deſcend not to his poſterity), paſs through three degrees: the firſt, of a ſingdo, ſomething like the bachelors in Europe; the ſecond a hung-cong, reſembling our licentiates; the third degree is a tuncy, equal to the degree of doctor with us.

Out of theſe doctors they chuſe the ableſt and elect him trungiveen, which is as much as to ſay, a preſident, or profeſſor of learning.

And indeed the election of theſe literadoes is managed with the moſt commendable policy and juſtice that I know of among them; for whereas, in all other things, they are ſwayed by corruption, partiality, or private paſſions, in the diſtribution of theſe degrees they reſpect ſingularly the deſerts of perſons, ſince no man can obtain any of them, unleſs he is found worthy thereof, by a ſtrict and moſt exact examination.

The order and method obſerved in the promotion of ſingdos, or bachelors, is this: once in three years it is cuſtomary for the King and general to nominate two or three tuncies, with ſome wene quan, or juſtice of peace, who has the degree of hung-cong, to be examiners of the deſigned academy in that province where the election is to be made (for in this they proceed from one province to another by turns), whither they repair immediately on receiving their commiſſion. Great care is taken that none ſpeak with thoſe to be examined on the way, or receive any bribes of them. Being arrived, they take up their lodgings in houſes built of bamboos and ſtraw, encompaſſed with a wall of the ſame materials, leaving a ſpacious empty place in the midſt thereof for a theatre. The tuncies are preſently ſeparated from the wene quan and the reſt in diſtinct apartments, and are not to ſpeak one with the other during their functions, ſtrict guards being kept at the ſeveral doors, and all comers in or out are ſearched for papers, writings, &c. If any is found to have tranſgreſſed herein he is rigorouſly puniſhed and loſes his dignity.

In the morning of the day preſcribed for the commencing of the ſaid examination, all the ſtudents reſort to this place, where they find an officer, who exhibits to them five ſhort ſentences, written in capital letters, whereof every one, as many as there are, may take copies; which being done, they are all ſearched for papers or other writings, and then placed on the bare ground of the yard aforementioned, at good and equal diſtance, and many watches are ſet, that none comes to ſpeak with them.

Thus they ſit to write their themes, which they muſt finiſh before evening; neither muſt the ſaid anſwer contain more than twenty-four ſides of paper; and as every one brings in his, he faſtens to it, on a particular ſheet, his name, the names of his parents and village, which the tuncies tear off, and mark the anſwer and paper of names with the ſame number, which are put up ſeverally, according to their provinces and aldeas.

All the papers being thus ſerved, the tuncies ſend them to the wine quan (the names of their authors being kept into cuſtody of another officer) to be examined, who throws

out all the bad, and ſends the good ones to the tuncies again. They, upon a ſtrict review, put out a great many more, ſo that ſometimes of four or five thouſand pretenders, only one thouſand are approved of the firſt time; the ſecond, perhaps, no more than five hundred; and, on the laſt proof, only three hundred are to be graduated bachelors. Such as have behaved themſelves well in the firſt trial their names come out in public within eight or ten days after, to be prepared for the ſecond examination; and thoſe whoſe names are thus thrown out need not ſtay, for they cannot be admitted that ſeſſions any more. In the ſame manner they continue the ſecond and third trial, only their taſk at the ſecond trial is but of three ſentences, and the anſwer twelve ſides; the laſt of two ſentences, and its reply eight ſides, but more difficult than the former. Whoſoever paſſes theſe trials is declared bachelor, and has his name regiſtered among thoſe of the ſame rank in the book of ſtate, and from that time they pay but half the taxes which they were rated at before, and likewiſe enjoy ſome other petty immunities.

Now follows their manner of electing the hung-congs, or licentiates: theſe are ſelected out of the bachelors, more or leſs, as the King pleaſes to order; they are examined by the ſame officers, and created alternately in the place aforeſaid where the bachelors were. If they can overcome but one proof more, which is the fourth, including the three preceding of the ſangdoes, or bachelors, they become licentiates. The formality uſed in this proceeding is in a manner the ſame with the former, only they and their examiners are ſtill more ſeverely watched, and they are not permitted to ſee or ſpeak with any of the competitors; they are ſeparated and diſtant enough from each other when they write their meditations, &c.: and all thoſe hung-congs of former creation muſt leave, at that time, the province where the ſchool is held, by repairing to the capital city, and abide there till the end of the act; many ſpies are ſet over them, and they are numbered every day. The like care is recommended to the governors of the other provinces about the ſaid hung-congs during the ſolemnity, to prevent frauds and deceits in that behalf.

The examiners propound three ſentences out of their book of their prince of philoſophers, Confucius, and four more out of the volumes of his diſciples; the arguments of ſo many orations, which the candidate is to anſwer with ſo many themes in writing, which is to be in an elegant and ſententious ſtyle, and adorned with the beſt of their rhetoric, the more conciſe the better.

The examiners then reject the worſt and preſent the beſt, who are to proceed to the tuncies, or chief examiners, and they chuſe thoſe that are to be admitted graduates, and expoſe their names with much ceremony. The privileges and immunities of the licentiates are far greater than the bachelors; beſides, they have the honour to be preſented to the King, who gives to each of them one thouſand ſmall pieces of coin, about the value of a dollar in money, and a piece of black calico for a gown, worth about three dollars more.

The laſt, or third degree, called tuncy, anſwerable to our doctors, is conferred every fourth year, at the capital city or court of the kingdom, in a particular palace, with marble gates, formerly the beſt in the country, but now, through age, much decayed. The choiceſt and learnedeſt of the hung-congs, or licentiates, are only admitted to this trial: of many competitors few are ſucceſsful. Their examiners are the King himſelf, the Princes, and moſt eminent doctors of the realm, with other principal magiſtrates. This trial is in moſt circumſtances like the two former, except in the queſtions propounded, which are both of greater number, and more intricate, grave, and ſpecious, being commonly the moſt difficult part of their ethics, politics, and

and civil law, and ſomething of poetry and rhetoric, all which they are to expound and reſolve in writing, at four ſeveral times, in the ſpace of twenty days, and he that doth it is admitted doctor. This is no eaſy taſk, conſidering what a burthen it is to the memory to retain all the characters of the four laſt of the nine books of Confucius, which neceſſarily they muſt have, word for word, by heart, to acquit themſelves well therein.

They write their themes and meditations on the exhibited ſentences in a cloſe cage, made of bamboos, for that purpoſe, and covered with calico, wherein they ſit from the morning to night, being ſearched, that they have nothing about them but pen, ink, and clean paper; and to watch them the narrower, two doctors, or tuncies ſit at a good diſtance from them under umbrellas. Thus they are ſerved at four diſtinct times, before they are made tuncies, or doctors. The King and general honour this ſolemnity with their preſence the two firſt days, as the moſt important, and leave the compleating thereof to the miniſters. Thoſe thus graduated are congratulated by their friends, applauded by the ſpectators, and honoured by their brother doctors with many complimental expreſſions; the King preſents each of them with a bar of ſilver, of the value of fourteen dollars, and a piece of ſilk, beſides the revenue of ſome aldeas, or villages, for their maintenance, which is more or leſs, according to favour or deſert, and they are feaſted at the public expence of their aldeas for ſome time. Out of theſe the principal magiſtrates of the kingdom are choſen, and they are ſent ambaſſadors to China, and are permitted to wear Chineſe boots and caps, with their proper veſt.

The rejected licentiates may, if they pleaſe, continue their ſtudy, and try fortune again; if not, they are capable of ſome magiſtracy in the country, as juſtice of peace, head of an aldea, &c.

The bachelors have the ſame privilege; and thoſe that are unwilling to make any further progreſs in learning may find likewiſe employment, if they have money, among the governors of the provinces, in the courts of juſtice, or as clerks, ſtewards, ſecretaries, or ſolicitors to the mandareens; and, in all this, an eloquent tongue is not ſo requiſite as a good pen.

Such fire-works as M. Taverniere mentions theſe people to be exquiſite in the making of, I have met none all the time I frequented this country, nor any other ſorts, unleſs it be ſquibs, or the like. And as for thoſe machines, or change of ſcenes, in every act of their comedy, they may be long enough ſought after, but will never be found here, wherever he ſaw them.

In aſtrology, geometry, and other mathematical ſciences, they are but little ſkilled, but they underſtand arithmetic reaſonably well; their ethics are confuſedly delivered, not digeſted into formal method, as is their logic.

## CHAP. X. — *Of the Phyſicians and Diſeaſes of the Tonqueeneſe.*

EVERY one that pleaſes may be a phyſician at Tonqueen, and indeed every one almoſt is his own doctor, whereby this noble ſcience is become the public practice of the very dregs of the nation, to the diſgrace of the public in tolerating it.

Their principal ſtudy in this ſcience conſiſts only of the examination of ſome Chineſe books, that direct them how to boil and compound their roots, herbs, and ſimples, with ſome obſcure notions of their ſeveral qualities, nature, and virtue, but generally ſo confuſed, that they know little or nothing until they add thereto their own experience. They underſtand hardly any thing of anatomy, or the nature and compoſition

of

of men's bodies, with the diviſions of the ſeveral parts thereof, which might lead to all to form a judgment of the diſeaſes incident to the human ſyſtem, but attribute them the blood, as the principal cauſe of all the diſorders that befal the body, and therefore conſider no further the conſtitution or temper in the application of their remedies; and with them it is enough to ſucceed well in three or four cures, though by mere chance (for they are hardly ever able to give a reaſon for what they do), to get the reputation of an excellent medicus, which oftentimes, as it encreaſes their practice, ſo gives them a greater power to kill their fellow creatures. Their patients are generally very impatient under the hands of their doctors, who, if he doth not afford them preſent eaſe and ſpeedy cure, they ſend for other help, and ſo often go from bad to worſe, till they are either well or killed, for want of patience on one ſide, and judgment on the other.

Theſe people generally, on viſiting a patient, feel the pulſe in two places, and that upon the wriſt, as the Europeans; but they muſt be the Chineſe phyſicians whom M. Taverniere extols for their ſkill in the pulſe; and I own that ſome of that nation excel in it, but the far greater number are mere pretenders to this art, and affect to amuſe the patient by oſtentatious conjectures and conceited and confuſed notions, to inſpire a belief of their ſkill in diſcovering thereby the cauſe of diſeaſes, and ſo gull the credulous patients of their money, and oftentimes their health to boot.

Theſe people have no apothecary among them; every one that profeſſes the art of phyſic prepares the doſe himſelf, which conſiſts, as I mentioned, in the compoſition of herbs and roots boiled in water.

The peſtilence, gravel, and the gout are hardly known in theſe countries: fevers, agues, dyſenteries, the jaundice, ſmall-pox, &c. reign here moſt, to all which they adminiſter the ſaid drugs for remedies, ſometimes with deſired ſucceſs, wherein more is to be aſcribed to the patient's own cure, ſparing diet and abſtinence (in which they are moſt ſingular, occaſioned perhaps by their more than common fear of death), than the ſkill and judgment of the phyſicians.

The grandees drink the herb tea of China and Japan, but it is not much admired; they uſe moſt their native tea, called by them chia-bang, the leaf of a certain tree, and chiaway, the buds and flowers of another certain tree, which, after they are dried and roaſted, they boil and drink the liquor hot; the laſt is of a good pleaſant taſte. Beſides theſe two ſorts they have many other ſorts of liquor, made of beans, roots, &c.

I need not here deſcribe the quality and virtue of the China and Japan tea, ſince they are ſo well known in England, and moſt other parts of Europe; only I will note how groſsly M. Taverniere was miſtaken to prefer the Japan tea before that of China, when, in the choice of them, there is above 30 per cent. difference.

Phlebotomy, or blood-letting, is rarely practiſed amongſt this people, and when they do it, it is not after our way, in the arm, and with a lancet, but on the forehead, and with the bone of a fiſh tied to a ſmall ſtick, in form like the horſe-fleams in England; which inſtrument is applied to the vein of the forehead, then they give thereon a fillip with a finger, and the blood guſhes out. Their grand remedy is fire in moſt diſtempers, which is uſed as they ſee cauſe, not regarding therein either the time of the day or night preciſely. The matter wherewith they burn is the leaf of a tree, well dried, and then beaten in a mortar until it grows almoſt like to our beaten hemp, and this they take and fix on every place to be burnt (for they do it in many places at the ſame time), ſo much as will lie on a farthing, ſtriking each parcel with ink of China at the bottom, that it may ſtick to the ſkin; then they fire it with a match of paper. Many account this a ſovereign remedy; how true I cannot affirm; however,

I am certain that it puts the patient to a great torment, and that our uſe of letting blood is but a flea-bite in compariſon of it.

But moſt common and frequently amongſt them cupping is uſed, becauſe cheap and eaſier. Their way here is much after the ſame manner as ours in Europe, only that they have calabaſſes inſtead of glaſſes.

Of anatomy they underſtand nothing, as I ſaid before, and of ſurgery little, admiring much our Europeans' art in that behalf. To broken bones they apply certain herbs, which they ſay will heal them in the ſpace of twenty-four days, and cement them as ſtrong as ever. They have another remedy, which is to take the raw bones of hens, and beat them to powder, making thereof a paſte, which, applied to the part affected, is eſteemed by them a ſovereign medicine.

Their little children are ſo much ſubject to dangerous obſtructions, which deprive them of the benefit of nature, both by ſtool and urine, cauſing their bellies to ſwell ſo that often their lives are endangered thereby. Their remedy for this is, cock-roches and onions roaſted and beaten together; this they apply to the navel of the child, which is often attended with good ſucceſs.

Theſe people affirm, that crabs are turned into ſtones by the power of the ſun, and uſe them as phyſic, but not in fevers and dyſenteries. Moreover, they take up by the ſea-ſide a kind of cockles, which being beaten to powder, they drink in the cholic.

## CHAP. XI. — *Of the original Government, Law, and Policy of the Tonqueeneſe, with ſome Conſiderations thereon.*

IT is without all diſpute that the Tonqueeneſe ever were a nation of themſelves different from the Chineſe, who call them Munto, or Barbarians, and their country Gannam, becauſe ſituated far to the ſouth, in reference to them, and the inhabitants bearing a great affinity with other Indians in eating penany, colouring their teeth, going barefoot, and that their right great toe ſtandeth athwart from their foot, as is to be ſeen yet by ſome of the Tonqueen caſt. But how this country was governed before it was made a province of China is hard to know, ſince they had in thoſe days no characters, by conſequence no hiſtory of that time can be extant among them; what was afterward compiled thereof may be ſuſpected as fictious, invented at pleaſure; and indeed they are moſt of them ſo unaccountable, that they ought rather to be looked upon as dreams and chimeras than hiſtorical narrations; neither is there much appearance of verity in thoſe relations of theirs, which make this people ſo valiant, that they were not only able to contend with but vanquiſh alſo the formidable armies of the prodigious empire of China, and maintain their liberty in ſpite thereof for many ages; but it is moſt likely that they have ſet the beſt face in their narrations upon their actions, that they might not hand themſelves down to poſterity and to ſtrangers in the baſe light which it ſeems to me their cowardice and ill conduct have deſerved.

They pretend they have had the uſe of the Chineſe characters amongſt them before the reign of Ding, one of their firſt kings, according to their beſt hiſtorians, which, by computation, cannot be leſs than two thouſand years; if ſo, I infer they were once before either conquered, or voluntary ſubjects to that empire, becauſe the China laws, rites, cuſtoms, character, &c. could have been neither of that antiquity, or ſo entirely and all at once introduced among them, as it was by their own teſtimony; beſides, this agrees with the China chronicles, that mention about the ſame time their empire was in great glory, calling it a triumphant one, whoſe limits extended as far as Siam; therefore

therefore there is no reaſon to believe, this neighbouring kingdom could have remained unmoleſted, ſince it lies as a bar, juſt in the way to hinder and obſtruct their progreſs, but rather that it was immediately incorporated with their empire.

Yet it may be, the Chineſe did not keep the country the firſt time long under ſubjection, but left them on the invaſion of the Tartars, or on ſome other motives, ſo that after their departure Ding was King. Now, whether they made him ſo, or whether he uſurped the regality, by the aſſiſtance of great numbers of vagabonds, and other ſcum of the nation, is differently delivered. They ſay that King Ding had enjoyed the ſceptre but a ſmall time, before the great ones murmured againſt him; the malcontents finding the common people diſobedient, whoſe affections, whether he had loſt by cruel and harſh uſage, or that they diſdained to be any longer ſubject to their contryman, as it commonly falls out with people accuſtomed to ſervitude, to be incapable of uſing well their new recovered liberty, (with other occult motives and malignant influences that cauſed the effects of thoſe diſtractions,) they fell into open rebellion, and took arms againſt Ding, whom they murdered; whereon enſued bloody civil wars for many years, till being weary, they choſe by general conſent, a puiſſant Prince of theirs, called Leedayhang, for their King.

In his reign, they ſay the Chineſe invaded the country, not mentioning for what reaſon; probably they were Chineſe rebels that fled thence, and that this people fought many battles againſt them with good ſucceſs. Yet, in the height of this war Leedayhang dying, whether in battle or otherwiſe is uncertain, left to his ſucceſſor Libatvie, a politic and valiant Prince, the proſecution thereof, which he carried on with no leſs valour than proſperity; for having encountered and routed the Chineſe in ſix or ſeven battles, he reſtored peace and tranquillity to the whole kingdom, and built that large and magnificent palace of marble, which is now through age ſo decayed that nothing but the gates and ſome of the walls of that ſumptuous ſtructure remain.

They ſay, that after this King, his poſterity poſſeſſed the crown to the fourth or ſixth generation ſucceſſively, and ruled in great proſperity; but the laſt left the ſucceſſion to a daughter, having no heir male, which Princeſs coming to the crown, married a powerful lord of the family of Tran, who ruled with her jointly but few months; for another of their grandees, called Hue rebelled againſt them, and having vanquiſhed them in battle put them to death, and aſcended the throne himſelf.

He governed not long, for the people conſpired againſt him; for what cauſe I cannot find: it may be ſuſpected, that he uſed bad means for the maintaining of his unjuſt poſſeſſions; and having called the Chineſe to their aſſiſtance, they killed the uſurper, and withal loſt their own freedom, for the Chineſe ſhewed themſelves true auxiliaries, in ſeizing the whole kingdom for a reward of their labour and victory.

A Chineſe viceroy or general was then ordered over this people, to govern them as formerly, which continued for the ſpace of ſixteen years, when they began to be weary of the Chineſe oppreſſions and inſolence, and withal commemorating their former condition, they reſolved unanimouſly to endeavour to free themſelves from the Chineſe yoke, and accordingly took arms under the leading of a valiant captain, by name Lee, and fought with the Chineſe, and routed them in ſeveral battles, killing many of them, with their viceroy or general Luetang; which diſaſter, with the charges of the war abroad and civil commotions at home, and the ſmall profit this country yielded, were perhaps the motives why the China Emperor Humcew thought convenient to quit it again, which is now about four hundred and fifty years ago. Having therefore impoſed on them certain conditions, and taken ſecurity for their faithful preformance, viz. to come every three years, once to the imperial city, Pekin, with ſeveral preſents,

which they call tribute, and to do homage to the Emperor, in acknowledgement that they hold this their kingdom and liberty of his mere grace and bounty, he withdrew his troops from Tonqueen; and theſe conditions are punctually obſerved to this very day.

Among the preſents, they are to carry images of gold and ſilver, made in the poſture of criminals, denoting that they are ſuch to the China empire, for the murder of Luetang the aforeſaid General, and that they are to remain evermore, ſupplicants to that court for the ſaid offence. The Kings of Tonqueen have likewiſe their choap or ſeal from the Chineſe Emperor, as a mark of their dependency. And though this formality be a mere piece of Chineſe vanity, yet they make no little ado about it. This year (1683) came here an ambaſſador from the imperial court of Pekin, to bring the title for a Bova, that had been inaugurated above eight or nine years before; he was received with all the pomp and magnificence that the general could deviſe, or was capable to put in practice, and that not out of love, but mere oſtentation, to ſhew the Tartars his grandeur and puiſſance. They had preſented to their view a great number of ſoldiers, richly clothed in Engliſh and Dutch manufactures, moſt of their elephants and cavalry in their beſt furniture, gilded gallies, &c. But for all this, the ambaſſador did not deign to viſit his Highneſs; as indeed no ambaſſadors of that empire ever do, making of him no other account than as a plebian uſurper, obſcure in compariſon of their emperors.

But to return: the Chineſe having thus forſaken the country, Lee was proclaimed King, who reigned ſeveral years, and his family enjoyed the ſceptre afterwards uninterrupted, for the ſpace of above two hundred years, and then Mack uſurped the crown. This man was of a low and vile original, born about Batſhan, a fiſher village, at the river's mouth, where the European ſhips enter it: he was a wreſtler by profeſſion, and ſo dextrous therein, that he raiſed himſelf to the degree of a mandareen, or lord. But his ambition, that aſpired higher, could not be ſatisfied with any other condition, but the ſovereignty itſelf, and accordingly he conſpired againſt the King, and effected his deſign rather by crafty practices and ſtratagems than force.

Having thus uſurped the crown, he fortified Batſhan and other places, becauſe of his many enemies, eſpecially of Hoawing, a mighty and powerful Prince, in the province of Tingiva, of whom he moſt ſtood in fear, ſince he was in open defiance of the uſurper. This Hoawing married his daughter to Hoatrin, a man of ſingular ſtrength and valour, who had been formerly a notorious robber, and made him general of his forces, and when he died, left him the guardianſhip and tuition of his only ſon, at that time about fourteen or fifteen years of age. Hoatrin having gotten the forces of his deceaſed father-in-law at his devotion, made open war againſt Mack, and after many petty encounters, with various ſucceſs, at laſt overcame him. The uſurper finding himſelf reduced to a nonplus, was neceſſitated to fly for his ſecurity to Cabury, a kingdom on the frontier of China, and ſubject to this King, formerly inhabited by a kind of wild people. But Hoatrin came immediately after the victory of Cocha, the metropolis, and having firſt demoliſhed the fortifications of Mack, he made proclamation, if there was any heir male of the houſe of Lee, he might freely diſcover himſelf, promiſing to place him on the throne of his anceſtors, and proteſted he had taken arms for that end; and accordingly, when a youth of the houſe of Lee was brought to him, he expreſſed much joy, placed him on the throne with abundance of readineſs, and owned him his ſovereign, ordering every one to pay obedience to Lee, lawful King of Tonqueen, &c., and for himſelf he reſerved the title of Chova, or general of all the forces. This was to the infinite diſcontentment of his pupil the young Hoawing, who

did not dream but that his brother-in-law, would have converted all the effects of his father's forces and army, with the profperous fuccefs thereof, to his particular ufe, greatnefs, and advancement, by excluding the orphan; but he was deceived in his account; for Hoatrin having previoufly made the requifite provifion for the fettlement of the government, he fent a peremptory letter to his brother-in-law, requiring his obedience to this Prince of the houfe of Lee, or by default, to declare him a rebel and open enemy to the ftate. This occafioned a civil war and a rent in the kingdom of Tonqueen; for young Hoawing, although he was not againft Lee, yet could he not endure to think that Tring fhould make himfelf general, efteeming that place more juftly to belong to him: but finding he was too weak to refift the power of Tring, and to remain fo near as Tingwa is to the city of Cacho, he thought it the fafeft way to retire to Cochin-China, where he was joyfully received by thofe governors and foldiers, who immediately elected him Chova, or general, to Lee, their lawful Bova, or king, proclaiming Tring a traitor and rebel; fo that ever fince, now above two hundred and twenty years, this kingdom has remained divided under two lieutenant-generals, with royal authority; both own Lee as King and ruler, according to their antient laws, cuftoms and rights, but are mortal enemies, and wage continual war againft each other.

I return now to Tring, and fee why as victor he did not afcend the throne, and take upon him the name and title of a King. Certainly it was not for want of ambition, or altogether out of modefty and fenfe of juftice, that he did not accept of any higher title than that of general; but it was in confideration of two very fpecious reafons: for fhould he affume the crown and royal title to himfelf, he would be regarded as an ufurper, and expofe himfelf to the general hate and envy of the natives, and more efpecially to the perfecution of Hoawing, who would be able, under the moft juft and plaufible pretexts, to work his ruin and extirpation. The other motive was his apprehenfion, that the Chinefe Emperor fhould be againft him, as knowing he was a ftranger to the royal race of the Kings of Tonqueen; whereby Tring would involve himfelf in a torrent of troubles, and be, probably, the caufe of his own perdition; therefore he thought it was the fecureft way to fet up a Prince of the houfe of Lee, with only the bare name of King, and referve the royal power for himfelf; and indeed all that belongs to the fovereign refides in the Chova, for he may make war or peace as he thinks fit, he makes and abrogates laws, pardons and condemns criminals, he creates and depofes magiftrates and military officers, he impofes taxes, and orders fines, according to his pleafure; all ftrangers make their application to him, except the ambaffadors of China; and in a word his authority is not only royal, but abfolute and unlimited; wherefore the Europeans call him the King, and the true King is called for diftinction's fake, the Emperor; whilft the Bova or King is fhut up in his palace, attended by none but fpies of the Chova; neither is he permitted to ftir abroad more than once a year, and that on the great folemnity of their annual facrifices, &c. As for the reft, he ferves only to cry amen to all that the general doth, and to confirm for formalities fake, with his choap, all the acts and decrees of the other; to conteft with him the leaft matter would not be fafe for him; and though the people refpect the Bova, yet they fear the Chova much more, who is moft flattered becaufe of his power.

The general's place is like the King's, hereditary, the eldeft fon fucceeds the father; yet often the ambition of the brothers has occafioned commotions and civil broils, aiming to fupplant each other; therefore it is a common faying amongft them, that the death of a thoufand Bovas doth not endanger the country in the leaft; but when the

the Chova dies, every one's mind is poſſeſſed with great tremors, and heavy conſternation, expecting fearful changes in ſtate and government.

This kingdom is, properly, divided into ſix provinces, not reckoning the country of Cubang, and a ſmall part of Bowes, which are maintained as conquered lands, that people being of a different language and manner from the Tonqueeneſe; and five of the ſix provinces are governed by their particular governors, which at preſent are all eunuchs, with ample power; but he that rules in Giang, the frontiers of Cochin-China, the ſixth province, is a kind of viceroy, or lieutenant-general, and the militia under him are not leſs in number than forty thouſand ſoldiers. His authority is in a manner abſolute, from whom there is no appeal, except in caſes of high treaſon, to the ſupreme court of the kingdom. This viceroy is uſually a perſon of great favour, and much confided in by the general, who, to oblige him the more, marries either his daughter or ſiſter to him: it would be of ill conſequence to the whole kingdom, eſpecially to the general, if this man ſhould revolt to Cochin-China.

In former times they had eunuchs to govern this province too, but ſince the trick the Cochin-Chineſe put on one of them, they have not placed there any more as governors in chief. The jeſt was thus: the Cochin-Chineſe, who hate theſe kind of creatures, and never employ any of them in buſineſs of importance, eſpecially in the militia, knowing the Capon-viceroy of that province was appointed generaliſſimo for the expedition in hand againſt them, they ſent him, in contempt, a breaſt-piece of ſilk, ſuch as is worn by their women, for a preſent, deſiring him to make uſe of it; giving thereby to underſtand, that ſuch a dreſs and ornament better became him than either to command ſoldiers or to govern provinces, &c. as approaching ſo near the female ſex.

The governors of provinces have for their ſeconds a literado mandareen, or lawyer, to aſſiſt them in civil government and adminiſtration of their laws, who ſit with the governors in public courts of juſtice: beſides this, each province has its ſeveral inferior courts of judicature, and one among the reſt that is independent of the governor's authority, the judges whereof have their characters immediately of the ſovereign court of the Quan fo Lew, at Cacho.

In ſmall controverſies of property, of grounds, houſes, debts, or the like, they proceed thus: a man that has an action againſt another gives his complaint in to ongſhaw, or the head of his aldea, who takes ſome cognizance of the matter, and brings it before the wean quan, head of twenty, thirty, or forty aldeas, or villages, where the plaintiff and defendant are heard, and then ſentence is given. But if one of the parties be not content to ſtand to this award, he appeals to the foe quan, head of eighty, one hundred, or one hundred and fifty aldeas, where the matter is examined, with the ſentence of the wean quan, who, as he finds cauſe, paſſes his ſentence. And in caſe this does not ſatisfy them, the ſuit is brought before the provincial governor, where it receives its final determination, without further appealing, provided the matter is of no great importance, as I ſaid before; but if the debt is conſiderable, or the pretenſions ample, &c. they may appeal from the governor to inga hean, a court as is noted above, which the provincial governors have no juriſdiction over. In this tribunal a tuncy, of the claſs of the firſt literadoes, always preſides, and from thence the ſuit may be removed to the ſeveral courts of the city, if they are firmly reſolved, by proſecuting the law, to ruin each other; and although the judges cannot hinder the parties appealing from one court to another, yet, if two different courts give the like ſentence on one and the ſame cauſe, then the court from which the appeal is made has the privilege to inflict ſome corporal puniſhment on the appellants, or fine them, as is ordained by law.

Criminal cafes, as theft, or the like matters, belong wholly to the governors of the province, who puniſh immediately ſmall offences; but ſuch as deſerve death, their ſentences are ſent to the general, to have his conſent for the execution thereof.

The quarrels of the great ones come generally to the city of Cacho; but the names of all the courts, and the preciſe methods of proceſs, I cannot exactly affirm. However, I think they begin with the courts called Guan Key Dow, then an appeal lies to Quan Gay Chue, and, in caſe of great moment, petition being made to the general, he remits the cauſe at laſt for a reviſe to Quan fo Lew, who hold their aſſize in the general's palace. The perſons who compoſe this college are moſt of them old literadoes, reputed wiſe, and ſuch as have been preſidents of the chief courts of judicature, and known, or at leaſt ſuppoſed to be of great integrity and honeſty, and exalted to be principal miniſters and counſellors of ſtate, on whoſe care and prudence repoſes the whole weight of the civil government and laws of the kingdom.

Quarrels indifferently about ground, houſes, &c. in and about the city, belong to the court called Quan fu Doven, where all ſuch differences are decided; but the party may appeal to Quan gnue Suo, and thus ſucceſſively to Quan fo Lew, by way of petition.

Rebellion and conſpiracy againſt the general, &c. falls under the cognizance of the court of Quan fo Lew, and the governors of the city put their ſentences or decrees in execution, who are as much as preſidents of life and death of the city and its juriſdiction; but more immediately appertain to them all cauſes of murder, theft, and other like crimes, both to judge and puniſh the offender without further appeal.

They are the rebels that come before the general with a wiſp of ſtraw in their mouths, after they have made their peace and obtained pardon, to ſhew that, by their diſorderly life, they have made themſelves equal to brute beaſts; but not thoſe guilty of murder, as Taverniere is pleaſed to aſſert.

The Chineſe laws are in uſe amongſt them, which indeed may be conſidered as their civil and written law; but the temporal edicts, ſtatutes, and conſtitutions of their princes and chiefeſt doctors, intermixed with their old cuſtoms, are of greateſt force, and, in a manner, the whole directory of the government, and the rule of the people's obedience; all which are committed to writing, and digeſted into ſeveral books, that make at preſent their body of law; and, to give this people their due, they ſhew much more good nature and honeſty than the Chineſe, or Ariſtotle himſelf, in that reſpect, where both their laws tolerate, nay, command the expoſing of all maimed, deformed, and female children, which are maxims that theſe people abhor as unnatural and brutiſh.

With no leſs diſdain they reject that law of their neighbours which encourageth the moſt execrable and abominable vice, not fit to be named. Queſtionleſs their primitive legiſlators were wiſe and good-intentioned politicians: but how commendable ſoever thoſe inſtitutions were, yet the miſery of human imperfections, degeneracy by length of time, multiplicity of lawyers, together with the daily increaſe of other petty officers, have brought juſtice now to that corruption, that for money moſt crimes will be abſolved, ſince there are few of their judges but what are ſubject to bribes.

Juſtice thus betrayed and perverted, even by its officers, has brought the country into much diſorders, and the people under great oppreſſions, ſo as to be involved into a thouſand miſeries; and woe be to a ſtranger that falls into the labyrinths of their laws, eſpecially into the clutches of their capon-mandareens, to be judges of his particular affairs; for to them it commonly happens in the like caſes that matters are referred, and he muſt look for nothing leſs than the ruin of his purſe, and be glad if he eſcapes

without being bereaved of his ſenſes too; whereof I could alledge many examples of my own knowledge, to my woeful experience, were it to the purpoſe.

Having thus amply ſpoken of their laws and their manner of proceeding therein, it remains now to conſider the other ſtate column as it ſtands at preſent, their policy, in which is very remarkable their great veneration for the family of their lawful Kings, whoſe title, though an empty one, is uſed in all their writings. The Chovas are exceedingly to be commended for their religious obſerving their promiſes to maintain both the royal ſtock, and the laws and conſtitutions of the land, and to innovate nothing therein, though repugnant to the intereſt of their uſurped power.

To this is owing chiefly that we ſee the heir of the crown permitted to live after he is ſtripped of his rights and royal authority; a thing, I believe, that has no where an example, and is not to be found in the hiſtories of any other nations, and may ſound like a ſtrange paradox in the ears of the politicians of other countries. Nor is it altogether the fear of China that ties the general's hands ſo as not to be able to inſtigate him againſt the King, nor ignorance of the power of thoſe temptations which generally the luſtre of a diadem inſpires in the minds even of ſuch as have no reaſon to pretend to it; nor are they ſtrangers to the practices of other oriental monarchs, who retain their poſſeſſions by what means ſoever they acquire them, though it be by the perverſion of juſtice and honeſty, and the ſubverſion and violation of all laws human and divine.

But in truth, we may ſay, theſe generals were moderate, and that of thoſe qualities proper to tyrants, as ambition, covetouſneſs, and cruelty, this laſt was never found predominant in them; whereof their brothers, who are often entruſted with important employs, as governors of provinces, the conduct of armies, &c. are both convincing proofs and manifeſt arguments. They are, in ſhort, too generous to follow the maxim of killing them for their own imaginary ſecurity.

One prince indeed I knew who was poiſoned by order of his brother the general; but the neceſſity, if one may ſo ſay, was ſo urgent, that there was no other way in that exigency to preſerve his own life, as it will be noted in the next chapter.

Their method of promoting ſcholars to their ſeveral degrees, which I have already mentioned, is both regular and juſt, and a great encouragement to learning and the well-deſerving therein.

The often removing their mandareens from their government is good prudence, to prevent plots and conſpiracies; but as there is no government but what has its defect as well as its perfection, ſo this is not wanting in both qualities; and it is certainly a great weakneſs in their politics, as it is a needleſs charge to the public to maintain ſuch a great army idle, as they do in time of peace, and muſt needs be a mighty burthen to the commonalty, who feel the weight moſt.

The general is likewiſe ſhort in not making timely proviſion for the great numbers of his people, ſince their daily increaſe will make them too numerous and incapable of living together, therefore it would be a good expedient to find ſome outlet for thoſe ſuperfluous humours, for fear they might in time cauſe ſome violent convulſion in the ſtate, which perhaps might irretrievably overturn it. The laſt famine, in particular, ſwept away two-thirds of the inhabitants, who, if they had been employed againſt the Cochin-Chineſe, or ſome other hoſtile countries, they might have deſtroyed it with their very hands and teeth.

The over great confidence the general repoſes in the capons, as it is a mean thing, ſo it is contrary to good policy to tolerate ſo much evil as they occaſion in the ſtate, for the ſmall and unjuſt benefits which he receives by their means.

The

The cuſtom of ſelling moſt offices indifferently to ſuch as will pay moſt for them, not regarding condition or capacity of perſons, is certainly a foul merchandize, and a baſeneſs unbecoming the public, eſpecially as to the officers of judicature; for if they buy their places dear, it is likely they will make the moſt advantage thereof, at the expence of right and juſtice.

Their militia, as it is alſo much more numerous than is required in a defenſive war (which is a conduct that for ſeveral years they have thought it their intereſt to obſerve), or befitting peaceable times, ſo it may prove of dangerous conſequence if they ſhould be troubleſome. Some years ago theſe ſoldiers mutinied, and had they then found one to head them, it would have gone very hard with the general, who perhaps might have experienced from them ſome ſuch inſolences and devaſtations as ſeveral Roman emperors met with from their pretorians, and the Turks from their janiſſaries. He doth well to ſhift them from place to place, and change often their commanders, and to keep them in continual labour and action. But the worſt of all is, that the captains of his militia are eunuchs, who, generally, are cowardly fellows; and it is thought their buſineſs has been the grand cauſe of the many overthrows this nation has received of the Cochin-Chineſe, and will be, as long as they are thus employed, always a hindrance in the conqueſt of that ſpot of ground which, in compariſon of them, contains but a handful of men.

They truſt more to their infantry than to their cavalry or elephants, by reaſon the country is low, ſwampy, and full of rivers and brooks, which renders them of ſmall ſervice.

Their ſoldiers are good markſmen, and in that, I believe, inferior to few, and ſurpaſſing moſt nations in dexterity of handling and quickneſs of firing their muſkets.

Firelocks are not in uſe amongſt them, but the bow is mightily in faſhion, in which they are expert to admiration.

In fine, they ſoon learn their exerciſe of arms, and are good proficients therein; but to mount the great horſe is no more with them than the getting aſtride on a common beaſt, which this country produces for the moſt part ſmall, yet very lively.

Their elephants are trained up for war, and emboldened againſt ſome ſort of fire-works and the noiſe of guns, as far as the nature of the creature is capable of. As for artificial fire-works, they are rather ignorant than ſkilful therein.

Their finances, or invention to bring in money to the general's coffers, over and above his annual revenue, are,—by ſale of moſt offices in the kingdom; by the fines impoſed on mandareens and tranſgreſſors; the tenths of all contrabands; conſiderable ſhares out of the eſtates of deceaſed mandareens: but he is heir-general of the eunuchs, or capons, and has in a manner all they leave: add to this his accidental revenue, which comes in by ſtrangers, merchants, &c. (which is more or leſs, according as ſhips and veſſels come to trade in this part); the poll or head money; exciſes on proviſions, and impoſitions on inland merchants' commodities, &c.; ſo that the general's revenues muſt needs amount to a very conſiderable ſum. But ſince this money, for the moſt part, is taken from one to feed the other, the public wealth is nothing bettered thereby, but rather the worſe, foraſmuch as it is the ſweat and blood of the induſtrious, which the lazy and idle often ſpend moſt prodigally and profuſely; alſo for that the oppreſſive taxes do not ſurceaſe thereby; which (together with their proceedings in matters of commerce, which they hold in ſcorn as much as they deſpiſe the traders, neglecting the great convenience they have thereby to render their country rich and flouriſhing, which is the ſtudy of all well-governed nations throughout the world) renders them in the main but a poor and miſerable people.

I have noted this more particularly in the chapter treating about the trade, &c. of the kingdom; ſo referring thereto, I ſhall proceed next to give ſome account of the general and his grandees and court.

## CHAP. XII. — *Of the General of Tonqueen, his Family, Officers, and Court.*

BY what hath been ſaid in the foregoing chapter, it may eaſily be underſtood how far the authority of the Bova of Tonqueen extends, and that the general has really the helm in hand; let us then conſider him as the ſpirit and life of this ſtate. His power is, like that of moſt eaſtern Kings, monarchical in exceſs, yet not ſo tyrannical as many of them, ſince they ever had their laws and old cuſtoms in great veneration, and comported their actions agreeable thereto.

The preſent general is the fourth of the houſe of Tring, in a direct line, that has, as one may ſay, ſwayed the ſceptre over this people. His family was eſtabliſhed in the government as ſoon as Mack the uſurper was ſuppreſſed, and then laid the foundation of their preſent greatneſs. He is aged fifty-three years, and is a ſharp ſubtile politician, but of an infirm conſtitution. He ſucceeded his father in the year 1682, with whom he reigned jointly ſeveral years. He had three ſons and as many daughters by ſundry concubines, but his eldeſt and youngeſt ſons dying, the ſecond, juſt on his grandfather's deceaſe, fell mad or diſtracted, but is now recovered, and has the title of Chu-ta, that is, young general (the uſual title of the eldeſt ſurviving ſon), who keeps his court ſeparate, and almoſt as magnificent as his father, has his mandareens, ſervants, and officers of the ſame denomination, only that in precedency they give place to thoſe of the father; but as ſoon as the prince ſucceeds the general, then his ſervants take place of the others, very few excepted, who often, for their wiſdom and experience, keep their former ſtations.

If the general marries, which ſeldom happens but in their latter years, when there are little hopes of iſſue by the perſon, this lady, as wife, is chief of all his women, and has the name and title of Mother of the Land, becauſe of her extraction, which is always royal; but concubines he takes early, and ſometimes before eighteen; the number not limited; ſometimes three hundred, often five hundred and more, if he pleaſes; for it is an honour to excel therein; and in the choice of them their beauty is not ſo much regarded as their art and ſkill in ſinging and dancing, and playing on a muſical inſtrument, and to have the wit to divert the general with diverſity of pleaſing ſports. Of theſe, ſhe that proves mother of the firſt ſon is honoured, as ſoon as her ſon is declared heir apparent, with the name and title of true and legitimate wife, and though not quite ſo much reſpected, yet far better beloved than the former: the reſt of the concubines that have children by him are called ducha, or excellent woman; his male children, the eldeſt excepted, are ſaluted with the appellation duc-ang, i. e. excellent perſon, or man; the daughters are called batua, which is as much as to ſay princeſs with us; the like titles have his brothers and ſiſters, but not their children, nor his grand-children, except thoſe deſcending from his eldeſt ſon.

For his own children queſtionleſs he provides well, but his ſiſters and brothers muſt be content with ſuch revenues as he is pleaſed to allow them out of the public, which decreaſes in their family as it declines and grows remote from his blood, ſo that thoſe of the fourth and fifth deſcent can expect no ſuch proviſion.

The preſent general has many brothers and ſiſters, but he is not over kind to them, which I take to proceed from his ſuſpicious temper and weakly conſtitution. Moſt of his predeceſſors were otherwiſe inclined; they admitted their brothers to public affairs, and

and conferred on them the titles and power of generals, field marſhals and provincial governors, with the truſt of numbers of ſoldiers, always employing them in honourable charges, and ſuch as became the general's brothers.

As I ſaid before, I could never hear of more than one example amongſt them, of killing a brother in cool blood, and is that of the late deceaſed general againſt Prince Chechening; which, all circumſtances conſidered, can hardly be termed cruelty. The hiſtory runs thus:—

This Chechening was ſecond brother to the deceaſed general, a prince endued with many heroic virtues; his liberality, generoſity and courteous diſpoſition, made him popular, and ſo beloved among the ſoldiers that they would call him their father. A prudent captain he was, and no leſs eminent in valour, for having given the Cochin-Chineſe ſeveral overthrows, he was ſo extremely redoubted, that they called him the Lightning of Tonqueen. His fame thus daily increaſing both abroad and at home, it at length drove him on the rocks and precipices of his brother's envy and jealouſy, which the good Prince perceiving, endeavoured to remove; humbly telling him, he would do nothing but what he ſhould order; and that the good ſucceſs he had in arms proceeded wholly from his wiſe and prudent direction, proteſting and ſolemnly ſwearing, he never did nor would undertake any thing that might in the leaſt be prejudicial to him; and that if the ſoldiers or rabble ſhould dare to offer him his place, he would not only refuſe and abhor it, but puniſh alſo moſt ſeverely the movers of ſuch propoſitions.

This declaration gave for the preſent ſome ſeeming content and ſatisfaction to the general; but a few years after, whether the ground was the envy and jealouſy aforeſaid or that he had done ſomewhat that could be miſconſtrued or ſuſpected, or was falſely accuſed, or whatſoever elſe the matter was, for it is differently reported, the general ſent for him and part of his army from the frontiers of Cochin-China. In obedience to this command, he came to court, where by order of the general, he was immediately clapped in irons, and confined to a certain cloſe priſon near the palace.

In this condition he continued ſeveral years, by which it ſeems his faults were not capital, or at leaſt nothing could be proved againſt him to take away his life; but in the interim, as fate would have it, about the year 1672, the ſoldiers that were in the city of Chacha, a great number, no leſs than 40,000 meeting all at once, and filling every corner thereof with fear and tumultuous noiſes, and driving out thereby its vulgar to their ſeveral aldeas, came with ſad exclamations to the palace gate, yet had ſo much reverence as not to enter: they brought no arms but their hands and tongues, rudely bawling forth their random thoughts againſt the general in opprobrious language, reproaching his ungratefulneſs towards them, and prodigality to his women, whom he permitted to ſquander and waſte the treaſure of the land, while they were ready to periſh in want and miſery, as if he purpoſely deſigned their deſtruction and confuſion by the moſt uneaſy and inſupportable methods of famine and nakedneſs; magnifying their own deſerts in his ſervice, threatening to take ſome ſevere courſe, if he did not enlarge their pay, and diſtribute ſome money among them committing the mean while a thouſand inſolent enormities, hovering round the palace, and encamping at the ſeveral avenues thereof, as if they intended to beſiege the general therein; and in effect none could go out or in without their commiſſion.

In this extremity and ſtreight, the general conſulted with the Quan fo Lew, and other privy counſellors what to do. One of them, a great literado, was of opinion, it was beſt to grant the ſoldiers their deſires, which being moderate they might eaſily be appeaſed, alledging that to quell the country people, when rebellious, it was cuſtomary

to

to uſe the ſoldiers: but to quiet the mutinous ſoldiers, money was the only expedient: but another literado, by name Ong Trungdume, of great fame for his wiſdom, and in high reſpect for his dignity, of a violent reſolute nature, oppoſed the firſt opinion, ſaying it was imprudent, and of pernicious conſequence to indulge a company of mutinous fellows too far; adding that it was much the better remedy to ſeize ſome of the ring-leaders, and put them to death, which would amaze and aſtoniſh the reſt, as to make them ſhift for their ſafety and ſecurity. The general inclined moſt to this laſt advice, for love of his money, yet was doubtful in his reſolution. The ſoldiers having their ſpies in the palace, as he had his among them, had preſently notice of what paſſed, which ſo incenſed them againſt Trungdume, that watching the time of his coming forth the palace to go home, they immediately ſeized him, and treated him in the cruel and barbarous manner an enraged multitude could invent; for having inhumanly bruiſed and beaten him with their fiſts, knees, elbows, knobs of their fans, &c. they trampled the breath out of his body with their feet, and then dead as he was, they drew him ignominiouſly through the ſtreet to the ſandy iſland near the arſenal; where they tore and cut his body into ſmall pieces. This audacious cruelty, together with other notorious affronts put on ſeveral mandareens at the ſame time, plunged the general and his courtiers in divers deep perplexities, and filled them with mortal fears, in ſomuch that moſt began to creep in holes and corners to avoid the rage of this terrible tempeſt, leaving their maſter in a manner deſolate.

The diſcreeteſt among the ſoldiers, finding that they had paſſed the Rubicon, thought there was no retiring, and therefore adviſed their companions to provide themſelves with a head who might guide and order their irregular and tumultuous proceedings, propoſing Prince Chechening as fit for the purpoſe; to which they unanimouſly conſented, and would have fetched him out of priſon that inſtant, and proclaimed him general, but that the night, which was already come on, hindered the enterprize, and cauſed them to defer it to next morning; but the general having item of their intentions, prepared with his own hands a doſe for Prince Chechening, and ſent it him in the dead of the night, by a truſty eunuch, with order that he ſhould drink all the potion. The capon, as ſoon as he came to the prince, after he had made four ſombeys, delivered his errand, and the general's preſent, which the Prince preſently gueſſed to be what it was; but what he ſaid is not well known, only that he made four ſombeys toward the general's palace, and then took off the draught, and in few hours after died. This was the end of Prince Chechening, whoſe virtue was his greateſt crime, the ſoldiers' unſeaſonable love cauſing his untimely death. The next morning he ordered a great quantity of ſilver and copper caſh to be given to the mutineers, quenching thereby in an inſtant the fire of this popular inſurrection: but ſeveral of them periſhed afterwards, few knew how.

It is time now to return from our digreſſion, to take a view of the lords of the blood, mandareens, &c. either civil magiſtrates or military officers, who at the time of their abode in the city, go every morning early to court to wait on the Chova and Prince. The Bova is complimented on the 1ſt and 15th of every moon by them, in their violet or blue garb, with caps of their own callico manufactures, in which they are obliged to clothe their retinue. The Chova receives them in great ſtate, ſitting at a great diſtance uncovered, for the more pomp (unleſs on ſome ſolemnity) his numerous lifeguard in arms in the palace yard, ſurrounded by many capon ſervants, who carry his order and commiſſions to the mandareens, and bring their anſwers, or, according to their method of ſpeaking, ſupplications, which they deliver to him on their knees. In fine, at this time moſt ſtate matters are here handled and diſpatched; the acts and reſolu-

tions of the Quan fo Lew, or ſupreme court (whoſe ſeſſions is in this palace) is preſented to him, to have his approbation thereon. The Prince likewiſe has his ſolicitors near the general (for he himſelf comes hardly once in a moon to court), who gives him notice of all that paſſes, that he may regulate his proceedings accordingly. No buſineſs of requeſts or petitions ſlide in this court except it be greaſed with preſents and gifts anſwerable to the import of affairs.

It is a goodly ſight to ſee ſuch a crowd of lords, and how every thing is carried here with that decency and decorum that ſtrikes an awe in every beholder, and would have really much majeſty in it, if they would diſpenſe with or abrogate that ſlaviſh cuſtom of going barefoot. The general indulges his mandareens much, treating them with reſpect and tenderneſs as to their lives, which are ſeldom in danger, but for treaſon: for other offences they are fined or diſgraced, by being turned out of employ, or baniſhed the court.

When any mandareen intercedes for their friends or kindred that have offended, they come covered before the general; then putting off their caps, they ſombey four times, a way of reverence or rather adoration, which conſiſts in falling firſt on their knees, then touching the ground with their bodies, after the Chineſe mode, they requeſt his highneſs to pardon the crime, and impute the fault to the interceſſor, who is ready by the ſign of ſtanding bare, which on ſuch like occaſions intimates the condition of a criminal, to undergo ſuch puniſhment as the Prince ſhall pleaſe to inflict on him.

About 8 o'clock the general withdraws from the audience palace, and the lords, &c. retire from court, all but the captain of the guards, with ſome that have offices at court, who are capons, of which a great number being young, are menial ſervants, who with the domeſtic maids are only permitted to enter his privy apartments and ſeraglio of women and concubines.

Of theſe capons, a peſt of mankind, the paraſites, ſycophants, and perverters of theſe Princes, there are no leſs than 4 or 500 belonging to the court, who are uſually ſo proud, imperious and unreaſonable, as makes them not leſs hateful and abhorred than feared by the whole nation; however, the Prince confides moſt in them, both for domeſtic and ſtate matters; for after they have ſerved 7 or 8 years in the inner court, they are raiſed gradually to public adminiſtrations and dignities, ſo as to be graced with the moſt honourable titles of provincial governors, and military prefects; while ſeveral of the more deſerving, both of the military officers and the claſſes of the literadoes, are neglected and ſuffer for want. But it is certain, the general reſpects his own preſent profit (whatſoever the conſequence may be) in the advancing them, for when they die, the riches they have accumulated by foul practices, rapine and extortion, fall in a manner all to the general as next heir; and though their parents are living, yet in regard they contributed nothing to their well being in the world, but to geld them, to which they were prompted by great indigence, and hopes of court preferment, therefore they can pretend to no more than a few houſes and ſmall ſpots of ground, which alſo they cannot enjoy but with the good liking and pleaſure of the general.

However, not to detract from truth, ſome of theſe capons have been of extraordinary merit, and among them, more eſpecially theſe three by name, Ong-Ja-Tu-Lea, Ong-Ja-Ta-Foe-Bay, and Ong-Ja-How-Foe-Tack; theſe were indeed the delight of Tonqueen; but they were ſuch as loſt their genitals by chance, having had them bit off either by a hog or dog. Theſe ſort of capons are by the ſuperſtitious Tonqueeneſe, believed to be deſtined to great preferments and eminence.

The laſt of theſe is yet living, and at preſent governor of Hein, and the largeſt province in the country, admiral of all the ſea forces, and principal miniſter for the affairs

affairs of ſtrangers; a prudent captain, a wiſe governor, and an uncorrupted judge, which renders him admirable to theſe heathens, and a ſhame to many Chriſtians, who, though they are bleſt with the light of the goſpel, rarely arrive at that height of excellence, as to know how to be great, good, and poor at once.

Remarkable is what they relate of Ong-Ja-Tu-Lea, famous for his ſharp brain, and prodigious parts, and no leſs for his ſudden riſe, as ſtrange and tragical fall; whoſe hiſtory take as follows: —

In the minority of the houſe of Tring (that is to ſay, before it was firmly eſtabliſhed in the government,) the then reigning general having great neceſſity for ſome able ſtateſmen, on whom he might diſburden ſome part of his weighty affairs, and being afflicted with continual perplexities on this head, he chanced to dream that he ſhould meet a man the next morning, whom he could truſt and employ; and as it happened, the firſt man that came to the court in the morning was this Tu-Lea, who agreeing exactly with the imaginary picture of his dream, both in proportion, ſtature and phyſiognomy, the general conferred with him; and after ſome diſcourſe found him of great ability, and exactly acquainted with their *arcana imperii;* whereupon he raiſed him immediately, and in a little while augmented his authority ſo greatly, that there was hardly any difference between the maſter and the ſervant, but if any, Tu-Lea was more reſpected, courted and feared than the general himſelf. Whether this was the cauſe of his diſpleaſure againſt him, or that this muſhroom (raiſed in a night), forgetting his obligation, prompted by ambitious ingratitude, and blinded by his overmuch proſperity, did conſpire really to deſtroy his maſter, and to aſſume the place himſelf (as the common bruit was), or that this was merely a pretence to colour the general's jealouſy of his overgrown greatneſs, I will not determine; but to be brief, he was by the general's order torn in pieces by four horſes, his body and diſmembered limbs cut in pieces, and then burnt, and the aſhes thrown into the river.

Every year, about the latter end of our January, which falls out about their laſt moon, all the mandareens, officers and military men are ſworn to be faithful to the King and general, and that they ſhall not conceal treaſonable machinations againſt their perſons, on forfeiture of their lives. The mandareens take the like oath of their wives, ſervants and domeſtics. He that reveals high treaſon, has at moſt but thirty dollars, and a ſmall employ for a reward, which is far ſhort of our author's multiplication.

They have annual muſters for the levy of ſoldiers through the whole kingdom; in which choice they greatly reſpect the tallneſs of perſons. Thoſe of extraordinary height are allotted to be of thegeneral's life guard, the others are diſpoſed of according to occaſions.

All thoſe that have any degree in learning and handicrafts-men are exempt from this muſter. How they proceed with deſerters I cannot affirm; but am certain the Tonqueeneſe know not what hanging means; their way is to behead them; only thoſe of the royal blood are ſtrangled. I muſt needs ſay they are neither cruel nor exquiſite in theſe inventions.

As for ſtrangers they employ none, thinking none ſo wiſe as themſelves; however, when I came from Siam, I was examined about the affairs of that kingdom and Cochin-China, and concerning my voyage in the Tonqueen ſing-ja, and whether thoſe boats might be able to tranſport ſoldiers through the high ſeas; to which I anſwered as I thought fit. Then I was queſtioned how, if the general ſhould give me the command of two or three hundred ſoldiers to be employed againſt Cochin-China? To which I replied, I was by profeſſion a merchant, conſequently ignorant of martial affairs, and

therefore incapable of ſerving his highneſs in that reſpect; which excuſe and refuſal, though it ſerved for that time, yet it operated againſt me when I was accuſed by the Chineſe.

With the nobility of this country, as I have hinted elſewhere, and acquainted you that nobility only deſcends to the poſterity of the King and general, and that only to the third degree; but the reſt as they obtained it by arms, learning, or money, ſo it is but *durante vita*. By the firſt means few are raiſed, by the ſecond ſome, but the third is the true loadſtone which attracts moſt favour.

The general's court ſtands in Cacho, almoſt in the midſt of the city: it is very ſpacious and walled about; within and without built full of low ſmall houſes for the convenience of the ſoldiers: within they are two ſtories high moſt open for air. The gates are large and ſtately, all of iron work, as indeed the greateſt part of the palace is. His own and women's apartments are ſtately and coſtly edifices, ſet forth with carved, gilded and lacquer work. In the firſt plain of the court are the ſtables for his biggeſt elephants and beſt horſes; on the hinder part are many parks, groves, walks, harbours, fiſh-ponds, and whatſoever elſe the country can afford for his pleaſure or recreation, ſince he ſeldom ſtirs out.

## CHAP. XIII. — *That there is no ſuch Manner of Coronation and Inthronization of their Kings as is related by* M. Taverniere.

AS our author is moſt erroneous throughout his book, ſo this his thirteenth chapter is in a manner one entire error; for how diligent ſoever I was to enquire of their learned men, and other perſons of quality, I could not find that they uſed the ſolemnity of inthroning or coronation of their Kings, with ſuch pomp and magnificence, or any thing like it, as he relates; nay, ſcarce that they obſerve any ceremony at all.

They told me that ſuch external gallantries and all oſtentations were contrary to their cuſtoms and practice: for when their King or general dies, all public ſhews whatever that expreſs mirth or demonſtrate any magnificence, or have any ſign of glory, ſo much as the wearing gold, ſilver, or gaudy cloaths, are not only forbidden throughout the whole kingdom, but reckoned very ſcandalous to be uſed. Neither muſt a courtier, during the time of his mourning for his Prince, appear in rich furniture himſelf, or in his horſe, elephants, palankeens, hammocks, &c.; but the worſt, coarſeſt, and meaneſt habiliments they can invent are accounted the propereſt, eſpecially for the higheſt dignified and neareſt of blood, with manyother nice obſervations whereof more amply in due place.

All the ceremony they uſe on theſe occaſions, conſiſts only to ſombey, and preſent the Prince ſo ſucceeding, who entertains the complimentors of note with meat, yet not with the uſual court ſplendor or merriment, by reaſon of his mourning for his predeceſſor. But was it uſual with them to advance their King (who at preſent has no intereſt in the ſtate) with ſo much grandeur and ſtate to the throne, queſtionleſs they would have ſome degrees of honour likewiſe for the general when he aſſumes his dignity; ſince his power and authority, though intruded, controls all, and that on all occaſions he is moſt reſpected and obſerved.

In 1682, when I arrived here from Siam the old general was newly deceaſed: his heir made no noiſe at all when he ſucceeded; nay he carried himſelf ſo private therein, that none abroad heard of court matters, or perceived the leaſt alteration of government whatſoever; neither would he receive the uſual honours from his own mandareens, or admit ſtrangers to audience, either to condole his ſorrows, or to congratulate his

his advancement; only their preſents were received. Thus, without any other formality, the general took poſſeſſion of his office; and undoubtedly he would never condeſcend the King ſhould exceed him in that kind, not only becauſe he is to bear all ſuch charges and expences, but alſo for fear the other ſhould increaſe too much in reputation thereby.

Our author then is to be admired for relating things both unknown and contrary to the cuſtoms of this people: confidently affirming his brother was an eye witneſs of that ingenious invented romance, on this occaſion: for what are they elſe than fables, to ſay that, in this ſolemnity, all the artillery of the court walls were fired, when there is not ſo much as a great gun upon the walls, nor ever was, by relation; that all the ſoldiers were drawn thither from the frontiers, which is to open the gates of the kingdom to the Cochin-Chineſe, who are always upon the watch for ſuch an opportunity, to incorporate with their dominion the two adjoining provinces, which were once ruled by the predeceſſors of their Chova; that they ſwear fidelity to the King, and that they will defend him and the country againſt the Chineſe their inveterate enemies, when as we have recounted they are tributary to the Chineſe empire, now in poſſeſſion of the Tartars, whom they endeavour by all means imaginable not to offend, for fear of loſing their country and freedom; that the King's liberality extends that day to one million of panes of gold, which in ſilver amounts at leaſt to one hundred and fifty millions of crowns, a ſum I am ſure the whole kingdom can hardly muſter up both in gold and ſilver, though he aims to perſuade the world that the King of Tonqueen poſſeſſes the riches of Crœſus; that the King makes preſents of money to officers of unknown names, and officers never heard of in the country; that he beſtows ſo many panes of gold and ſilver on the conſtable, meaning thereby the general, from whom he receives all he has; that the ſacrifices ſhould be ſo large as to contain that prodigious number of beaſts, whereby neceſſarily the plough muſt ſtand ſtill, and the people be content to faſt the whole year as to fleſh.

After this epicurean banquet, together with what he mentions of the bonzes, fireworks, bird-neſts, colt's fleſh, &c. impertinent contradictions and abſurdities, not worthy regard: I muſt confeſs he notes ſome things and paſſages here proper to Siam, and agreeable to the manners and conſtitutions of that people, ſo that he is only miſtaken in the application. What is to be ſaid of the King's going out I will note in the next chapter.

The ladies of quality, when they go abroad, are carried according to their ſeveral degrees, either in cloſe ſedans or hammocks upon the ſhoulders of men. Neither does this nation keep their women ſo ſtrict from the ſight of others, as the Moors and Chineſe do.

The celebration of their nativity they obſerve very punctually, from the Prince to the meaneſt, each to his ability and power, with feaſting, muſic and other paſtimes, fire works excepted; in which they are very deficient, as I hinted before. They are alſo preſented on the ſaid occaſions by their kindred, friends and dependants, who attend them to honour the ſolemnity.

As to the King's liberality, who ſent his ſon and ſucceſſor a donative of a thouſand panes of gold, intrinſic value, an hundred and fifty thouſand dollars, and five hundred bars of ſilver, above ſeven thouſand dollars at once, it is altogether impoſſible; becauſe the yearly revenue allowed him, comes to no more than eight thouſand dollars. He errs likewiſe in his multiplication, making thoſe panes of gold and bars of ſilver to be only an hundred and twenty thouſand livres.

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As to the King's ſucceſſor, he himſelf is often ignorant which of his ſons is to ſucceed him, if he has more than one; and if but one, it is not certain that he ſhall be King after him, ſince it lies in the general's breaſt to name ſuch an one as he likes beſt, provided he be of the royal ſtock; though he ſeldom puts by the next heir, unleſs it be for great reaſons, and urgent political motives, &c.

## CHAP. XIV — *Of the Ceremony of the King's bleſſing the Country, vulgarly amongſt them called* Bova-dee-yaw, *or, according to their Characters,* Can-Ja.

THE King ſeldom or never goes out to take his pleaſure, but once a year he ſhews himſelf in public (not reckoning when he is carried by the general on particular occaſions) on the ſolemnization of their grand ceremony, at the beginning of their new year, on a particular choſen day; for they believe ſome to be good, others better, ſome indifferent, others bad; whereof they are ſo ſuperſtitiouſly obſervant as to undertake nothing of importance, without conſulting firſt moſt ſeriouſly both their China almanacks and blind country diviners.

The King, general, and Prince, with moſt of the mandareens of the court, on this ſolemn occaſion, go before break of day ſeverally to a place at the ſouth end of the city purpoſely built for this occaſion, with three gates different from their other pagodas; neither are there any images in the houſe. Here they ſtay without in ſundry apartments till day light: the King in the mean time is to waſh his body, and put on new cloaths never worn before.

About eight of the clock a piece of ordnance is fired; on which ſignal the general, Prince and Mandareens repair to the King, to do homage, though it extends as to the general and Prince, no further than a bare point of formality. This compliment paſſes in ſilence, yet with much ſtate and gravity on both ſides: then immediately the ſecond ſignal of a gun is heard; whereupon the King is accompanied to the gates of the ſaid houſe, which are all ſhut, whereat he knocks, and is by the door-keeper aſked who he is. He anſwers, the King, and they let him in; but none may enter with him, that being contrary to their ſuperſtition. Thus he does three ſeveral times, till he comes into the houſe, where he falls to his devotion and ſupplications, having kept a ſtrict faſt to his gods, after their mode; which done, he ſeats himſelf in a gilt chair placed in the yard of the ſaid houſe; and having pauſed a little, a plough with a buffalo tied to it, in the ſame manner as they uſe them for tilling the ground, is preſented him, who holding it by the place uſually taken hold of when they work it, he bleſſes the country, and teaches the people by this emblem, that none ſhould be aſhamed to be a huſbandman, and that the diligent, induſtrious and provident, eſpecially in the culture of the ground, may certainly expect the enjoyment of their labour and pains.

I am informed by ſome, that, at the ſame time, the ceremony of the cups is uſed; others again contradict that, and affirm it to be on the day of inſtalling the new King.

Be it when it will, the manner is thus: on a bandeſia or lacquered table ſtands ſeveral cups with prepared victuals in them; and among the reſt there is one with boiled white rice, another with yellow rice, one with water, and one with herbs or greens: all theſe cups are neatly covered with fine paper, and with ſtarch faſtened thereon, ſo that one cannot be known from another. One of theſe the King takes at adventure, which is immediately opened, and if he lights on the yellow rice, there is great rejoicing, becauſe it portends (as they believe) plenty in the land; if on the white rice, a good harveſt;

if water, an indifferent year; but the herbs or greens is extreme bad, denoting great mortality, famine and desolation; and so the rest of the cups every one hath its particular signification and augury, according to what their idolatry and superstition dictates.

With this ends this grand ceremony; and the third gun being fired, the King mounts his open chair, covered with many umbrellas, and is carried on the shoulders of eight soldiers, as it were in procession, through several streets to his palace, accompanied by many literadoes in the China vests all on foot. He is likewise attended by a handsome guard of the general's soldiers, some elephants and horses, under the noise of drums, timbrels, scalmay, copper basons and hautboys, &c. standards and colours flying.

As he passes along he demonstrates his liberality to the poor spectators and aldea people, by throwing cash or copper coin amongst them. A while after the King, the general follows riding on a stately elephant, waited on by many Princes of his own, and royal family, with most of the military officers and civil magistrates of the kingdom, richly attired and guarded by a detachment of three or four thousand horse, and about an hundred or an hundered and fifty elephants with sumptuous furniture, and an infantry of no less than ten thousand men, all fine and gallantly clothed with coats and caps made of European manufactures, so that he far exceeds the King in pomp and magnificence. He comes a great part of the same way the King did, till he arrives at the street that leads directly to his palace, where turning he leaves the other on his march. The Prince brings up the rear of this cavalcade; he has half the train of his father, comes the same way, but takes the nearest cut to his own palace.

## CHAP. XV. — *Of the Theckydaw, or purging the Country from all malevolent Spirits.*

THE theckydaw is observed commonly once every year, especially if there be a great mortality amongst the men, elephants or horses of the general's stables, or the cattle of the country; the cause of which they attribute to the malicious spirits of such men as have been put to death for treason, rebellion, and conspiring the death of the King, general, or Princes, and in that revenge of the punishment they have suffered, they are bent to destroy every thing and commit horrible violence. To prevent which their superstition has suggested to them the institution of this theckydaw, as a proper mean to drive the devil away, and purge the country of evil spirits. For the performance of which the general consults and elects a fit day, which commonly happens about the twenty-fifth of our February; just on the chaop's re-assuming new life and vigour. When the needful orders are given for preparation, and that every thing is got in readiness, then the general, with most of the Princes and other qualified persons of the land, repairs to the arsenal about eight o'clock in the morning of the day appointed; he either rides on an elephant or horse, or else in a palankeen upon wheels, which is pushed forwards by lusty fellows kept for that purpose, and shadowed by many umbrellas. The guard that follows him is very numerous, not less than sixteen or eighteen thousand men, besides elephants and horses, all set forth to the best advantage. The streets through which he passes, are adorned with standards, pendants, and armed soldiers, to hinder the people from opening either doors or windows, for fear of sinister designs and machinations, though strangers are sometimes permitted to see this stately procession, if they will request it.

Being arrived at the arsenal, the mandareens go to their several posts (which have been kept for them by their soldiers) on the sandy island near the said arsenal, which is heaped

heaped up, and increaſed yearly by the deſcending waters from China, whoſe rapid and violent courſes do not only eat away much of the land in ſome places, and caſt it up again in others, but ſpoil the river too: here, I ſay, they build many ſlight houſes with bamboos, and raiſe infinite tents to ſhelter them from the injuries of rain and ſun, and place their ſoldiers, foot, horſe, and elephants as it were in battle array, with flying colours, ſtandards and pendants, their ordnance placed on advantage, the boats of war along the bank in good poſture, and every thing elſe in the method of an exact formidable army, noble and glorious to behold; and is indeed a ſhew that would, above all others, ſufficiently expreſs the power of the kingdom, were but their courage proportionable to their conveniences, and their leaders men inſtead of capons; for the number of infantry preſent on that occaſion cannot be leſs than eighty thouſand ſoldiers, well diſciplined, expert either for ſword, pike, muſket, aigenats, &c. and the cavalry about five thouſand, with rich furniture, armed with bows, arrows, ſwords and guns: then there are about two hundred and fifty elephants trained up for war, many of them fearleſs of fire and the noiſe of guns, having on their backs a box or chair richly gilded and lacquered, and two men in them with a kind of carabines and lances; and there are not leſs than three hundred pieces of artillery ranged in proper order: nor do the lords, mandareens, commanders, &c. in their beſt garb of fine ſcarlet, with gold buckles on the breaſt, in manner as we wear our loops, and a cap of the ſaid cloth on their heads, make the leaſt part of this glorious ſhew. The ſoldiers of the general's life guards are ſtout luſty fellows, ſome of prodigious height, with caps and coats of the ſame faſhion and fabrick as thoſe of the mandareens, the gold loops excepted, and the cloth not altogether ſo fine. The general's ten horſes and ſix elephants of ſtate far outſhine the reſt in ſplendour, their furniture being maſſy gold and ſcarlet, with an infinite number of ſtandards, flags, pendants, hautboys, drums, copper baſons, and all other ſorts of warlike muſic, and gallantry, ranged promiſcuouſly; and the whole being attended with a vaſt concourſe of people, makes the iſland very glorious and pleaſant for that time.

Every thing being thus ready, three blows on a large drum are heard, keeping good time between every ſtroke, which ſounds almoſt like the diſcharge of a ſmall piece of ordnance: on this ſignal the general comes from the arſenal to the place, where the ſoldiers ſtand in order, and enters the houſe prepared for him. In a while after, three other ſtrokes are given on a great copper baſon or gong, in the ſame manner as on the drum for diſtance of time; the general beginneth then to offer meat offerings to the criminal devils and malevolent ſpirits (for it is uſual and cuſtomary likewiſe amongſt them to feaſt the condemned before their execution), inviting them to eat and drink, when preſently he accuſes them in a ſtrange language, by characters and figures, &c. of many offences and crimes committed by them, as to their having diſquieted the land, killed his elephants and horſes, &c., for all which they juſtly deſerve to be chaſtiſed and baniſhed the country. Whereupon three great guns are fired as the laſt ſignal; upon which all the artillery and muſquets are diſcharged, that, by their moſt terrible noiſe the devils may be driven away; and they are ſo blind as to believe for certain, that they really and effectually put them to flight.

At noon every one may feaſt himſelf at his own coſt, but the ſoldiers are fed with the offered meat.

In the evening the general retires to his palace in the ſame ſtate with which he went forth, much glorying that he has vanquiſhed his enemies on ſo eaſy terms.

The Bova or King never appeareth in this ſolemnity; perhaps the general ſuſpects that the ſoldiers, if they ſhould be diſſatisfied with him, might take the opportunity

revolt and confirm the King the real and eſſential power which at preſent reſides in him, and therefore finds it unſafe that the King ſhould be then preſent; but on journeys in the country, be they but for two or three days (if he makes any), and when he goes to war, he never omits to carry the King along with him, not only to cloke all his deſigns with the royal name, but alſo to prevent any plots which in his abſence the King might give into to his utter ruin, or by condeſcenſion permit others to ſeize his royal perſon, whereby they would authoriſe their pretenſions and gain ſo much reputation as might ſubvert and confound both the general's greatneſs and government.

They imagine our way of firing great guns to compliment friends, or the ſaluting therewith each other's health, very ſtrange and barbarous, becauſe contrary to their cuſtoms, ſince they entertain only their enemies and the malicious devils with ſuch a noiſe as is related.

## CHAP. XVI. — *Of the Funerals in general.*

THE Tonqueeneſe as they have a great horror at death, ſo the conceit they have thereof is not leſs ſuperſtitious; for they believe that only the ſpirits of young children are tranſmigrated into the bodies of other infants who are yet in the mother's womb; but all others come to be devils, or at leaſt ſpirits that can do either good or harm: and that they would wander up and down as poor vagabonds ready to periſh for want and indigence if they were not aſſiſted by their living kindred, or if they did not ſteal and commit violence to ſubſiſt; ſo that death, in their eſtimation, is the ultimate and greateſt miſery that can befal human nature. They note with incredible care and exactneſs the time, hour, and day (all which are diſtinguiſhed by ſeveral particular names as, apes, cats, dogs, mice, &c.), wherein a party dies; which if it happen at the like time in which his father, mother, or near relations were born, it is reckoned very ominous and bad for his heirs and ſucceſſors, who therefore permit not the corpſe to be interred till their conjurors and diviners adviſe them of a good and auſpicious time for which they wait ſometimes two or three years, ſometimes leſs, as their critical rights and blind doctors ſhall direct them. The body is coffined the meanwhile and kept in a particular place, and muſt ſtand no other ways than on four ſtakes erected for that purpoſe.

This nicety is only obſerved among the rich, but others who do not die in this ſcruple, are buried within ten or fifteen days: but the longer the corpſe is kept, the more expenſive it is, not only to the wife and children (who preſent him daily three times with victuals, and keep always lamps and candles burning in the room, beſides the offering of incenſe, perfumes, and a quantity of gold and ſilver paper, ſome made in the ſhape of gold and ſilver bars, others in the likeneſs of horſes, elephants, tigers, &c.), but the reſt of the kindred and relations are alſo obliged to contribute their ſeveral ſhares to the general feaſt, but moſt liberally at this time; beſides it is very toilſome and a great deal of trouble both to the children and all that are of kin, to reſort ſo often to the corpſe to ſalute and adore it, by proſtrating themſelves four times on the ground, and lamenting him three times a day at the hours of repaſt, with endleſs other ceremonies too tedious here to relate.

All that have means are very careful to provide their own coffin, when they are well advanced in years in which they are extraordinary choice, both as to the thickneſs and goodneſs of the wood, as well as workmanſhip, and regard no expences to have it to their fancies.

They obſerve this diſtinction in the ſexes: if a male die he is clothed with ſeven of his beſt coats, if a female with nine. In the mouth of thoſe of quality, are put ſmall pieces of gold and ſilver with ſome ſeed pearl. This they fancy will not only render him honourable in the other world, but prevent alſo want and indigence; yet the poorer ſort uſe the ſcrapings of their fingers and toes, believing that the mouth of the deceaſed being filled with this filth he cannot plague and torment his living relations. Likewiſe ſome will place on the coffin a cup of rice, which is ſhifted every meal, and at laſt buried with the corpſe.

They uſe no nails to faſten the lid to its coffin, but cement it with lacquer ſo tight as is really admirable, eſteeming it a great injury to nail up the body of the deceaſed.

When the ſons accompany the corpſe they are clad for that day in very coarſe robes, made of the refuſe of ſilk, and caps of the ſame ſtuff which are tied with cords on their heads; they have ſtaves in their hands to lean on for fear grief ſhould cauſe them to faint.

The wives and daughters of faſhion have a curtain very large held over their heads, that they may not be ſeen, yet they are eaſily heard by their moans and lamentations, which are made *viva voce* and very loud. As the corpſe is carried through the ſtreets, the eldeſt ſon will lie down now and then on the ground, for the corpſe to paſs over him (which in their opinion is the greateſt mark of filial duty): then riſing again, he puſhes the coffin back with both his hands, as it were to ſtop it from going further on, which is continued till they come to the grave.

Painted and gilded images in the ſhapes of men and beaſts, all of paper work, follow the hearſe in great numbers, with ſome friars, with the noiſe of drums, timbrels, hautboys, copper-baſons, &c. much in the nature of a Popiſh proceſſion: which paper finery is to be burnt immediately after the interment.

More or leſs ſumptuous is the funeral according to the condition or quality of the perſon; for thoſe of account are not only carried by many men, but have alſo double coffins, one in another, and over it a canopy of ſtate, richly ſet forth, attended by ſoldiers, and honoured with the preſence of great mandareens.

Their manner is to cut their hair to the ſhoulder, and to wear aſh-coloured cloaths, and a particular ſort of ſtraw hats, for the ſpace of three years, for either father or mother; yet the eldeſt ſon muſt add thereunto three months more; for other relations leſs.

Their way of reckoning is very ſtrange; for if one ſhould die, or a child be born in January, be it the laſt day of the moon, February following being the firſt moon of their new year, they count him to have been dead two years, or the child to be two years old, when, in effect, it is no more than one day.

During the time of their mourning, they ſeldom uſe their wonted lodgings: they lie on ſtraw mats on the bare ground, their diet is not only mean and ſparing, but the very bandeſia and cups the victuals are ſerved in, are coarſe and of the worſt ſort. They forbear wine and go to no feaſts or banquets; they muſt lend no ear to muſic, nor eye to dancing, nor contract matrimony; for on the complaint of their kindred on this head, the law will diſinherit them. They have a great care not to appear in public anywiſe fine, but rather auſterely abſtain from all merriment and finery whatſoever: but as the three years grow near an end, they gradually decline too in the ſeverity of this diſcipline.

Their ſepulchres are in the ſeveral aldeas of their parents' nativity, and unhappy is he deemed whoſe body or bones are not brought home, as they term it; but how to

chuſe

chuſe the beſt place to inter the dead, is the grand myſtery, and held to be of that conſequence that they verily believe, that infallibly thereon depends the happineſs or miſery of their ſucceſſors; wherefore they uſually conſult many years with Tay-de-lee, before they come to a concluſion in that affair.

During theſe times of mourning, they feaſt the dead four times a year, in the months of May, June, July, and September, ſpending in each of them two, three, or four days; but the ſacrifice which is made at the expiration of the three years is the greateſt and moſt magnificent of all, though they are in the reſt prodigal enough, and will ſpend not only their whole ſubſtance therein, but run themſelves in debt too, and yet are for ſo doing both highly reſpected and commended of friends and acquaintance. After this they keep their anniverſary offering on the day of the party's deceaſe, which is punctually obſerved from generation to generation to perpetuity. I have in jeſting told ſome of them I ſhould not like to die a Tonqueeneſe, were it only becauſe the cuſtom of the country whilſt living allowed me three meals a day, but when dead they would feed me but once a year: a ſeverity more than ſufficient to ſtarve the dead had they need of food.

It cannot fail of being entertaining to our readers to add to our author in this place, what the learned father Calmet has collected in relation to the practice of ſetting food upon the tombs of the dead; and of repaſts made at their funerals: whereby it will be perceived that this cuſtom is not confined to Tonqueen or even to China, but that it had obtained almoſt univerſally in the darker ages of the world. What he ſays will be found under the head of Repaſt, and is ſo curious that we ſhall give the tranſlation of of it entire.

"Repaſt or food," ſays he, "that was ſet upon the tombs of the dead. *Cœna mortui.* Baruch (ch. 6. v. 31.) mentions it in theſe words: *Rugiunt autem clamantes contra deos ſuos, ſicut in cœna mortui.* The Pagans howl in the preſence of their gods, as in the repaſt which is made for the dead. He ſpeaks of certain ſolemnities wherein the idolators uſed to make great lamentations: for example, in the feaſts of Adonis. As to the repaſts for the dead, they are diſtinguiſhed into two kinds: one was made in the houſe of the defunct, at the return of the mourners from the grave. To this were invited the kindred and friends of the deceaſed, where they did no fail to expreſs their grief by cries and lamentations. The other kind was made upon the tomb itſelf of the dead perſon, where they provided a repaſt for the wandering ſouls, and believed that the goddeſs Trivia who preſides over the ſtreets and highways, repaired thither in the night time. But in truth they were beggars and poor people, who came thither in the darkneſs of the night, and carried away what was left upon the tomb.

'Eſt honor et tumulis animas placare paternas,
Parvaque in extructas munera ferre pyras. OVID, Faſt.'

"Sometimes, however, the relations made a ſmall repaſt upon the tomb of the deceaſed.

"The cuſtom of ſetting food upon the ſepulchres of the dead was common among the Hebrews. Tobit thus adviſes his ſon: Pour out thy bread on the burial of the juſt, but give nothing to the wicked. That is to ſay, not to partake in the repaſt, with the relations who performed the ſame ceremony. And Jeſus the ſon of Sirach affirms, that delicates poured upon a mouth ſhut up are as meſſes of meat ſet upon a grave. What is thus ſet upon a tomb is utterly loſt as to the dead perſon; he can have no benefit from it. And elſewhere, A gift hath grace in the ſight of every man living, and for the dead detain it not.

" This cuſtom was almoſt univerſal; we find it among the Greeks, the Romans, and almoſt all the people of the Eaſt. It ſtill obtains in Syria, in Babylonia, and in China. St. Auſtin obſerves that in his time in Africa, they laid victuals upon the tombs of the martyrs and in church-yards. The thing at firſt was done very innocently, but afterwards it degenerated into an abuſe; and the greateſt ſaints and moſt zealous biſhops, as St. Auſtin and St. Ambroſe, had much difficulty to ſuppreſs it. St. Monica being at Milan had a mind, according to cuſtom, to offer bread and wine to the memory of the martyrs; but the porter would not open the door to her, becauſe St. Ambroſe had forbid him; ſhe therefore ſubmitted with an humble obedience.

" The repaſt that was made in the houſe of the deceaſed among the Jews was alſo of two kinds. One was during the time that the mourning continued, and theſe repaſts were looked upon as unclean, becauſe thoſe that partook of them were unclean, as having aſſiſted at the obſequies of the dead perſon.

" Hoſea ſays, Their ſacrifices ſhall be unto them as the bread of mourners; all that eat thereof ſhall be polluted. And in the form that the Iſraelites made uſe of, when they offered their firſt fruits, they addreſſed themſelves thus to the Lord: O Lord, I have not neglected thy ordinances; I have not uſed theſe things while I was in mourning; I have made no uſe of them at the funerals of the dead. God would not permit Ezekeal to mourn for his wife. Cover not thy lips and eat not the bread of men. And Jeremiah: Neither ſhall men give them the cup of conſolation to drink for their father or for their mother.

" The other repaſts made in the time of mourning, are thoſe which were given after the funeral. Joſephus relates that Archelaus treated the whole people in a magnificent manner, after he had completed the ſeven days mourning for the King his father. He there adds, that it was the cuſtom of his nation to make great feaſts for the relations; which could not be done without an injury to many families, which were not in a condition to ſupport ſuch large expences. Saint Pauline commends Pammachius for having made a great feaſt for the poor in the baſilicon of St. Peter, on the day of the funeral of his wife Paulina."

## CHAP. XVII. — *Of the Funeral Pomp of the Chova or General of Tonqueen.*

THE funeral obſequies of the chova or general of Tonqueen are performed with the ſame pomp and magnificence as were uſually obſerved at the burial of their former Kings, and in many reſpects exceed that of their preſent King. As ſoon then as the general dies his ſucceſſors and courtiers endeavour, with all imaginable art, to conceal his death for the ſpace of three or four days; for ſhould it preſently be known abroad, it would unavoidably put the country, eſpecially the chief city of Gacho, in great terror and conſternation, becauſe it has conſtantly happened at the deceaſe of every one of them (this laſt excepted), that the ſtate was diſturbed with broils, contentions, and civil wars, amongſt the ſurviving ſons and brethren, who ſtrive for ſuperiority; wherefore it is no marvel, if in this caſe the people are affected with their contention.

The firſt thing they do to their dead general is to waſh his body, and to put on him ſeven of his beſt coats, and to preſent him with victuals, with which he is ſerved in the beſt manner poſſible. Then his ſucceſſor and all the Princes and Princeſſes of the blood come to lament his departure, proſtrating themſelves five times before him, weeping aloud, aſking him why he would leave them, and what he wanted, &c. After them, the mandareens moſt in favour are permitted to perform their duty, but their

their ceremony of condolance is returned them again, by the Prince ſucceſſor and eldeſt ſon, though they dare not to receive it. Except thoſe perſons, none are admitted to have a ſight of the defunct; nay thoſe related afar off cannot have this honour. After which ceremony they put into his mouth ſmall pieces of gold, ſilver, and ſeed pearl. The corpſe is laid in a ſtately coffin laquered over very thick, and of excellent wood: at the bottom of which they ſtrew powder of rice and carvances to prevent any noiſome ſmell, over which they ſpread fine quilts and carpets. The corpſe thus ſerved is placed in another room, where lamps and candles are continually kept burning: thither all his children, wives and neareſt kindred repair three times a day, when the deceaſed is preſented with victuals, namely in the morning between five and ſix o'clock, twelve at noon, and five in the evening, and they pay their adoration to him. This continues all the time he is above ground.

There is no ſuch thing as embalming the body to lie in ſtate ſixty-five days, and liberty for the people to come and ſee him, as our author pretends; neither do the bonſes and poor partake of the victuals ſet before him; nor does the provincial governor receive any orders from court how long the country is to mourn, ſince their cuſtom directs them therein ſufficiently, without ſuch particular proviſions. The whole country is obliged to mourn, as well for the general as King, the ſpace of twenty-four days; the Prince ſucceſſor, three years and three months, his other children and wives, three years; the other near relations, one year; and thoſe further off, from five, and others but three months; but all the great mandareens, three years equal with the children.

I cannot imagine in what part of the palace thoſe towers he ſpeaks of ſtood, or what became of thoſe bells that never left tolling, from the general's expiring to the bringing of the corpſe into the galley, ſince they were ſilent at the laſt funeral pomp of the general in 1683.

When the needful preparations are ready, then the galleys appointed to tranſport and accompany the body, wait near the arſenal, which is not diſtant two days' journey as he ſays from the palace, but only ſomething leſs than half an hour, whither the corpſe is conducted in the following manner:

Several companies of ſoldiers, all in black, with their arms, being led by their reſpective captains, or mandareens, bring up the van of this funeral pomp, marching on gravely and ſilently; then follow two fellows of gigantic ſtature, carrying a kind of partiſans, with targets in their hands, and a maſk or vizard on their face, to ſcare the devil, and open the way for the hearſe to paſs; next come the muſicians, with their drums, hautboys, copper baſons, &c. playing their mournful tunes, which really are very doleful. Next is carried the funeral elogium and titles, which are more illuſtrious than what he had in his life time: and he is ſtiled, the incomparable greatneſs, moſt precious and noble father of his country, of moſt ſplendid fame, and the like; all which is embroidered in golden characters, on a piece of fine ſcarlet, or crimſon damaſk, which is fixed on a frame of two or three fathoms high, and almoſt one fathom wide, and erected on a pedeſtal and carried on the ſhoulders of twenty or thirty ſoldiers of the life guard.

After this their idol, or pagoda, takes place, carried in a ſmall gilded houſe, but with great reverence; then the two pennants, followed by the mauſoleum, or ſtate cabin, richly gilded and curiouſly carved, wherein is the general's corpſe. The ſaid mauſoleum doth not ſtand in a chariot, nor is it drawn by eight ſtags trained to that ſervice, and led by ſo many captains of the life guard, as related by our author (for it is a rare thing to ſee either deer or ſtag in this country); but it is carried on the

ſhoulders of a hundred or a hundred and fifty ſoldiers, in good order and great ſilence, with many fans and umbrellas round about it, as well to ſhade it as for ſtate.

Juſt behind the hearſe comes the eldeſt ſon and ſucceſſor, with his brothers, all clad with coats, made of refuſe ſilk, not unlike our ſackcloth, of a brown colour, tied with cords ſo their bodies; their caps are of the ſame, and faſtened in like manner; they all have ſticks in their hands, and only the eldeſt has ſtraw ſhoes. Theſe are immediately followed by the deceaſed's wives, concubines, and daughters, under a curtain or pavillion of white calico, very coarſe, their garb of the ſame ſtuff, howling and lamenting. Behind theſe come the ſervants of the inner court, both damſels and young capadoes; as the front, ſo the rear and flanks are guarded by armed ſoldiers, under their ſeveral commanders, ſo that in this funeral pomp, neither elephants, horſes, nor chariots appear, as he relates, unleſs thoſe of paper and painted wood, whereof great quantities accompany the interment to be burnt at the grave.

Being arrived at the galleys, in one of them, which is all black, laquered plain, and without any ornament of carved and gilded work, the corpſe is placed: the reſt of the galleys that attend the ſolemnity are but ordinary, fifty or ſixty in number. Thus they ſet forth from Cacho for Tingeva, the aldea and birth place of his anceſtors, a journey of five or ſix days at leaſt, as they make it; for the galley the corpſe is in is towed leiſurely by five or ſix others, and muſt uſe neither oars, nor make the leaſt noiſe by drums or muſic, for fear of diſturbing the dead. The other galleys are alſo to keep as much ſilence as may be. By the way they ſtop at certain places in each province appropriated by the ſaid governors to ſacrifice; for which ſervice they prepare large proviſions of cows, buffaloes, hogs, &c. The new general however very often ſtays at home, and ſeldom permits any of his brothers to go for fear of plots, and innovation, but his ſiſters are commanded to attend the funeral. The ordering the whole ſolemnity is intruſted to the care and ſolemnity of ſome great favourite.

When they arrive at the intended aldea, there is more than a little to do with their obſequies and ceremonies, according to their rites: the particular place where he is buried few know preciſely, and thoſe are ſworn to ſecrecy; and this not for fear of loſing the treaſure that is interred with him, as M. Taverniere fancies, (for there is none but what is put into their mouths as I mentioned before), but out of ſuperſtitious motives as well as ſtate jealouſy; for as they believe they ſhall be happy and great if they meet with a good favourable ſepulchre for their relations, ſo the general is always fearful that the place where his predeceſſor reſts being known to their enemies, it would depend on their malicious power to ruin his family, only by taking out his anceſtors' bones and interring thoſe of their own family in their place. Indeed we have many examples in this country of ſuch fools as thought to make way for their exaltation, by thus tranſplacing the bones of the dead men; but as many as have attempted it have ſuffered for their fooliſh preſumption.

As to thoſe lords and ladies that, according to him, will needs be buried alive with the King or general, it is a thing ſo contrary to their cuſtoms, as well as repugnant to their natures, that I verily believe if they thought we had ſuch an opinion of them, they would treat us as brutes and ſavages. Nor do I know of any city and its fair caſtle, in the whole kingdom of Tonqueen, that is called Bodligo; but indeed thoſe banks of the river oppoſite to the city of Cacho are called Bode; but however there is neither King's houſe, palace, or caſtle, on or near the ſame.

But it remains to ſpeak ſomething of their third annual ſacrifices and feaſt, for the defunct general, which happens about three months before the mourning expires. The

celebration whereof extends not only to his family, but all the mandareens that hold any office muſt appear at this grand ſolemnity, to pay their offerings in token of their gratitude to the deceaſed benefactor and common father.

The manner is thus: juſt before the arſenal on the ſandy iſland, there are built of bamboos and ſlight timber many large and ſpacious houſes, after the manner of their palaces, with wide yards and open courts, wrought moſt curiouſly with baſket-work, &c. The apartments thereof, eſpecially that where the altar ſtands, are richly hung with gold and ſilver cloth; the poſts and ſtands are either covered with the ſame or with fine ſcarlet, or other European manufactures; the roof is canopied with ſilk damaſk, and the floor is covered with mats and carpets. The altar itſelf is moſt curiouſly carved, lacquered, and ſplendidly daubed with gold to profuſion of coſt, labour, and diligence. And as this is the general and his family's ſhare, ſo the mandareens of quality according to their abilities, ſtrive to outdo each other in their funeral piles, as I may call them, which are placed round about the former work, in good order and at an equal diſtance and height, and of a like faſhion, either four, ſix, or eight feet ſquare, about fifteen or twenty feet diameter, reſembling much our large lanterns, open all ſides, with ſhutters within, the baniſters and rails very neatly ſet forth with rich painted, carved, and lacquered work, and hangings of coſtly ſilk and good pieces of broad cloth; the ſtructure itſelf of ſlight timber and boards: the great mandareens each build two of theſe; the others, one a piece; ſo that this barren place is covered in leſs than the ſpace of fifteen days, with all this finery which makes it reſemble another city, or an Antiochian-like camp: in which interim the whole country flocks thither to ſee this goodly and pompous erection; and many ſtrange beaſts, as tigers, bears, baboons, monkeys, and what other wild creatures they can get, are brought thither from far places; for which they have been ſometimes diligently ſeeking perhaps days and years. From all which the people (who gather together in ſuch prodigious crowds, as to give a great idea of the populouſneſs of the country), take occaſion to admire the general's grandeur, and live to his deceaſed father. But for about three days before the time prefixed for this ſacrifice, no ſpectators are ſo much as to approach this place, becauſe then they are buſied in ſetting the image of the defunct before the altar, richly habited with many coats, and to ſerve it with victuals; and to preſent him with amber, pearl, and coral necklaces, gold and ſilver tankards, cups, baſons, tables, and in ſhort with all the finery and toys that he delighted in, and made uſe of in his life time; and at the ſame inſtant they erect, in the court-yard where this altar ſtands, a machine; in the making whereof they had before employed five or ſix months, under the direction and overſight of three or four great mandareens, reſembling ſomewhat the mauſoleum which M. Taverniere deſcribes, which they call anja tangh. It is about three or four ſtories or forty feet high, and about thirty feet long, and twenty broad, made of thin boards and ſlight timber, to be light and portable; and the different parts of it are ſo contrived as to take off and on; the undermoſt part ſtands on four wheels, whereon the reſt are placed one by one, by means and help of ſuch inſtruments and engines as our carpenters uſe to mount their heavy timber. The pageant or fabric itſelf is mighty neat, handſome and glorious, adorned with carved, gilded, painted, and lacquered work, as rich and coſtly as poſſible can be made of that kind, with many pretty little inventions of galleries, balconies, windows, doors, porches, &c. to adorn it the more. On this magnificent throne is placed another image of the dead general, in rich cloaths, which is afterwards burnt with the reſt.

Matters

Matters being brought to this order, the general and his family repair thither early in the morning of the laſt three forementioned days, the ways being lined with ſoldiers, and he attended by his life guard, followed by mandareens and grandees, where moſt of the day is ſpent in tears, mourning and lamentations, ſombeys, ſacrifices and offerings for his father; but, in the evening, the offered viands and other victims are divided amongſt the aſſiſtants and ſoldiers.

Of the wild and ſavage creatures ſome are drowned, to ſend their ghoſts to the deceaſed Prince, to be at his devotion in the other world, and others are given away.

About ten o'clock an infinite number of images of all ſorts of fowls, horſes and elephants, in paper work, &c. are burnt in the open court, juſt before the machine or mauſoleum, where likewiſe the general, with his relations and mandareens, ſombeys to the image of his predeceſſor therein; their magicians Thay, Phou, Thivee, all the while ſinging, reading, jumping, and playing ſo many antick tricks, and making ſuch terrible poſtures, as would ſcare ſome, and perſuade others they were either really demoniacal, or at leaſt poſſeſſed with madneſs. About three hours after midnight fire is ſet to all this finery, the general, &c. retiring, taking along with him the pearls, amber, gold, and ſilver that was on the altar, (which are reſerved for the ſervice of the defunct in a peculiar place of his palace). The mandareens alſo ſend to their houſes again whatſoever gold, ſilver, &c. they brought thither, leaving the reſt to be conſumed by the flames; and its aſhes the wind ſcatters where it pleaſes, ſo that but very little, if any, comes where it was deſigned.

## CHAP. XVIII. — *Of the Sects, Idols, Worſhip, Superſtition, and Pagodas or Temples of the Tonqueeneſe.*

THOUGH there are many ſects amongſt this people, yet only two are chiefly followed. The firſt is that of Congfutu, as the Chineſe call him, (the Tonqueeneſe, Ong-Congtu, and the Europeans, Confucius), the ancienteſt of the Chineſe philoſophers. This man they eſteemed holy; and, for wiſdom, he is reputed not only amongſt them and the Chineſe, but the Japaneſe too, the Solomon of all mortals; without ſome proficiency in whoſe learning, none can attain any degree in their civil government, or be any ways allowed to know matters of importance; though the truth thereof, and very quinteſſence of his doctrine, is nothing elſe but what we call moral philoſophy, and conſiſts in the following poſition: "That every one ought to know and perfect himſelf, and then by his good and virtuous example, bring others to the ſame degree of goodneſs, ſo as they jointly may attain the ſupreme good; that it is, therefore, neceſſary to apply themſelves to the ſtudy of philoſophy, without which none can have a proper inſight or inſpection of things, and be able to know what is to be followed or avoided, nor rectify their deſires according to reaſon;" with other the like precepts, wherein conſiſts the Chineſe doctrine and wiſdom.

But his diſciples, building on his principles, have extracted therefrom many rules and precepts, which ſoon after became the main ſubject of their ſuperſtition and religion. They acknowledge one ſupreme Deity, and that all terreſtrial things are directed, governed, and preſerved by him: that the world was eternal, without either beginning or creator. They reject the worſhip of images; they venerate and pay a kind of adoration to ſpirits. They expect rewards for good deeds, and puniſhment for evil. They believe, in a manner, the immortality of the ſoul, and pray for the deceaſed. Some of them alſo believe that the ſouls of the juſt live after ſeparation from the body; and that the ſouls of the wicked periſh as ſoon as they leave the body. They teach that

that the air is full of malignant ſpirits, which is their dwelling-place; and that thoſe ſpirits are continually at variance with the living. They particularly recommend to their pupils to honour their deceaſed friends and parents; and do much concern themſelves in performing certain ceremonies thereunto belonging as I have mentioned already; and hold ſeveral other things very rational, and in my opinion, in many things nothing at all inferior to either the ancient Greeks or Romans. Neither muſt we think that the wiſer and better ſort amongſt them are ſo ſhallow brained, as to believe the dead ſtand in need of victuals, and that therefore they are ſo ſerved, as I have mentioned in its due place; no, they know better, and tell us they do it for no other reaſon, than to demonſtrate their love and reſpect to their deceaſed parents; and withal to teach their own children and friends thereby how to honour them when they ſhall be no more.

However, the vulgar ſort, and thoſe that carry their judgment in their eyes, credit that as well as many other impertinent impoſſibilities of their ſuperſtition. In fine, though this ſect hath no pagodas erected nor particular place appointed to worſhip the King of Heaven in, or prieſts to preach and propagate the ſaid doctrine, nor a due form, commanded or obſerved, but it is left to every one's diſcretion to do as he pleaſes in theſe reſpects, ſo as he gives thereby no ſcandal, yet it has their Kings, Princes, grandees, and the learned men of the kingdom for its followers.

In former days the King of the land might only ſacrifice to the King of Heaven; but ſince the general has uſurped the royal power, he has aſſumed this ſovereign prerogative, and performs the ſaid ceremony in his palace himſelf, in caſe of public calamity, as want of rain, famine, great mortality, &c. befalling the kingdom, which no other may do on peril of their lives.

The ſecond ſect is called Boot, which ſignifies the worſhip of idols or images, and is generally followed by the ignorant, vulgar, and ſimple ſort of people, and more eſpecially the women and capadoes, the moſt conſtant adherers thereunto. Their tenets are to worſhip images devoutly, to believe tranſmigration. They offer to the devil that he may not hurt them. They believe a certain Deity coming from three united gods. They impoſe a cloiſter and retired life, and think their works can be meritorious, and that the wicked ſuffer torments, together with many fooliſh ſuperſtitious niceties to idle to repeat: however they have no prieſt, any more than the former ſect, to preach and propagate their doctrine; all they have are their ſayes, or bronzes, as M. Taverniere calls them (which by miſtake he terms prieſts) which are a kind of friars or monks. They have ſome nuns alſo, whoſe dwellings are about and ſometimes in their pagodas, who moſt commonly are invited to celebrate their funerals with their drums, trumpets, and other muſic: they ſubſiſt for the moſt part by alms, and the charity of the people. In brief, this is that ſect that has ſpread its fopperies and impertinences very far; and, in effect, with its ſchiſm and impoſture has overſpread, in part or whole, moſt of the Eaſtern countries, as this of Tonqueen, China, Japan, Correa Formoſa, Cambodia, Siam, the Gentoos of coaſt Cormandel and Bengal, Ceylon, Indoſtan, &c. From one of theſe two laſt places it was firſt brought into China on the following occaſion.

One of the Chineſe Emperors coming to the knowledge of a famous law that was taught in the weſt, which was very efficacious for inſtructing and conducting mankind to wiſdom and virtue, and that the doctors and expounders thereof were perſons extremely celebrated for their exemplary lives, and ſtupendous and miraculous actions, &c. he therefore diſpatched ſeveral ſages to find out this law, and bring it to China. Theſe ambaſſadors, after they had travelled, or rather erred, to and fro, the ſpace of

almoſt three years, arrived either in Indoſtan or Malabar, where, finding this ſect of Boots very rife, and of mighty veneration, and being deceived by the devil, and weary of travelling any further, they thought they had found what they ſought for; and ſo, without more ado, they got ſeventy-two books of thoſe falſe tales of the natives, with ſome able interpreters, and returned to China, where the Emperor received them moſt kindly and joyfully, and ordered directly that the ſaid ſect ſhould be publicly taught throughout all his dominions; in which miſerable blindneſs they have ever ſince continued.

I cannot help making an obſervation in this place, for the honour of the Chriſtian religion; and that is, that, in all appearance, this new law, which the Chineſe Emperor at that time had heard of, could be no other than the firſt promulgation of the goſpel in and about Judea; and its being then preached to Jews as well as Gentiles by the holy apoſtles, which was attended with ſo many miracles, that it was no wonder the fame thereof ſhould extend to the remoteſt regions, and reach the ears of the Chineſe Emperor: and this is ſtill the more probable, becauſe, by the neareſt calculation that can be made, the time which the Emperor of China is recorded to have heard of the publication of this new doctrine, agrees punctually with that of the appearance of our Saviour and the preaching of the apoſtles. And had the ſages ſent by that Emperor proceeded as they ought, not only the great empire of China, but all the vaſt territories adjacent, that now lie immerſed in paganiſm and the dregs of ſuperſtition, might have been converted, and brought to the glorious light of Chriſtianity.

Some other ſects, as that of Lanzo, are but ſlenderly followed, as is ſaid before, though their magicians and necromancers, as Thay-Boo, Thay-Boo-Twe, Thay-de-Lie, are the proſelytes and followers thereof, and in great eſteem with the Princes, and reſpected by the vulgar, ſo that they are conſulted by both in their moſt weighty occaſions; and they receive their opinions and falſe predictions as very oracles, believing they ſpeak by divine inſpiration, and have the pre-knowledge of future events; wherefore it is not probable that they were of this ſort that were ſent to the frontiers for ſoldiers, as M. Taverniere has it.

I know indeed that the general rummages ſometimes a certain ſort of vagabonds that haunt every corner of the kingdom, pretending to be conjurors and fortune-tellers, cheating and miſleading thereby the ſimple and ignorant people, and infecting them with notions contrary to the belief of the ſects publicly tolerated: but as the Tonqueeneſe are really very credulous, and ready to embrace almoſt every new opinion they meet withal, ſo are they not leſs tenacious in retaining any notions which they are in poſſeſſion of, and obſerve carefully times and ſeaſons as good and bad, in which they will not undertake any voyage or journey, nor build houſes, cultivate grounds, nor bargain for any thing conſiderable; nor even will they attempt, on ominous days, to cure their ſick, bury their dead, nor in a manner tranſact any thing without the advice of their ſoothſayers and blind wizards, who are principally divided into three claſſes; that is, thoſe who are followers of Thay-Boo, or Thay-Boo-Twe, or Thay-de-Lie, and have not the leaſt ſenſe of their being moſt groſsly cheated and deluded by the fallacious pretenſions of thoſe impudent fellows, who live wholly by ſelling their directions to them at exceſſive rates, as the moſt deſirable and current merchandize. And ſince theſe pretended conjurors are ſo much obſerved and venerated by the deluded people, I will deſcend to the particular functions of every one of them, and ſpeak firſt of Thay-Boo and his claſs.

Theſe pretend to declare all ſuch future events as concern marriages, building of houſes, and, in general, pretend to foretel the ſucceſs of any buſineſs of conſequence.

All that come to him, or thoſe of his claſs, are kindly uſed for their money, and receive for anſwers what is ſuppoſed will ſatisfy them beſt, but always ſo ambiguous, as will bear a double and doubtful interpretation. The magicians of this tribe are generally blind, either born ſo, or come to be ſo by ſome accident or other. Before they pronounce their ſentence on the propoſed queſtion, they take three pieces of copper coin, inſcribed with characters, which they throw on the ground ſeveral times, and feel what ſide of it falls uppermoſt; then prating and mumbling ſome ſtrange kind of words to themſelves, they deliver the reſult of the conjuration.

Secondly, Thay-Boo-Twe, to whom they reſort in all diſtempers. This claſs of pretended magicians have their books, by which they pretend to find out the cauſe and reſult of all ſickneſs; and never miſs to tell the ſick party that his diſtemper proceeds from the devil, or ſome water gods, and pretend to cure it by the noiſe of drums, baſons, and trumpets. The conjuror of this tribe is habited very antickly, and ſings very loud, and makes hideous noiſes, pronouncing many execrations and blaſphemous words, ſounding continually a ſmall bell, which he holds in his hand, jumping and ſkipping as if the devil were really in him; and all this while there is ſtore of victuals prepared for an offering to the devil, but it is eaten by himſelf; and he will continue this ſport ſometimes for ſeveral days, till the patient be either dead or recovered, and then he can give an anſwer with ſome certainty.

It belongs to them to diſpoſſeſs ſuch as are poſſeſſed by the devil, which is the ultimate of their conjuration, and is commonly effected in this manner. They curſe and moſt impiouſly invoke I do not know what demon; and they paint the pictures of devils, with horrible faces, on yellow paper, which is fixed to the wall of the houſe; then they fall to bawling ſo terribly, and ſcream ſo loud, dancing and ſkipping as is moſt ridiculous, ſometimes fearful to ſee and hear. They alſo bleſs and conſecrate new houſes; and if they be ſuſpected to be haunted, they drive the devil out of them by their conjuration and the firing of muſkets.

Thay-de-Lie's buſineſs is to be conſulted which are the fitteſt places for burial of the dead; ſo that the living relations and kindred may, by this means, be happy and fortunate, and the like follies.

I will ſpeak nothing of Ba-Cote, becauſe they are only the pretended witches amongſt the baſer ſort.

As for temples and Pagodas, ſince the Tonqueeneſe are not very devout, there are neither ſo many, nor thoſe ſo ſumptuous, as I have ſeen in ſome of the neighbouring countries.

# *HISTORY OF TONQUIN.*

From the French of Richard*.

CHAPTER I. — *General Deſcription of Tonquin: — Temperature of the Climate: — Variety of the Seaſons: — Hurricanes or Typhons, what may be their Cauſe: — Winds and Tides: — its Diviſion into Provinces. — An Iſland abounding in Antelopes. — Encreaſe of Land next to the Sea.*

THE word Tonquin, in the Chineſe language, ſignifies Court of the Eaſt, becauſe, at the time of the great extent of China, Tonquin, which was a province of it, was the ſeat of one of the imperial courts, which that monarchy maintained in the four parts of the world, as the Chineſe expreſſed themſelves, being perſuaded that their dominion contained nearly all the inhabitable earth; eſteeming ſome neighbouring nations, the greater part of whom were tributary to them, as ſituated at the extremity of the world.

In the Tonquineſe language this kingdom is called An-nam, which ſignifies the repoſe of noon. Theſe two names deſignate its ſituation to the eaſt, ſouthward of Aſia, relatively to China.

It is ſituated in from 17 to 23 deg. north latitude, and from 119 to 127 eaſt longitude, and is wholly within the torrid zone.

To the eaſt it is bounded by the province of Canton; to the weſt, by the kingdoms of Baos and Bowes; to the north, by Yunam and Quanſi, provinces of China; to the ſouth, by Cochin-China and the gulph which bears its name. Its extent is about one hundred and eighty leagues from north-weſt to ſouth-eaſt, and about one hundred and fifty from eaſt to weſt.

If the ſituation of the country is conſidered, the heat is not exceſſive; the many rivers by which it is watered, and the periodical rains, conſiderably diminiſh its violence. It contains none of thoſe immenſe barren ſandy mountains, which cauſe a ſcorching heat in the countries bordering on the Perſian gulph, although they are much farther from the tropic.

The ſalubrity of the climate is not at all times the ſame, even for the natives of the country, much leſs for ſtrangers. It is healthy and temperate from the month of September to the month of March. The cold is very ſenſibly felt in the months of January and February, although they never have either ſnow or ice: it is even very

* Paris, 1778, 2 vols. 12mo.

rare

rare that any hail falls; that deſtructive meteor is almoſt unknown in Tonquin. The temperature of the air becomes unhealthy in the months of April, May, and June, as well on account of the fogs and rains, as becauſe the ſun then approaches its zenith: the heat is exceſſive during the months of July and Auguſt.

The rains, which regularly commence about May, ſometimes ſooner, and continue till Auguſt, render the earth very humid, and the view of the country delightful: the trees are then in their full beauty; but theſe rains tend ſo little to cool the air, that the heat is never ſo intolerable as when the country is as it were inundated, and the roads impaſſable, which frequently happens during the months of July and Auguſt.

The ſummer here anſwers to the rainy ſeaſon, when the ſun is at its greateſt elevation, or approaches it. The heat, which continually encreaſes, excites a conſiderable evaporation, in a country for the greater part covered with waters and foreſts: the clouds diſſolve almoſt as ſoon as formed, again ſoon collect, and yield ſucceſſive rains, accompanied with ſtorms and thunder, which are continually heard, and ſometimes at all the points of the horizon at once; the air becomes ſuffocating, lightnings glare over the whole atmoſphere: ſuch is the prevailing ſtate of the temperature from the beginning of April till the middle of Auguſt. The rains that fall during this interval cauſe ſudden inundations, which are very deſtructive in the mountainous parts of the country; they tear away rocks, ſoil, trees, and even houſes, when they are expoſed to the impetuoſity of the torrents. In the level lands the waters gently ſpread and cauſe leſs ravages: they inundate the fields and villages, enter the houſes without deſtroying them; the inhabitants go every where in boats, even into the houſes in towns and the villages which lie low, while the lands near the ſea are dry, becauſe the waters in the middle of the inundated provinces run off by numerous canals and the rivers to which they join.

The bay of Tonquin, and the provinces bordering on it, are ſometimes, during the month of Auguſt and part of September, expoſed to frightful hurricanes, which are felt in diſtricts; for, if they were general, they would cauſe a total devaſtation: they are dreadful winds with ſmall rain, which in four and twenty hours fly round the compaſs: ſeamen call them typhons; they may be traced by their deſtructive ravages wherever they paſs; trees and houſes are thrown down, corn torn up and ſcattered; even the birds, ſtupified by the whirlwind which tears them along, fall and may be taken with the hand. Theſe deſtructive tempeſts are announced ſome days before they come, by a dull ark which appears in the north: that becomes a ſignal to the inhabitants of the country to ſecure the roofs of their houſes, ſtrengthen the pillars, and to well-faſten their boats. Theſe precautions, however, only prevent a part of the accidents they endeavour to avoid; for the commotion of the air and the waters is ſo violent, that many veſſels are loſt by being daſhed againſt each other: ſhips caught at ſea in theſe hurricanes only eſcape by being ſheltered by the elevated coaſts of ſome iſlands which may protect them; thoſe in the open ſea are almoſt inevitably ſwallowed up. The diſtricts where they are moſt deſtructive are the low lands near the ſea, where little ſhelter is to be found.

In conſidering the different phenomena which accompany theſe tempeſts, it appears that the cauſe ſhould be ſought in the depths of the earth, which ſerve as a bed for the ſea, from whence proceed violent irruptions, which ſpread an inflammable matter through a moiſt and thick atmoſphere, which not being able to expand itſelf without ſtrong efforts, excites theſe dreadful commotions. It is not uncommon, at thoſe times, for the ſea to tranſgreſs its bounds with a roaring noiſe, overwhelm many leagues of country, deſtroying multitudes of men and beaſts. An eye witneſs relates, that about the

the year 1738 a ſimilar irruption ſwallowed up more than ten thouſand people. It happened at the ſame time that, after a noiſe reſembling the report of a cannon, without any tempeſt or the leaſt commotion in the air, the ſea ſuddenly roſe, and overwhelmed ſeveral villages near its coaſts, and a few hours afterwards returned within its limits. It has alſo been remarked, that if it happens to thunder theſe hurricanes immediately ceaſe; the igneous matter, which is the principle of their commotion, ſeems to ſpend itſelf by that exploſion.

Cuſtom, obſervation on the ſtate of the air, ſigns which appear in it, enable the Tonquineſe to foretel, with tolerable certainty, the approach of theſe tempeſts, though not to exactly fix the day; they are, as it were, habituated to them; there are few years but what they are expoſed to them; ſometimes even ſeveral ſucceed each other; there have been known as many as ſeven in the ſame year: they are the moſt formidable ſcourge of theſe regions.

The winds are regular in all the flat country, and even in the greater part of the mountainous: they are ſix months to the north and ſix to the ſouth; the former commence in October and laſt till April; the latter begin in April and continue till October.

The tides change according to the direction of the winds, as well as the ſeaſons: in Europe they flow ſix hours and ebb for the ſame period. At Tonquin, and adjoining parts it only flows and ebbs once every four and twenty hours, except at the new and full moon. The Tonquineſe, although but little able to calculate the courſe of the moon, yet are pretty exact as to the time and changes of the tides: they have a kind of routine which ſerves them for a guide; for they are not all ſufficiently inſtructed to derive any information from the rude almanack, which the government of this country cauſes to be made every year, which is one of the moſt important employment of ſome of the mandareens of the firſt order. The high tides occur in the months of November, December, and January, during the prevalence of the north wind; and the loweſt in the months of May, June and July, which are in the ſouth wind.

The kingdom of Tonquin is divided into eleven provinces *, four are named provinces of the eaſt, weſt, north and ſouth, according to their ſituation, in reſpect to the royal

* The navigator Dampierre, who viſited Tonquin, and penetrated conſiderably into the interior of the country, and who likewiſe received information from the Engliſh merchants, ſettled for a long time at Kacho or Kecho, the capital of this kingdom, divides it into eight great provinces, four of which have no other names than of provinces of the four cardinal points. The fifth, which is in the centre is called Kacho or Kecho the ſame as the capital; the other three are Tenam, Tenchoa, and Nghéam. This diviſion agrees pretty well with ours: time and other cauſes may have ſomewhat altered this diſtribution, ſuch as Dampierre learnt from the Engliſh, about the year 1680; we ſhall mention it here, as it will ſerve to give an idea of the productions of Tonquin, and the ſituation of its chief places.

The province of Tenam is the moſt eaſtern: it has China on the S. E. The iſland of Aynan and the ſea to the S. and S. W. and the province of the Eaſt to the N. W. its extent is middling and its chief production conſiſts in rice.

The province of the Eaſt extends from that of Tenam to that of the North: it is bounded on the eaſt by China, to the weſt by part of the province of the ſouth, and by the province of Kacho, to the ſouth by the ſea. It is very large, extremely low, and nearly filled with iſlands, particularly in the ſouth-eaſt part, which the ſea bounds on the ſide of Tenam. The capital and ſeat of government is Héan It produces abundance of rice and cattle, and the inhabitatns of the ſea coaſts carry on a conſiderable fiſhery.

The province of the South is a triangular iſland, encloſed to the eaſt by a river which Dampierre calls Domea, or rather by the two arms of the ſame river, which Baron calls Songkoy. It is a very low country abounding in rice and cattle.

Tenchoa, ſituated weſtward of the river Rokbo, is bounded on the north by the province of the weſt on the eaſt by the iſland of Aynan, and on the ſouth by the ſea: its riches conſiſt in rice and cattle.

Nghéam,

royal city which ſtands in the middle of theſe four provinces, the others are X'ù tiên Kûong, X'u Hûong Hoâ, which border on China, X'u Thén, X'u Kàſbang, this laſt joins Junnâ'n, X'u Thank, X'u Nghe, one part of which is a frontier to Cochin-China, and another to Laos, and laſtly the province of Jen Quàng which, properly ſpeaking, is only a part of the province of the Eaſt, although it has a ſeparate name.

The interior of the country is croſſed by a navigable river, nearly the whole breadth of the kingdom: it runs from north to ſouth it diſcharges itſelf into the bay of Tonquin; it is called Songkoy; there are ſeveral iſlands in it ſome of which are inhabited, and the others are uſed for fiſhing. This river receives ſeveral others, both from the eaſt and weſt, which are advantageous to the inland navigation of the country and communicate with the numerous canals, which ſerve to tranſport their merchandize, as well as to water their rice. Theſe numerous canals and navigable rivers, are the cauſe that the roads are but badly maintained, becauſe the Tonquineſe find it more convenient to uſe boats to paſs from one place to another, than any other method of travelling.

The bay of Tonquin is very extenſive, and contains ſeveral iſlands, ſome of which are inhabited: the chief is called by the inhabitants Twon-bene. The Dutch call it the iſle of Brigands, perhaps becauſe it is there that the advanced guard is ſtationed, the chiefs of which exerciſe the moſt lucrative office in the kingdom, the right of collecting the duty on the veſſels that enter the provinces of Tenchoa and Nghéam: every large veſſel pays a rix-dollar and a half, and in proportion for ſmaller ones. The annual revenue of this tax, cannot be leſs than a million. This iſland is ſituated in 19 deg. 15 min. north latitude, and is ſcarcely more than five leagues in circuit, it is a league from the coaſt, the ſoil is elevated and rocky, interſected with ſmall mountains, and is little adapted for agriculture: its inhabitants breed but few cattle; but it contains an immenſe number of antelopes which keep among the rocks and thickets, to the increaſe of which the natives ought to pay attention, as they obtain muſk from them, which with them is an object of conſiderable trade *.

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Nghéam, ſituated to the eaſt of Tenchoa, is bounded to the ſouth and weſt by Cochin-China, and to the north by the province of the Weſt. It is very extenſive and joins to the advantages of the other provinces that of being conſtantly protected by troops againſt the attacks and ſurpriſes of the Cochin-Chineſe.

The province of the weſt has Nghéam to the ſouth, the kingdom of Laos to the Weſt, the province of Kacho to the eaſt, and to the ſouth the province of the North. It is large, very pleaſant, rich in wood and paſture; it produces conſiderable quantities of lacker and ſilk.

The province of the North is a vaſt country, conſtituting the whole of the kingdom; it has the kingdom of Laos to the weſt, China on the eaſt and north: the kingdom of Baos or Bowes to the north-weſt and the three provinces of the Weſt, of Kacho, and of the Eaſt to the ſouth; in its vaſt extent it is diverſified in the quality of its ſoil; the greater part is covered with high mountains, which produce gold, marble and numbers of wild elephants. The other diſtricts produce lacker, ſilk, cinnamon, and different articles of commerce.

The province of Kacho forms the centre of the kingdom, between the provinces of the Eaſt, Weſt, North, and South. Dampierre, who had time to viſit it, no leſs praiſes its fertility than its pleaſantneſs; it is not deficient in wood, but rice, lacker, and ſilk are the chief objects of trade.

* The muſk which comes from Tonquin is of the firſt quality, it is moſt probable that the antelopes which afford it are chiefly of this iſland. It is known that this animal eats ſnakes in preference to any other food; and the ſoil of this iſland muſt be very favourable to the multiplication of theſe reptiles. Since our moſt celebrated naturaliſts ſeem to diſtinguiſh the animal that bears muſk from the antelope, and that for want of knowing it, and of having compared it with the antelope, there is every reaſon to believe that it is not of a different kind. Thoſe moſt acquainted with the antelope, ſay they are about the ſize of a ſmall deer, brown, ſometimes ſpotted with brighter ſpots of the ſame colour; the bag which contains the perfume is ſituated near the navel of the animal; it reſembles a ſmall purſe, and is ſurrounded with a very delicate ſkin, covered with very fine ſoft hair: this purſe or bag is about three inches long, two broad, and half an inch in depth; the muſk collects in the bag, and adheres round it like a kind of ſalt.

A ſmall

A ſmall bay to the weſtward of this iſle, is very celebrated in the country for the pearl fiſhery carried on there, but which no perſon can practiſe without a ſpecial licence from the court. There are ſome other iſlands near the coaſt, which ſerve as ſhelter to the fiſhing boats, which are very numerous in a country where next to rice fiſh is the moſt common food.

It muſt likewiſe be obſerved that the ſea of Tonquin, ſo far from gaining on the land, viſibly recedes from it. Thus the greater part of the iſlands above mentioned, will in time be joined to the continent. The tradition of the country is, that the province of the South, which is one of the moſt conſiderable in the kingdom has ſucceſſively emerged from the boſom of the deep. At preſent it is at leaſt thirty leagues in length, following the courſe of the river Songkoy, which takes its riſe in the lofty mountains of China, and after a long courſe waſhes the walls of the King's palace, and croſſes the capital. This city is now at leaſt 30 leagues from the ſea, and it is ſaid, that formerly the diſemboguement of the river into the ſea, was ſome leagues above this ſame city. What gives ſome probability to this opinion is, that ſeveral towns and villages, which within the memory of man were ſituated on the ſea coaſt, are now more than half a league diſtant from it. Theſe lands are not yet ſolid enough to be capable of culture, or producing grain, but it already produces wood fit for fuel, and even for building houſes: they furniſh abundance of thoſe ruſhes, which the inhabitants uſe to make beautiful mats, and to cover their houſes.

To judge by the quantity of ſand and ſhallows which lie between the two principal mouths of the river, which extend for more than two leagues of coaſt, it may be ſuppoſed that the province of the South will continue to increaſe. Theſe two mouths are about 20 leagues diſtant from each other. The chief, which Europeans call Doméa, is the only one they enter, it is encumbered with a bar of about two miles in length, the channel of which is more than half a mile wide, and is bounded on each ſide by ſands which render the paſſage difficult, and even dangerous to ſtrange veſſels, which not only require a pilot of the country, but cannot clear it during low water. The fiſhermen ſerve as pilots. They inhabit a village called Batcha, ſo advantageouſly ſituated at the mouth of the river that they can ſee every ſhip that approaches, or hear the report of the cannon that European veſſels diſcharge on their arrival. The entrance to the river is known by a mountain called the Elephant, for which they ſteer N.W.¼N.; making directly for the land, it ſhoals to ſix fathom, they are then only two or three miles from the entrance of the bar, they bear up as much as poſſible N.N.W. where they anchor to wait for pilots.

The other provinces of Tonquin ſituated on the ſea, to the eaſtward, receive but little of theſe acquiſitions, becauſe they have ſo many rivers as croſs the province of the South, and empty themſelves into the ſea at its ſouthern extremity.

## CHAP. II. — *Topographical Deſcription of Tonquin. — Capital of the Kingdom. — The King's Palace. — Chief Cities. — Great Roads. — Inhabitants of the mountainous Country. — Productions and Culture of the Lands. — Fertility of the Soil. — Grounds and Lakes filled with Fiſh. — Fruits. — Flowers. — Domeſtic and wild Animals.*

TONQUIN may be divided into two general parts, mountainous and flat country. The frontiers towards China, a part of Cochin-China and the kingdom of Laos are found by extenſive mountains, moſtly covered with immenſe foreſts: it ſeems that they would all be fertile if cultivated: they are not defaced by dry and barren rocks like the Alps, they more reſemble that part of the Apennines which extend from Genoa

to the Adriatic Sea from weſt to eaſt by the ſouth. The woods are very beautiful; gold, ſilver, iron, yellow, red and black copper, which is much eſteemed in the country, are found in them.

The low part of Tonquin much reſembles Holland by its many canals, dykes, rivers, and lakes. The ſingle province of the Weſt is watered by ſeven large rivers, which unite about 15 leagues above the royal city, and form a kind of ſea or large lake, many branches iſſue from it, which uniting at different diſtances, form conſiderable rivers.

The province of the South affords a ſingular appearance throughout its whole extent, by the number of canals and rivers which interſect it, and which are all covered with boats. It is therefore that this is one of the dampeſt countries known: although ſituated in the midſt of the torrid zone, thoſe ſcorching droughts which deſtroy the productions of nature, are never experienced in it; but they are expoſed to all the inconveniences of a damp heat, which occaſions a number of diſeaſes.

Tonquin in general is well peopled: there are few cities, but many towns and villages or aldées, ſo cloſe to each other every where that is not covered by water, that they ſeem to form but one continuation of dwellings, all belonging to the ſame community, ſo that at firſt ſight it is difficult to diſtinguiſh them one from another. It is ſaid that it is not uncommon to meet with towns containing thirty, forty, and even a hundred thouſand ſouls, which is equal in point of population to the largeſt cities of Europe.

The only city, which properly deſerves that name, is Kacho, or Kecho, the capital of the kingdom. The king reſides there: it is ſituated on the river Songkay, 40 leagues from the ſea, in 21° N. lat. In ſize it may be compared with the moſt celebrated cities of Aſia, and its circumference is reckoned at leaſt equal to that of Paris; but no city, that is known, equals it for population, eſpecially on the firſt and fifteenth of each moon, when the large markets are held, which attract nearly all the inhabitants of the towns and villages within a conſiderable diſtance. One may judge of the multitudes of people that are then collected, and thus ſuddenly augmented by millions of ſouls, to ſuch a degree, that it is making great progreſs to advance a hundred paces in half an hour, although the ſtreets are very broad. Notwithſtanding this innumerable crowd, the moſt perfect order prevails throughout the city. Every kind of merchandize ſold there has its particular ſtreet aſſigned to it, which belongs to one, two or more villages, who alone have a right to keep ſhop there.

The ſtreets of Kacho are large and handſome, paved with brick, except where the elephants, horſes, King's carriages, and cattle paſs. Two-thirds of the houſes are of wood, the reſt of brick; among theſe are the ſtores of the foreign merchants, diſtinguiſhable amid a multitude of cabins built of bamboo and clay.

The palaces of the mandarins and public edifices, which occupy large tracts, have nothing remarkable in them but a large wooden building which conſtitutes the chief part, and is built more ſolid than the generality of houſes, and are ornamented with ſculpture and paintings: the interior is divided into ſeveral chambers; the pavement and flooring is neat, and the roof of tiles of different colours is well contrived.

The common houſes are compoſed of roofs ſupported on poſts, generally covered with ſtraw, ſea-reeds, or large leaves, which laſt 30 or 40 years, if no accident happens to them. They have neither cielings, nor ſtories; they are merely divided by boarded partitions for different uſes; they have all only the bare ground. They have no glaſs to their windows; it is ſcarcely known in this country; its place is ſupplied by open linen and mats of bamboo or rattan, ſo fine as to be almoſt tranſparent.

In the manner the houſes are built, fires are to be dreaded, and prevented by the utmoſt precaution: it is therefore forbidden to keep fires during the night, and they are only permitted during certain hours in the day; the police pay viſits when leaſt expected, and thoſe who are found with fires during the prohibited time are fined.

The utmoſt order in general prevails in this capital: it is divided into quarters and bodies of trades, each having their chief, and forming different communities, which have their own peculiar police and laws. Their commerce is very great, and carried on by means of barks and boats on the large river which croſſes it. Each boat pays about two-pence halfpenny for anchorage, which produces conſiderable ſums. The number of boats is ſo prodigious that it is difficult to approach the ſhores of the river: our rivers and moſt commercial ports, even Venice, with all its gondolas and boats, can give no idea of the buſtle and population of the river at Kecho, although only thoſe who are neceſſary to conduct the boats and protect the goods remain in them: all the merchants having houſes in the neighbouring villages, none of them living in veſſels, as ſome accounts aſſert, and among others that of Tavernier.

The King's palace occupies a part of the city; it has an incloſure of walls, entirely hid by the ſurrounding houſes. Theſe walls are ſaid to be three leagues in circumference, ſix or ſeven feet high, and nearly as thick, which forms a public promenade. This quarter is the handſomeſt and beſt built of the city; it is inhabited by the moſt diſtinguiſhed people: the grandees of the kingdom, the courts of juſtice are in it, and the land is exceſſively dear to thoſe who would build there. The architecture of the palace is not more diſtinguiſhed than of the principal edifices of the city: its entrance announces nothing of the grandeur of the monarch that inhabits it, nor of the wealth it contains: little of its interior is known, except that ſculpture and painting are carried as far as the ſtate of thoſe arts in this country will allow. The buildings are of the fineſt wood and brick; gold and ſilver reigns throughout in profuſion: there are gardens parks, canals, ponds, and every thing that can contribute to the amuſement and accommodation of thoſe who paſs their lives in it; eſpecially the prince's wives, who never quit it, nor the women and eunuchs who wait on them.

Before the revolution which eſtabliſhed the preſent government of Tonquin, the buildings were much handſomer and more ſolid than they are at preſent. The triple walls of the old city and of the ancient palace, its courts paved with marble, the ruins of its gates and lodges, give ſome idea of what it was in its ſplendour, and makes one regret the deſtruction of one of the fineſt and moſt extenſive edifices of Aſia.

At preſent the royal city itſelf has no walls, nor any external defence, like the other cities, or conſiderable places of this kingdom; it has only an encloſure formed by live hedges of bamboos, which in fact is a better protection from thieves, and even from a ſudden aſſault from troops, than any walls they could build in this country.

The environs of the royal city, are the conſtant quarters of a numerous militia, that the King keeps ready for any event. The arſenal, and other magazines of warlike ſtores, are on the banks of the river.

On the other ſide of the Songkoy is the camp or Chineſe city; formerly foreigners and even Europeans were admitted into the royal city; they are now totally excluded: the reaſon is, that the Chineſe becoming very rich, and very numerous in Tonquin, being beſides proud and perſevering in their undertakings, they are fearful they might become powerful enough to excite revolt, as they have done at Batavia, the Manillas, Siam, and other parts of the eaſt, where commerce has attracted them; they were even more to be feared in Tonquin than any where elſe, becauſe the kingdom, having once

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formed part of the empire of China; they would have more pretences, and perhaps greater means of exciting a revolution. They are however permitted to go all over the kingdom, where they carry on an immenſe trade, and are even received into the royal city, but may not ſettle there. All other foreigners are forbidden to enter, or even to approach it without expreſs permiſſion.

Next to the capital, Héan is the moſt conſiderable city in all Tonquin; it contains more than 10,000 houſes, and beſides occupies a vaſt extent, on account of the manner of building. The inhabitants are very rich; it is one of the chief markets of the kingdom; it is ſituated on the right bank of the river, four or five days' journey from its mouth.

Five or ſix leagues from the mouth of the river, is another city called Doméa, much leſs than Héan, but well known to ſtrangers, becauſe it is in a bay formed by the river oppoſite to it, that they anchor, and it is there only they are allowed to form eſtabliſhments to carry on their commerce.

Theſe cities, as well as almoſt all habitations, are ſurrounded with live hedges of bamboo. Wealthy individuals are known by the ſame encloſure round their houſes and gardens, which added to the arequiers which they plant in alleys, form an agreeable coup d'œil, and repreſent all the towns and villages as ſo many parks ornamented with gardens and houſes. In the low lands they are obliged to conſtruct elevations, on which they build their houſes, to avoid the waters during the times of the inundations.

The high roads of theſe provinces are maintained at the public expence; they are broad, high enough not to be inundated during the floods; but not being paved, and being much frequented, in the rainy ſeaſons they form a kind of maſſive mud, which can only be got through by walking barefooted, which all the Tonquineſe do, with the exception of the mandarins, and other diſtinguiſhed perſons, who alone poſſeſs horſes or have a right to uſe them. Rich people, ſuch as merchants, principal farmers, are carried in a kind of hammock, tied to the two ends of a pole, that two, four or more men carry on their ſhoulders.

The keeping of bye roads is at the expence of the inhabitants of the towns or villages, to which they ſerve as communication from one place to another. There are no bridges over the large rivers, the Chineſe had built ſtone ones, when Tonquin was ſubject to them: the Kings have had them every where deſtroyed, to prevent eaſy communications to an enemy in time of war. There are ſome over the ſmaller rivers and canals, built of wood and covered with tiles. Moſt of them are made of poles of bamboo, one end of which reſts on the ſide of the canal or river, and the other reſts againſt a ſimilar one from the oppoſite ſide; ſo as to form a rather elevated angle thus ; bridges of this kind are very ſteep to aſcend, and ſtill more difficult to deſcend; only the moſt active of the Tonquineſe can paſs them with eaſe. They are built by the bonzes, and are covered in with roofs of thin poles, overlaid with ruſhes or leaves.

In the inhabited mountainous country, in great part covered with woods, the houſes are raiſed ſeven or eight feet above the ground and placed on poſts: the floor is conſtructed with canes; under this floor ſerves as a ſtable for the cattle. A ſquare of about four feet covered with clay, on which they light their fire, is their only fire-place or kitchen; there is neither chimney nor pipe to let out the ſmoke, which penetrates every where, and which their uncouth people ſeem to endure without any inconvenience: they even conſider it as beneficial to preſerve their buildings.

In the mountainous country the habitations are diſperſed without any order, at conſiderable diſtances from each other; but they all depend on the chief place of their diſtrict, and are under magiſtrates acknowledged by the inhabitants, although the effects of the general police are leſs viſible in this woody and mountainous country than in the flat provinces: ſome are even ſo ignorant and barbarous, that they may be compared to the ſavages of America.

Fiſhermen, and thoſe belonging to the inland navigation of the kingdom, live on the rivers and canals, in cabins built on floats of cane: theſe kind of houſes are faſtened to the ſhore by lines forty or fifty feet long, which ſerve for cordage; they are very ſtrong, and laſt a long time.

The cultivation of the lands is eaſy: the rice harveſts, which is the chief food of the nation, never fail, and are almoſt always very plentiful.

The care of cultivating this grain, as neceſſary in the Eaſt as corn is in Europe, is the chief object with the Tonquineſe, and keeps them conſtantly employed. It is made to ſhoot in the houſe in troughs placed for that purpoſe, it is then ſown very thick, in beds well watered, which are afterwards beat down, and levelled as exactly as poſſible: as ſoon as it is dry, it ſprings up very quick; in five or ſix weeks it is fit to tranſplant, and it is put in fields prepared for it, where it is planted ſtem by ſtem. This work is done by women.

The rice grows, ripens, and is gathered in about three months, reckoning from the day it is tranſplanted. They generally have two crops in the year in the low lands, which, as they have water at will from the rivers and canals, are always kept well watered. The land is diſpoſed in ſmall ridges, in the furrows between which they can convey the water and keep it at the neceſſary height. Thoſe who reap the rice are up to their knees in water.

In the mountainous land, where they have not the ſame command of water, they have but one crop in the year, in the fifth or ſixth moon, which pretty nearly anſwers to our June.

The rice-plant grows to the height of three or four feet: its leaf is larger than that of wheat; it bears two broad ſtems, much divided, furniſhed with oblong flat grains; the ſtems are covered with a beard two or three inches long, forked at the end, and generally briſtled at the bottom. In general the grain is white, enveloped in a firſt ſkin, brown or of a deep yellow, which muſt be taken off before the rice is uſed for food. There is different coloured rice, yellow, red, white and black; there is even a kind which has rather an agreeable ſmell: it is that which, by preference, is offered up to the idols. All theſe kinds are eaten. That from which arrack is diſtilled is never uſed for food but when the other kinds cannot be had, being very hard to digeſt.

It has been proved that if the Tonquineſe were more induſtrious they might have a third crop from their lands, by ſowing barley in the intervals between the rice on the ridges. The Chineſe do this in their moſt fertile provinces. But this is not practiſed in Tonquin: they ſow no corn, they have no vines, they have not even any meadows; but they gather graſs enough for their cattle, in the intervals of the ridges where the rice grows, under the trees, by the ſides of the roads, and the paths which ſeparate the lands.

Let it be added, that the ſame fields which produce the rice furniſh an aſtoniſhing abundance of fiſh of all kinds, and even very beautiful ones, brought by the great inundations, and which find a food that ſuits them makes them remain. When the waters retire, there remain fiſh enough in the pools and ditches to breed and repleniſh the

the fields of rice in the time of the floods. When they drain the lands to draw off the ſuperabundant water to prepare them, each village lets out the fiſhing in their own diſtrict: what remains in low places and in the ditches is ſufficient for their uſual conſumption.

There is a conſiderable diſtrict in the province of the South, which reſembles a lake, and which never entirely drys up; when there is leaſt water on it, that is about the fifth moon, they ſow rice on it, which they have time to reap before the rainy ſeaſon. When there is too much water to expect any crop, thoſe who inhabit the borders of this lake, fiſh up a prodigious quantity of ſmall crabs, which reſemble crayfiſh. Theſe crabs are much eſteemed, and ſerve all the year as ſauce to their fiſh, of which the people make their common food.

The moſt common fruits of Tonquin, are not inferior in quality, to thoſe of other eaſtern countries: but the oranges are much ſuperior, and of ſeveral kinds. The other fruits are bananas, pine-apples, guavas, papas, ſapodillas. The lèchea, which the inhabitants call bèjay, grows on a high tree, whoſe leaves are like the laurel: the fruit appears in grapes on the branches, and each grain takes the form of a heart, the ſize of a ſmall hen's egg. When ripe it is of a crimſon red: its ſhell is thin, rough, and eaſily opens. The ſight and taſte are equally gratified by the excellence and beauty of this fruit: it does not keep more than forty days: it is ripe in April. About that time, the King's taſte-officers put their ſeal on thoſe trees, which promiſe the beſt bèjay, without enquiring whom they belong to, and the owners not only muſt not touch them, but are obliged to attend to the preſervation of thoſe fruits reſerved and marked for the court.

The prune or date tree, called john, or dragon's egg, is very common in this country: the tree is large, its fruit is the ſize of a ſmall plumb, of a pale olive, or dead leaf colour, and its taſte delicious. This fruit being very heating, is conſidered as unwholeſome, notwithſtanding the pleaſure they take in eating it.

The taca or mite, the largeſt fruit in the world*, ſince ſome of them weigh above a hundred pounds; it grows larger in Tonquin than elſewhere; it grows from the very body of the tree, or its largeſt branches. There are two kinds of it, the one known by the name of barca is the beſt, of a ſolid conſiſtence, and has the taſte of a melon, but it is hard to digeſt: if eaten to exceſs it cauſes a peſtilential diſorder, which the natives call morxi. The other kind, called papa or giraſal, is ſoftiſh, of an inſipid taſte, and of a much inferior quality to the firſt; it is only in requeſt for its nuts or cheſtnuts. The ſeaſon of this fruit laſts from March to September.

They have many mulberry trees, but leſs eſteemed for their fruit than as they ſerve for food to the worm that produces ſilk, which is here ſo common, that ſtuffs of it ſerve to clothe the very pooreſt ſort of people.

There are many other fruit-trees, which it would be difficult to deſcribe to Europeans merely by their names. They have neither apples, pears, apricots, nor peaches, nor have they any cabbages, artichokes, nor of our common plants and roots.

Sugar-canes grow ſpontaneouſly; but the Tonquineſe do not underſtand refining ſugar; nevertheleſs they uſe it in the common ſervices of life, and make preſerves of fruits and roots with it, which keep a long time, notwithſtanding the prevailing humidity of their atmoſphere.

They care little about flowers, and the culture of them is entirely neglected: among their buſhes they have very fine roſes; the moſt remarkable of which are white mingled with purple, of a grateful odour; there are others, which are yellow and red, but

* The Durio of Siam. — Tr.

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void of fragrance, the ſtalks of which have no thorns. The lily is common, as in all the other countries of India: it is white like thoſe of Europe, with a tall ſtem, but the flower is ſmaller. The Perſian jaſmin is common in all the hedges. The flowers they moſt value, is a kind of caper, white or red, of an excellent perfume, and laſts at leaſt a fortnight after it is gathered. Women of quality uſe them to ornament their dreſs.

Among domeſtic animals, oxen and buffalos only are uſed for labour: they never eat them, though their religion does not forbid the uſe of them, as in other parts of India.

Their horſes are ſmall, but ſpirited and ſtout, though only the Prince and ſome mandarins uſe them, and they are rather eſteemed as an appendage of pomp, than of any real utility. They have no aſſes nor ſheep; there are few goats, but they breed a great many pigs, the fleſh of which is wholeſome and well-flavoured. They have cats which are of no uſe, as they will not catch rats; the dogs carry on the war with thoſe troubleſome animals: the people eat cats, dogs, and rats. Poultry, ſuch as fowls, ducks, and geeſe are in great abundance; they are to be met with every where, even in the woods, where they multiply exceedingly without any care. The inhabitants of Tonquin, as well as thoſe of China, hatch ducks' eggs in ovens, and amazingly encreaſe the number by that means. The canals, rivers and fields are covered with different kinds of birds fit for the table; they are taken with nets or ſnares; for though hunting and fiſhing are allowed freely all over the kingdom, the uſe of fire arms is forbidden, under pain of death.

The foreſts of the provinces ſituated in the mountains contain ſtags, deer and wild boars: there are alſo peacocks, a ſpecies of partridge peculiar to the country, quails, and other birds. The tigers render the neighbourhood of the foreſts very dangerous; they are of different ſizes, ſome of them eight or ten feet long, are of an amazing ſtrength, catch up the largeſt buffalos, and carry them off with aſtoniſhing celerity.

The wild elephants are not leſs formidable: when they eſcape from the woods, into the fields, they overturn houſes and kill the inhabitants. The foreſts are peopled with monkies of all ſizes and ſpecies: ſome have dogs' heads, ſome are according, to the accounts of the inhabitants, ſix or ſeven feet high. Parrots are not leſs numerous, and both are very deſtructive to the rice and fruits, and the inhabitants take every poſſible means to deſtroy or at leaſt drive them away.

## CHAP. III. — *Population of the Country: — Character and Difference of the Inhabitants: — Manners, Perſon and Corporeal Qualities: — Dreſs.*

TONQUIN may be conſidered as the moſt populous country in the world, eſpecially in the four provinces, which ſurround the royal city. The wooded country is leſs peopled, although well inhabited.

There are neither fortified places, nor walled cities in the whole kingdom. They reckon nine thouſand towns, deſignated by the title Xà, and three thouſand annexed to them called Trai: many villages or communities depend on theſe principal places.

The Tonquineſe nation, although ſubject to the ſame empire and the ſame laws, is compoſed of different races of men, who only have an external reſemblance, and whoſe diſpoſitions are wholly different.

The people inhabiting the mountains live by hunting, and the productions of the ground they cultivate round their habitations, without having ſcarcely any connection with the inhabitants of the plains, and are looked upon by the reſt of the Ton-

quineſe as a ſavage nation. They are a quiet people, and give the government no uneaſineſs, though it is known that if occaſion required, they could furniſh the beſt and braveſt ſoldiers in the nation.

Theſe mountains are alſo peopled by a nation entirely different from thoſe we have juſt mentioned: they are of Tartar or Chineſe origin, only inhabit the foreſts, often change their dwelling, eſpecially when they find the earth they cultivate does not anſwer to their labour, and begins to be exhauſted. This ſingular nation is the moſt poliſhed of Tonquin, the moſt inſtructed in the ſcience of the Chineſe characters, and carry on a trade with the low lands, but little know yet which enriches them.

It may be ſuppoſed, that this people beſt underſtand how to derive any advantage from the metals contained in the mountains, and the valuable woods they bear, eſpecially cinnamon, which is very common; but which is forbidden to be cut or ſold, except on the King's account, who reſerves the trade in it excluſively to himſelf.

The hunters of this nation are very expert with the bow; they have the ſecret of poiſoning their arrows, and of giving ſo exact a degree of activity to their poiſon, that they know how far the wild animals they wound can run before they die: therefore after they have hit their mark, they remain very quiet; aſſured of ſucceſs, they go to pick up their prey in the place they expect to find it, and are ſeldom miſtaken. This poiſon does not prevent their eating the animals that die by it without any inconvenience. Thieves dare not approach their habitations; the very tigers ſeem to dread them. Theſe talents paſs for diſtinguiſhed qualities with the reſt of the Tonquineſe, and cauſe them to be looked upon as men favoured by nature, and worthy of eſteem; they are even ſuppoſed to poſſeſs ſupernatural ſecrets. They never leave their mountains, except to pay their tributes at the royal city.

The greater part of the people of the low lands are rude and ſimple, who are generally governed by an exceſs of credulity or ſuperſtition.

It ſometimes happens that the great river which deſcends from the mountains of China, and runs through the kingdom, ſwelled by the melting of the ſnows and the rains which fall at the end of ſpring, cauſes ſuch terrible inundations, that the country ſeems threatened with ruin: whole provinces are covered with water, with an infinite loſs of proviſions to the inhabitants, who are obliged to take ſhelter in their boats, and gain the elevated country, where they ſeek the means of ſubſiſtence till the waters retire.

Both men and women among the Tonquineſe are of a middling ſtature, but well proportioned, the face broad, without being ſo flat as that of the Chineſe, the eyes and noſe ſmall, their hair long and black. The men have little beard, which they ſuffer to grow: the boys muſt ſhave the top of the head in the form of a creſcent. Few of them are deformed; the women are handſome. They are much the ſame colour as the Portugueſe and Spaniards.

Although the children of both ſexes have very white teeth, as ſoon as they attain the age of ſeventeen or eighteen, they black them like the Japaneſe: like the Chineſe they alſo let their nails grow: the longer they are, the handſomer they are eſteemed; but this cuſtom is confined to the higher claſſes. The women dye their nails red; there is even a certain degree of elegance in having the hands and feet tinted with a ſlight ſhade of that colour.

The common people neither wear ſtockings, ſhoes, nor drawers; the men's habit conſiſts of a piece of linen ſeveral ells in length, with which they gird their loins, and cover what modeſty directs them to conceal; and of a long habit with very wide ſleeves,

ſleeves, which croſſes, and ties with a band on the right ſide, and covers all the body. When at work or walking, they in general only wear the cloth round their loins.

The women are modeſtly clothed; they wear a long petticoat, and one or ſeveral habits, of the ſame form as thoſe of the men, but ſhorter; they cover the boſom with a piece of linen or ſilk in the form of a heart: they have ear-rings and bracelets of gold or ſilver: they wear no necklaces: they generally go with legs and feet naked, like the men.

Rich or dignified people, wear very long and wide drawers, an under waiſtcoat with tight ſleeves and ſhort, of the ſame form as their habit, and a long robe over. In viſiting, both rich and poor ſhould have a longer and wider habit than in common, the ſleeves of which reach the ground: it ſhould be of linen, ſilk being too common in this country: they cover their heads with a hat made of two leaves of a tree, which are ſtrong enough to ſhelter them from the ſun and rain. A particular law in Tonquin forbids the public uſe of ſandals and ſhoes to all except learned men, and thoſe who have attained the rank of doctor; but in their houſes they generally wear a kind of ſlipper divided into two parts, one for the great toe, and the other for the remainder of the toes, which, they ſay, originates in that the antient Tonquineſe had the great toe at a great diſtance from the others: theſe ſlippers have no heels.

Their habits are of different colours, the moſt common is white, that is the natural colour of the ſilk, or linen; black is for the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſonages. The mandarins and their officers when officiating in their employments, or when they go to court, wear robes of a ſhining black, approaching to a dull violet colour.

As long hair is conſidered a beauty at Tonquin, it forms part of their dreſs of ceremony. Men and women generally tuck it up, and tie it in a knot behind; but when they appear before a ſuperior, they let it down through reſpect: the women even conceal part of the face with it. The ſoldiers when at exerciſe, and artiſans when at work, tuck it up under their bonnets, or tie it on the top of the head.

They do not clothe children till the age of ſix or ſeven; ſome give them a waiſtcoat, which only reaches the navel, but moſt of them are entirely naked.

## CHAP. IV. — *Taxes: — Public Works: — Right of Inheritance: — Language: — Marriages; — Divorce; — Sumptuary Laws: — Cuſtom of Adoption: — Debtors and Creditors.*

THE condition of the people is very wretched; they are obliged to pay heavy taxes, and are ſubject to hard labour. Every man from the age of eighteen or twenty pays head money, from three to ſix rix-dollars per annum; the price is proportioned to the wealth of the territory of the town or villiage, to which he belongs. This tax is collected in April and October, which are the rice harveſts: it is generally taken in kind; therefore the quantity is not fixed, but is proportioned to the produce. A merchant ſettled in the capital, beſides the taxes he pays for his trade, is not the leſs liable to the capitulation in the place from whence he orginates, and to all other ſervices by the ſame reaſon. There are only royal exemptions; the King's domeſtics, miniſters of ſtate, public officers; the literati, from the rank of ſingdo, the firſt ſtep that gives rank in the ſtate, and which anſwers to bachelor in our univerſities; officers, ſoldiers, and ſome who purchaſe this privilege; and that only for their own life; which is only obtained by intereſt.

In the villages, whoſe territory is barren, or very poor, the inhabitants who are not able to pay the tax in rice or money, are employed to cut graſs for the elephants, and

ſtate horſes. However diſtant they may be, they are obliged to ſend it at their own expenſe to the capital.

Beſide this tax, every Tonquineſe, not exempt, is ſubject to the vecquan, or ſervice of the monarch, that is to ſay, they are obliged, either by themſelves or by thoſe they hire, to labour at the public works, the chief of which are the walls of the King's palace, the high roads, the buildings for the magiſtrates, the arſenals, bridges, &c.

Artiſans of all profeſſions muſt employ ſix months in the year at the vecquan, without any hope of recompenſe for their labour: the moſt they can expect, from a mild and humane public officer, is their food. The reſt of the year is abſolutely their own; time little enough to maintain a numerous family.

Property is in general reſpected, even by the King; by which ſome Tonquineſe riſe above the common miſery, when they have courage and induſtry enough to endeavour to make their fortune by trade.

The Chineſe having for a long time been maſters of Tonquin, have introduced their laws, language, characters, or manner of writing, and religion. The cuſtoms of Tonquin are ſtill very like thoſe of China, with the exception of ſome few points which diſtinguiſh them. The Chineſe language is ſtill their literary one: but the Tonquineſe have formed a kind of jargon of it, which is unintelligible to the Chineſe; they can merely read and underſtand it, when ſet down in their characters. In this kingdom as in all other countries of the world, there are provincial dialects, unintelligible to all but thoſe accuſtomed to them, eſpecially in the province which joins Cochin-China. The pronunciation of this Chineſe language is not the ſame in Tonquin, Cochin-China, Japan, and the iſlands of Liéou-chiéou *, as in China: nevertheleſs all theſe different people, by ſeeing the ſame word written in Chineſe characters, give it the ſame ſignification, although their pronunciation does not in the leaſt agree.

The laws of Tonquin, which ſecure property, regulates the diſtribution of it in families. The eldeſt ſon takes the greateſt part: the law allows ſome ſhare to the daughters; which is but trifling, when there are many brothers.

The Tonquineſe cannot marry without the conſent of their father and mother, or the neareſt of kin, who repreſent the heads of the family. There are degrees of affinity prohibited by law. They may never take a woman in a direct line, however removed from the original ſtock, even if it were to the twentieth degree. Thoſe of the ſame name, or race, can never marry: but there is no degree prohibited in the collateral line, they may even marry two ſiſters.

The girls generally marry at the age of ſixteen. All the ceremony on the ſide of the man conſiſts in demanding her for wife, and making ſome preſents to the father. If the requeſt is accepted, they come to an open explanation of the wealth of the two families. The huſband ſends the girl every thing he intends for her uſe. The day of marriage, the relations and friends of the contracting parties being ſolemnly aſſembled, the bride is carried with all ſhe has received from her huſband to the houſe prepared for their future reſidence. Neither magiſtrates nor prieſts are required; the conſent of the parents is ſufficient: the parties themſelves write, or cauſe to be written, the act by which they mutually engage: they ſign it, or put the meaſure of their finger on it, which they trace on the paper.

* The iſlands of Liéou-chiéou, are thirty-ſix in number, between 25 deg. and 28 deg. north lat. They form a conſiderable kingdom, very populous, and tributary to China: the people have the ſame cuſtoms and language as the Chineſe. The iſland of Liéou-Chiéou, the largeſt, and the reſidence of the King, gives it name to the kingdom. This country is little, but ſeems worthy of being more ſo.

The marriage is entirely free, at leaſt for the huſband, who may ſell his wife, which is not uncommon; or he may put her away, obſerving certain ceremonies: but the wife cannot quit her huſband without his conſent.

Polygamy is tolerated in Tonquin, and is even common: the firſt wife, that is, her that the huſband married firſt, or whoſe parents are moſt reſpectable or rich, holds the chief rank among them, commands over them, and alone bears the title of wife. That the marriage may be deemed valid, they muſt inform the chiefs of the community they belong to, of it, and pay a tax fixed by law. In like manner, to annul a marriage and put away the wife, the huſband breaks a piece of money in two, one half of which he gives his wife, who goes and informs the chiefs of the diſtrict: ſhe is then free, or elſe the huſband gives her a certificate ſigned with his hand and ſeal, in which he acknowledges that he gives up his rights over her, and that he gives her liberty to diſpoſe of herſelf. The huſband is obliged to return her all ſhe brought him in marriage, even the preſents he had given her, to ſhare all the furniture, and the houſe where ſhe lived, as well as the children ſhe has had, if ſhe wiſhes it; for ſhe may leave them all to the huſband. After the death of the huſband, the concubines, or wives of the ſecond order, have no ſhare in his effects, and if they have had no children, they are turned out of the houſe. This cuſtom extends even to the King's wives.

The children of the ſame father, though by different women, inherit alike: only the eldeſt has one-tenth more than his brothers: he takes the place of father to them, on the death of their own, even to his eldeſt ſiſters, when he attains manhood, and they cannot diſpoſe of themſelves without his conſent. During their minority, the uncles govern the minors and their property. In default of males, the girls inherit in equal proportions, which is not the caſe in China, where they cannot ſucceed to immovables nor landed property.

Adultery is puniſhed with baniſhment to the confines of the kingdom: it may be puniſhed with death, but that is very rare. The ancient laws permit a man who ſurpriſes his wife in the act of adultery, to kill her and her gallant, provided it is done with his own hand: if he carries his complaint before the magiſtrates, the woman is condemned to be trod to death by an elephant. The ſeducer is put to death in ſome other manner.

Girls convicted of having forfeited their honour, are obliged to pay a fine, more or leſs, according to the cuſtom of the place. Among the inhabitants of the mountains, who are looked upon as ſavages, the girls live in the moſt unreſtrained manner: but if they become pregnant, and are reported to the mandarin, this accident in the family is enough to ruin the father and mother, by the fines they are obliged to pay, for their negligence in not watching their daughter's conduct. If there is not enough to pay, the girl and her accomplice may be ſold for ſlaves.

The laws forbid the uſe of wine; but are little attended to in this point, except in the royal city, where they are always under the eyes of the mandarins, and where it is cuſtomary to get a written permiſſion from them to uſe it at weddings and funerals.

Children pay the utmoſt reſpect to their parents, living or dead. In no caſe can a ſon engage in a proceſs againſt his father or mother, nor marry without their conſent. The time of mourning for father or mother is twenty-ſeven months: during that time the children cannot marry, unleſs within the three firſt days immediately ſucceeding the death: if they let thoſe paſs, they muſt wait the end of mourning. The

reſpect

reſpect for parents, or thoſe who repreſent them, is ſo well eſtabliſhed and obſerved, that the ſchool-maſters appointed in all the towns and villages, have the greateſt authority over their pupils. If they were to be accuſed, even after they had left them, of failing in reſpect to them, they would be ſeverely puniſhed.

The Tonquineſe have not the barbarous cuſtom that the Chineſe have of drowning the children they cannot ſupport: ſome who are aſhamed to diſcover their miſery, expoſe them: but it is ſeldom they periſh, becauſe many take a pleaſure in receiving them, and bringing them up. Thoſe who are profeſſedly poor ſell them. This act of humanity, on the part of the rich and independent, ariſes from the deſire, natural among this nation, of having a numerous and opulent family, from whence originates the cuſtom of procuring ſtrange children, and even adopting of them, with a kind of ſolemnity, indifferently of both ſexes. At the death of their adopted father, theſe children ſhare equally in the ſucceſſion with the real children; they go into mourning, as they would for their own father, though he may be ſtill alive.

The method of adoption is very ſimple: either the adopted has been found by his adopted father, who notifies to the magiſtrate that he receives it among the number of his children; or he who aſpires to that favour, being of an age to make his intentions known, propoſes them, or gets them propoſed to the father of a family; if ſatisfied with his anſwer, he preſents himſelf before him, with two bottles of arrack, which his patron receives. Some explanations, or propoſed conditions, conclude the ceremony.

Uſury is very common, and very baneful in Tonquin, where in general they take yearly one-third of the ſum lent, as intereſt. When the intereſt equals the principal, the uſury ought to ceaſe: but the creditors get new notes or bonds executed; and it often happens that families that were comfortable are ruined, by a debt in its origin very trifling. The abuſe of the laws of the country gives the creditor an aſtoniſhing power over the debtor: they become maſters in their houſes, take away their moveables, their wives, and children, whom they ill treat, put them to a kind of painful torture, hoping by that means to force them to give up all they poſſeſs: they finiſh by ſelling them, to obtain the price of their labour, till the debt is paid; for, ſtrictly ſpeaking, there is no ſlavery in Tonquin. The adopted children, thoſe the creditors ſeize, or whom their parents have ſold, become free at the expiration of the term fixed for their ſervice. Their engagements are only temporary; therefore it is forbidden under pain of death, to ſell their children to the Chineſe, who reduce them to perpetual ſlavery: notwithſtanding this prohibition, many are privately ſold, as well in their own country as to foreigners.

## CHAP. V. — *Viſits: — Cuſtoms of Society, Manner of dividing Time and Diſtances. — Feſtivals and Superſtitions of the New Year: — Shews: — Singing-Houſes: — Cock-fighting.*

MOST of their ceremonial cuſtoms are of Chineſe origin. The women in general are allowed full liberty of going abroad when they pleaſe, but thoſe of the mandarins and other perſons of diſtinction are ſhut up, much the ſame as they are in China. Both are ſaid to be extremely eaſy, and to give themſelves to ſtrangers on moderate terms, and form temporary marriages with them. They always chooſe their huſband according to their liking, which the Chineſe are not allowed to do, who marry without any previous acquaintance with their future huſband.

Viſits are only paid in the morning. The nobles even go to court very early, where they tranſact the buſineſs of their offices till eight o'clock, when they return home.

The Princes, great mandarins, and perſons of their rank, never go out but on elephants, in rich palanquins, followed by numerous officers, ſoldiers and ſervants. The rank or dignity determines the number of the retinue. Thoſe of an inferior degree go on horſe-back, and are never attended by more than ten perſons, though ſeldom by leſs, as thee ſcort forms a great part of their pomp, and announces their dignity and power.

Their manner of receiving ſtrangers, relations, or friends, is the ſame as among the Chineſe. Women are not admitted to their converſations, nor do they eat with the men. They however appear, and receive and return thoſe attentions and compliments it is judged proper to pay them. There is no furniture in the rooms where they receive company; after the uſual ceremonies of ſalutes, and bows, which are always regulated according to the rank of the perſon treated with, they ſet down on eſtrades covered with mats, which are round the room; they ſit on them croſs-legged, as is cuſtomary all over the Eaſt. Mats are their only furniture, carpets and cuſhions are unknown to them: their beds are alſo mats, with a kind of pillow made of ruſhes or reeds, which ſerve for bolſter and ſupport.

The Tonquineſe like moſt of the orientals have no taſte for curioſities, which ſuppoſes a genius cultivated by the fine arts, and careful education; but are very luxurious in every thing which they are habituated to. They carry ſenſuality to its height.

In converſation and in viſits they avoid all dull ſubjects, and every one ſtrives to give what he ſays that air of gaiety which ſeems their natural character. For the ſame reaſon they never viſit ſick people; their compliments when they meet, are not 'how do you do,' but, 'where have you been,' and, 'what have you done.' If they perceive any one is unwell, they do not aſk the queſtion, but how many cups of rice they have eaten at each meal, if their appetite is good, or not. An inferior always appears bareheaded before his ſuperiors; and thoſe who receive any orders from the King, either verbal or written, muſt neither hear it nor read it without firſt taking off their robe and bonnet.

They have neither clocks to mark and divide the time, nor diſtances or leagues to meaſure the roads; every thing is by eſtimation. They merely divide the day into three parts, morning, noon, and evening, and gueſs pretty nearly at the half of the morning and afternoon. The night is divided into five watches, which reckon and are obſerved the ſame throughout the kingdom.

The mandarins uſe Mooriſh clocks, which are copper balls placed in a baſin of water, each ball has a hole by which the water enters it, when full it falls to the bottom; which marks the hour or watch. They then ſtrike on a copper-plate, ſuſpended by a knob from the center: they thus mark the watch that is paſt, and that which is beginning; at the ſame time they beat the drum with rods: this noiſe is repeated at diſtances, and continues all night.

They reckon diſtances by day's or half day's journey: nearer diſtances are judged by the eye, without any actual meaſurement. In a country ſo interſected with canals, rivers, and marſhes, one is obliged to make many circuits, which retard the paſſage from one place to another, let the diſtance be ever ſo ſhort.

Each town has a guard, which the inhabitants keep by turns: by this means, the King's orders are carried in a ſhort time all over the kingdom. Theſe kinds of guards

and meſſengers coſt the ſtate nothing: they even, in ſome reſpects, prevent the incurſions of robbers, of whom the country is full, becauſe it is forbidden to travel in the night time: if any unforeſeen occurrence oblige them to it, they muſt carry a torch with them, and make themſelves known, or elſe they are taken up.

The Tonquineſe year is compoſed of lunar months, full or not full. To agree with the ſun, they have, from time to time, intermediate months, and years of thirteen months. Theſe years are regulated by the King's mathematicians, who are very ignorant: they foretel eclipſes by conjectures, and when they are miſtaken, or announce them falſely, they are beat on the knees with a ſtraw hammer; a puniſhment more diſgraceful than painful. To avoid this, they often omit eclipſes in their calendars. Before the Europeans traded in this kingdom, theſe mathematicians imagined that at the time of eclipſes, a dragon was devouring the moon; and it was ordered to make a great noiſe with pots and pans, to frighten this wild beaſt, while the mandarins were obliged to kneel down, and ſupplicate the dragon not to eat the moon.

The commencement of the year is regulated by the mathematicians, and is not always the ſame. Some reckon the new year, from the twenty fifth day of the laſt moon, becauſe then the great ſeal of ſtate is ſhut up for a whole month, during which time the operation of the laws is ſuſpended; all the courts of judicature are vacated; debtors cannot be ſeized; petty crimes, which are but few in this country, and theft, go unpuniſhed: even the puniſhment for the greateſt crimes is put off to another time, with the precaution of arreſting the criminal and ſhaving his head, that he may be eaſily known if he ſhould eſcape from priſon. Theſe cuſtoms are very ancient among them, and eſtabliſhed, that every one forgetting all his cares, may devote himſelf to the pleaſures that accompany the firſt days of each year.

Theſe feſtivals laſt thirty days, which are paſſed in rejoicings, viſits, and continual feaſts. They make reciprocal preſents: and this time is very lucrative to the mandarins, ſchool-maſters, bonzes, &c. who receive preſents from all parts.

Theſe days of rejoicing commence by an act which ſhews how ſuperſtitious theſe people are. Nobody ſtirs out of his houſe the firſt day, for fear of meeting with ſome unlucky omen for the reſt of the year: they even keep their doors faſtened for the better ſecurity. The ſecond day, they pay viſits, and render their reſpects to their ſuperiors: the public feſtivals begin at the ſame time; but they are often diſgraced by ſecret crimes, which ſpring from a barbarous and cruel ſuperſtition. There is an abominable cuſtom among the Tonquineſe of putting ſome one to death on the firſt days of the year; to accompliſh this, they poiſon the fruits and poultry that are brought to market. The thieves lay in ambuſh to aſſaſſinate ſome paſſenger: the one and the other conceive that theſe homicides will bring them good luck; and on account of the circumſtance of the time, it is ſeldom that theſe acts are enquired into or puniſhed, although there are frequent examples of the perpetration of them.

The moſt eſteemed amuſements among the Tonquineſe at theſe times, are ſinging and dancing. This is generally in the evening and often continues all night. The mandarins have halls appropriated to theſe amuſements, which are moſtly open to the public. In the villages there are ſinging houſes, as they call the public halls, where the inhabitants aſſemble on the days of feſtival; and where they enjoy an entertainment which does not poſſeſs much parade. The actors are generally engaged for one night, and are four or five in number. Their dreſs is fantaſtical, their ſongs or recitals are almoſt always in favour of their Kings or great men, are interſperſed with ſome verſes of love ſtories, or relative to ſome adventure that intereſts the diſtrict.

There

There are interludes of dances, always performed by women. Their inſtruments are trumpets, copper kettle-drums, hautboys, guitars, and different kinds of violins; the women are very clever at rope dancing. Another kind of dance, is a great favourite with them: a woman has a baſon on her head full of ſmall lighted lamps, ſhe ſhould be very active, come, go, jump, every kind of motion, regulated to muſic, and all this without ſpilling any of the oil. The actors receive a rix-dollar for each repreſentation, but the ſpectators generally contribute ſomething.

Cock fighting is alſo a great amuſement at Tonquin, particularly at court. The King breeds them for this purpoſe, and in general they are victorious, though the courtiers always bet againſt them: a mode of making their court that impoveriſhes them, but to which they muſt conform to be well looked upon by the ſovereign. The game cocks are ſhut up ſeparately in cages, the ſticks of which are ſtrong and thick, through which they can ſee each other, which makes them ſo ſpirited and enraged, that they fight with ſurpriſing fury. There are officers commiſſioned to take charge of them, and regulate the battles: thoſe who have the care of the King's cocks pay the utmoſt attention to them, and are ſeverely puniſhed if ſuſpected of any negligence in the breeding or feeding of them. A King of Achem had the hand of one of his principal lords cut off to puniſh him, as he ſaid, for the little care he had taken in feeding his cocks, which were weak, and had been beaten in a battle fought in the preſence of the cruel deſpot.

In general the Tonquineſe men are mean and lazy; the beſt among them would only exert themſelves to gratify their gluttony, if they were not forced to labour; only the paſſions always baneful to ſociety can rouze them from their lethargy. It is otherwiſe with the women, if we except their decided inclination for the men; they are more amiable, more laborious, and often poſſeſſed of induſtry and courage.

## CHAP. VI. — *Of the Food, Wines, &c. of the Tonquineſe, Diſeaſes, Medicine, and Surgery.*

BOILED rice is to the Tonquineſe what bread is to us: but being prepared without ſalt or any other ſeaſoning, it can be but very inſipid, for which reaſon they eat many ſalt and high-ſeaſoned things, ſuch as balachan, of which there are ſeveral kinds, and which ſerves for anchovies: ſalt-fiſh; a kind of ſalt, compoſed of common ſalt, and a ſmall grain, roaſted and pulverized, which has an excellent flavour, and water from ſalted fiſh. Although in general all the fiſh of Tonquin is good, there are differences in the ſpecies, as among poultry, and ſea and river birds. Theſe proviſions are abundant, but it is ſeldom that the common people can procure them: their general food is rice, vegetables, and the commoneſt ſmall fiſh.

They prepare balachan, and ſalted water thus; They uſe large wooden vats, or ſmall tubs, which they partly fill with fiſh, ſhrimps or ſmall crabs, which they pound, according to the kind of balachan they would make: they put in a large quantity of ſalt and water, in equal parts; they let the whole ferment for a month or ſix weeks, ſtirring it every day. At the end of that time, if it is ſalted water they would make, they draw off the water which is of a deep red: if they would make balachan, they do not ſeparate the water from the ſettlement, they put the whole into earthen pots, which are carried and ſold all over the kingdom, and theſe articles are equally eſteemed by the rich and poor.

It may be ſaid that in this country they eat all ſorts of animals, and productions of the earth; even the known poiſon of ſome animals does not ſecure them from the tooth of the Tonquineſe.

They

They eſteem it a treat to eat raw fiſh and beef, and the blood of animals warm from the veins. Pork, which is very common, ſupplies the place of butcher's meat. It is a great delicacy to eat ſmall fiſh, which are ſerved up alive in cups, in which they ſwim about. Dogs, cats, field rats, the fleſh of horſes and elephants, ſilk-worms, the eggs of certain ants, large white worms, found in old trees, a kind of ſmall bee, calves born dead, are eſteemed excellent food, and they are all eaten with their ſkins. The Tonquineſe deſpiſe the fleſh of flayed animals: they loſe nothing, nor of the fiſh, except the excrements: they make good ragouts of their entrails, and even reduce the ſofter bones to a paſte, of which they make little balls.

In the dry ſeaſon the country is infeſted with clouds of inſects, which reſemble may-bugs: the people gather up as many as they can, roaſt them, reduce them to powder, and uſe them to give a high flavour to their food: hens' eggs are only eaten medicinally: thoſe which are addled are reſerved for the table of the King, or great lords: but a great conſumption takes place, of the eggs of ducks, geeſe, and other birds. They neither eat butter nor milk, and hold cheeſe in a kind of abhorrence: they uſe but little oil in their cookery: they make very little of it, although the olive tree thrives well there: they uſe hogs' lard to dreſs the food of the rich, the greater part are contented with the ſalted water which enters into all their ſauces.

Beſides the many vegetables and roots which abound in this country, there are many trees, of which they eat the young leaves, the tender branches, and the heart: thus the pith of the bamboo is in place of fine large aſparagus, ſome of which are very thick, and five or ſix feet long: they dry them, and boil them as they want them: the pith of the areka tree is of an excellent flavour. A very common food is cakes made of flour of beans, prepared with ſtrong herbs and balachan: there are different ways of ſerving them up, they are cut in pieces, or fried, or dried by the fire and ſmoked, with hog's lard, which is the beſt way: it is ſaid to be wholeſome: it is very cheap, the pound of twenty ounces only coſts a halfpenny. They alſo make a kind of wafer or fritter, with diluted clay, ſugar, and ſome other ſeaſonings: this muſt be very unwholeſome, but the women are very fond of it.

Small birds' neſts are in as much requeſt here as in China, which not only form part of the moſt exquiſite fare, but are ſuppoſed to ſtrengthen the ſtomach, and to excite the two ſexes to the propagation of their ſpecies.

In the flat country where there are no woods, they uſe ſtraw for cooking: it is collected into large heaps, and kept ſheltered from the rains and inundations. It is perhaps this want of wood which obliges the people to eat certain food, which is difficult to dreſs, raw.

Their general drink is the tea of the country, not that fine pleaſant tea which is brought from China into Europe: that kind does not grow in Tonquin: it is another kind of coarſe tea, which they call chiabang, which has a ſharp taſte, but which very much quenches the thirſt: they uſe alſo many other kinds of leaves, barks, even wood, a piece of which may be boiled in different waters for ſeven or eight days, and preſerve its quality, this drink dries up the ſtomach, being too aſtringent, and too much haſtens digeſtion: it is ſo ſharp that it gives the itch, if often uſed: a very common diſeaſe in Tonquin, as well as ring-worms. The great uſe the tea of China more for faſhion than for its flavour.

From rice they extract a liquor much eſteemed throughout the Eaſt, and known in Europe by the name of arrack; it is either obtained by fermentation as in China, or by diſtillation.

The Chineſe wine drawn from rice by fermentation is of ſeveral kinds. That called mandarin wine is very good, of a yellow colour: it is left to ferment a long time in earthern vats; they put ſome wholeſome ſimples into it, and even, as it is ſaid, a lamb juſt yeaned, which they reduce to a kind of liquid paſte. When this wine is drawn off, they put it into bottles that hold about a pint, and it may be kept for ages without loſing any of its quality. It ſells very dear at Tonquin, where it is brought from China: it is very ſtrong, of no very pleaſant taſte, and pleaſes the Tartars more than it does the Chineſe. The Tonquineſe only uſe it at feaſts, and as a debauch.

All the things above mentioned are ſold every where at regular markets, held every five days.

As the common people are very gluttonous, they only think of cramming their ſtomachs: they will not anſwer any queſtion while eating; they ſeem to fear that the time it would take them to ſpeak, would take from their pleaſure, and their ſhare of the food: they eat prodigiouſly, but do not drink in proportion, not even at their feaſts, and ſeldom go to exceſs in ſtrong liquors. It is not ſo at court, and among the military; the greateſt drinker there paſſes for the braveſt man.

The great and rich take three meals a-day, without including a ſlight collation in the courſe of the afternoon. The common people have no regular hours, they eat when their labour will allow them, and they have wherewithal.

In all climates there are diſeaſes peculiar to every country; as there are ſome to which they are ſtrangers, or ſo rare that they are ſcarcely known. The apoplexy, pleuriſy, the plague, ſuch as is known in Europe, are never experienced in Tonquin. The moſt common diſeaſes are fevers, dyſenteries, yellow-jaundice, and the ſmall-pox; there are ſome peculiar to the climate, from the exceſs of heat, and their food which acts more on ſome habits than on others.

Leproſy is ſo common, that in many places there are pieces of land aſſigned where thoſe attacked by it muſt reſide: they are ſhut out from ſociety: it is even lawful to kill them, if they enter cities or towns. This diſorder is dreadful *, it eats away the extremities of the hands and feet in ſuch a manner, that after a certain time thoſe afflicted with it entirely loſe their fingers and toes: they yet may live long in this ſtate, and tranſmit the diſeaſe to their children, for they are obliged to allow them to marry: their blood becomes ſo hot, ſo ſharp, that the want of the commerce of ſex would drive them mad if it was not freely permitted them.

The bad wind is another diſorder unknown to us. The wind, or ſudden impreſſion of a cold air, charged with local exhalations, ſuddenly congeals the blood, and inſtantly kills many; others are only benumbed in ſome of their limbs: moſt often the mouth is deformed, and turned as in a paralytic ſtroke. When the effect is ſlight, it may be cured by rubbing: they have ſpecific remedies, if they are adminiſtered in time.

Women in labour are ſubject to a revolution in the blood, which ſtifles them in a moment, or renders them infirm for life; thoſe thus attacked generally become barren. Children are liable to dangerous obſtructions, which ſhut up all natural evacuations, and kill a great many. The uſual remedy for this is a cataplaſm, compoſed

* This diſorder is well known in the Weſt India iſlands, under the name of yaws; it is there almoſt entirely confined to the negroes, who are in general put in a hut at a diſtance from any habitation, where they are left to nature, to recover or periſh. If a white perſon is known to have it, even if he recovers, he is diſgraced, and held in contempt for ever, from a ſuppoſition that he muſt have made too free with the moſt wretched claſs of the blacks.—Tr.

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of a drug called coakroch and roaſted onions, applied to the navel, and which gives ſpeedy relief.

Although their medical men are numerous, they cannot be ſaid to poſſeſs much ability, and are ignorant of the conſtruction of the human frame, for they never even dream of anatomy. They however gather ſome information from Chineſe books, in which they learn to prepare drugs, herbs and roots. They have old books on medicine, in which all the parts of the body are repreſented, which ſhews that formerly they had ſome idea of anatomy: but their preſent practice ſhows, they never ſtudy theſe figures, not even in caſes where they might be of ſervice. The Chineſe doctors are much more eſteemed, and generally make their fortunes in Tonquin, with which they retire to their own country. Surgery is even inferior to medicine with them: they know nothing of curing diſlocations, or fractures, on theſe occaſions they only uſe certain herbs, of which they make cataplaſms, which ſometimes have wonderful ſucceſs. They have another which conſiſts in reducing the raw bones of a fowl to powder, of which they make a paſte, and apply it to the part affected, and which paſſes for a ſovereign remedy. They ſeldom bleed, and their method is not like ours: they bleed on the forehead, with a fiſh's bone, which is applied to a vein: they ſtrike it with the finger, and it enters: it is in the ſame ſhape as the fleam of our farriers.

The chief and moſt difficult operation in moſt diſeaſes is fire: the manner they apply it deſerves notice. They uſe the leaf of a tree well dried, which they beat in a mortar, and afterwards ſlightly moiſten with diluted Indian-ink; they divide it into pieces the ſize of a farthing, which they apply to different parts of the body; they then ſet fire to them with lighted paper. Cupping is very frequent. Glyſters are never uſed: they ſeldom uſe purgatives. The doctors pretend to know ſpecific ſimples for each particular diſorder.

The waters in Tonquin are in general unwholeſome, and in the rainy and hot ſeaſons cauſe, if not epidemic diſorders, at leaſt great inconveniencies; and no where ſo much as in the mountainous and woody country. The natural inhabitants of theſe provinces however do not ſeem to be ſo much affected by them as ſtrangers, or thoſe from the level country, who ſeldom eſcape their ill qualities. The natives are attacked by ſchirrhus, and have one leg larger than another. Theſe infirmities may alſo be attributed to the quality of the air in theſe foreſts, which the exhalations that it is loaded with renders heavy. Strangers who viſit thoſe diſtricts, find themſelves ſeized with a drowſineſs they find it difficult to ſhake off.

The ſummer heats almoſt always bring with them epidemic diſeaſes which kill multitudes; whole towns are ſuddenly depopulated; though more fatal to the men than the women. The rains, added to the heat of the air, prevent the men from their uſual exertions; this inaction becomes fatal to them. The women on the contrary, who are nearly always occupied with the ſame domeſtic labours, and conſequently always in action, are not ſo liable to them.

Towards the month of September the diſeaſes ceaſe, the air changes, and becomes more healthy, as a dry air ſucceeds to humidity. Winter in this country is the moſt wholeſome and pleaſant time; it may be compared, to the fineſt European ſpring.

Notwithſtanding the diſeaſes incident to this country, and the intemperature of ſummer, there are many more vigorous old people to be ſeen and ſubject to fewer inconveniences of their age, than in the greateſt part of Europe; but more among the people, than among thoſe of a higher rank.

## CHAP. VII. — *Funeral Ceremonies of the different Ranks: — Funeral Preparations: — Piety towards the Dead.*

THE Tonquineſe are guided in their funeral ceremonies by a kind of ritual, which they originally derived from China, and which they obſerve to the letter. The principle of their conduct, in theſe circumſtances, is the maxim of Confucius, ſo celebrated among them: "they ſhould pay the ſame reſpect to the dead, as to the living," or, "we ſhould eſteem the abſent as well as the preſent."

They believe that children in the womb are only animated by the ſouls of infants that died before they are arrived at the age of reaſon: but that the ſouls of men become ſo many genii capable of good or evil; but who would be always wandering and ſubject to all kinds of wants, if the aſſiſtance of their families did not help them to ſubſiſt; or if, according to their own diſpoſitions, they did not procure themſelves all they wanted, by the miſchief they occaſioned or the good they did. They do not ſay what become of theſe ſouls when their families ceaſe to provide for them, nor for how long they are to pay them theſe attentions.

However they obſerve with the greateſt nicety, the day, hour and moment that a perſon expires; and at the moment they think to be their laſt, they put a handkerchief over their face, which after the laſt ſigh they fold up, ſaying that the ſoul is attached to it. If the perſon dies on the ſame day that their father or neareſt relation was born, they conſider it as an ill omen for their heirs and poſterity: in this caſe the body is not interred before the diviners and miniſters of their religion have been conſulted, in order to chooſe a favourable day for that ceremony, to avert whatever might be evil in the time of their death.

Several months, and even years, ſometimes occur, before they receive a favourable anſwer, and until they do, the coffin is ſhut up in a part of the houſe, ſet apart for that purpoſe, or in a hut built for the occaſion; it is placed on four poſts planted to ſuſtain it.

Theſe ceremonies, however, only exiſt among the great and rich, who are more attached to life than the common people, who could not be at the expence of ſo long a delay, and therefore bury the body twelve or fifteen days after death.

They make a diſtinction of ſex in the manner of burying the bodies. The men are clothed in ſeven of their beſt habits; the women in nine; they put pieces of gold and ſilver, and pearl-ſeed in their mouths, to keep them from want in a new life. The coffin is decked within with ſilk ſtuffs, more or leſs coſtly; the body is placed in it, the face upwards, the head placed on a kind of paſte, ſo as to keep it immoveable. The reſt of the coffin is entirely filled with the fineſt rice. It is afterwards cloſed. They uſe no nails to put it together, but caulk it with a kind of tenacious cement, and cover it with varniſh.

With theſe precautions, the air having no action on the corpſe, it is not ſurprizing that they can keep them for ſeveral years in the houſe, without any diſagreeable ſmell from corruption. All the time it remains there, the eldeſt ſon ſhould lie at the foot of the coffin, offer up to it ſacrifices of whole animals and incenſe. This is an indiſpenſable duty, from which no one can be exempt, without a crime.

When the day of interment arrives, the relations and friends aſſemble in mourning, that is, in a robe of coarſe white cotton linen. The chief mourner is girt with a cord, the head ſurrounded with a band of ſtraw, inſtead of a bonnet: they have all ſticks in their hands, on which they lean, like people ready to ſink beneath the weight of their grief,

grief. The women and girls have their head and face covered with a piece of linen which conceals them from ſight. The body of the deceaſed is carried by twenty or thirty people, with gravity, ſlowneſs, and the greateſt care, that it may not lean more to one ſide than another; that it may preſerve the moſt perfect equilibrium, a cup full of water is put on the bier; if not a drop is ſpilt they look on it as a good omen, and the bearers are rewarded.

The whole aſſembly precede, or follow the body; genuflexions, proſtrations, cries and groans, are regulated by a maſter of the ceremonies, at whoſe ſignal every thing is executed in the greateſt order. Men and women are heard at the ſame time: ſome call on the dead as huſband, ſome as father, benefactor, friend, and relation; every one praiſes him according to the title he is claimed by; this funeral concert finiſhes by the ſame ſignal, and the proceſſion continues its way in ſilence. From time to time they ſtop, and go through the ſame ceremonies. During the march the eldeſt ſon lies down and lets the body paſs over him, which is eſteemed the greateſt mark of filial reſpect.

The whole is preceded by different inſtruments of muſic; they carry banners loaded with different inſcriptions in praiſe of the deceaſed; one of the chief articles of the proceſſion is the handkerchief in which they believe they have received the ſoul, which is carefully carried to the place of burial, and is afterwards brought back to the houſe, where it is placed on a tablet, deſtined for that ſole uſe. Theſe tablets are one foot and a half in height, and ſix inches wide, rounded on the top, the names and ſurnames of the deceaſed, whoſe ſoul is ſuppoſed to be preſerved there, are written on it.

In this ceremony, thoſe who are rich, preſent all kinds of animals, and even palaces with their furniture: the whole being of gilt paper; a certain proportion of them is burnt from time to time. Beſides theſe offerings, there are many tables loaded with real proviſions, in ſuch quantity that it is requiſite to have ladders to reach them; theſe are given up to the people that follow the proceſſion. When the body is depoſited in the ſepulchre, the aſſembly returns to the houſe, and the ceremony concludes with a great feaſt, in which they drink in honour of the deceaſed, often to intoxication.

A long time before their death, they are anxious in chooſing the place where they will be buried; and this is no inconſiderable matter with them, becauſe they conſider the choice may influence the happineſs or misfortune of their deſcendants. This place is not, as in China, fixed on mountains; but every one has in his village or native place his place of burial in the midſt of ſome cultivated field; on this they erect a hut, round which the ground is dug up every year, to prevent the graſs or weeds from growing. However theſe attentions do not continue from generation to generation, becauſe in the long run, the dead would leave no ſpace for the living to reſide on, nor land to draw their ſubſiſtence from. The reſpect paid to ſepulchres, which it is forbidden to violate under pain of death, has its bounds. Some of the great, anxious to perpetuate their memory, build vaults, in which they have their bodies depoſited; ſome even build temples for this purpoſe, and aſſign revenues to miniſters to attend them; but theſe are but very few. This great reſpect paid to tombs ſeldom laſts more than three years, that is the time preſcribed for mourning, when they take up the body, and the bones are placed in a ſmall coffin, which is interred elſewhere. If it ſhould happen that the fleſh has been preſerved all that time, they imagine that the deceaſed was a bad man, who has tormented the living, and has only preſerved himſelf in that freſh ſtate at their expence. If the fleſh is entirely conſumed,

and nothing remains but the dry bones, they augur well from it, both as to the memory of the deceaſed, and the honour of his family.

## CHAP. VIII. — *Religious Cuſtoms.* — *Sect of Bout, or of Idols.* — *Sect of Magicians.* — *Sect of the Learned.* — *Peculiar Superſtitions.* — *Sages or Philoſophers.*

IF by the term religion be underſtood thoſe ſuperſtitious practices, which are the object of veneration and attachment of the ignorant multitude, there is no where more than in Tonquin; but as the objects themſelves are continually changing, and what has been the ſubject of public worſhip at one time, is quite forgotten, and even deſpiſed ſoon, and as there is no ſtability in what the people call their religion, it may be ſaid, ſtrictly ſpeaking, that they have none, and that they only paſs from one ſuperſtition to another, which is in favour for a time, by the intereſt ſome prieſt, magician or bonze may take in it, provided he ſtands well with the people, and has addreſs enough to impoſe on them.

Nevertheleſs the foundation of the religious laws and ſuperſtitions of Tonquin come from China, and as in that empire, there are three kinds of religions or predominating ſuperſtitions; that of Bout or the idolatry of Fo; that of Lanzo, or the magicians; and the ſect of the literati, which is the ſame with that of Confucius in China.

The religion of the ſtate, and of the people, is the worſhip of idols, the moſt ancient and beſt known origin of which, relates to Fo, or Thânphat. The Chova, or general of the forces of the kingdom, in whoſe perſon reſides all the power of the ſceptre, piques himſelf on ſupporting it; while the Dova, or him who has the title of King or Emperor without power, is the head of the religion of the literati, or the worſhip they render heaven, or the ſupreme being.

In each borough or Xa, there ſhould be a temple of idols. Their edifices are more or leſs conſiderable, according to the riches of the country: in general they are much neglected, and reſemble a kind of ſhed open on all ſides, in which are ſome idols, either hanging up, or placed on tables without any ornament. Each of theſe temples has its guardian, who enjoys the lands and revenue attached to the houſe of the idol he ſerves; every individual is obliged to give him every month a certain quantity of rice, and a ſmall ſum of money.

The principal temples are built with more expence, ſome of them have towers, and kinds of ſteeples: theſe being better founded, are ſufficient to maintain different communities of bonzes, who live together, and wear a habit like the inhabitants of the country, the colour being of a grey white. They are obliged to ſhave their heads, and to maintain their chaſtity; they are forbid to eat any thing that has had life, to drink wine, or any intoxicating liquor; they abſtain from onions, and from all plants or roots of a ſtrong ſcent: at certain hours they repeat in common, prayers in a language they ſcarcely underſtand: their chief or ſuperior ſhould be a graduated literati. They perform none of the functions of prieſthood; their employment conſiſts in attending the pagodas, or temples of idols, and adminiſtering medicine to the people. The greater part ſubſiſt on alms. There are alſo ſocieties of nuns, who live retired in their cloiſters, which they never leave, except to perform on ſome inſtrument at funerals; they have not the reputation of being the chaſteſt women in the country.

The character of all theſe bonzes is that of being very humane; they are neither intolerant, nor perſecutors; they have no averſion to the Chriſtian religion, and do not approve of troubling of nor puniſhing thoſe who embrace it. They pretend that Fo

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and Jeſus Chriſt were brothers; the former the eldeſt, and the latter the youngeſt, who, through ambition, wiſhing to riſe above his elder brother, was by his orders nailed to the croſs; that notwithſtanding the diſgrace of his death, it is right to honour him, but without prejudice to the worſhip that ought to be paid to his elder brother Fo. Such is the idea of the divine author of the Chriſtian religion.

The worſhip of all theſe idols conſiſts in ſacrifices, wreſtling, comedies and feaſts. On the day of ceremony, prizes are propoſed for wreſtling: thoſe who enter the liſts ſtrip off their habits, and gird their loins with a whole piece of linen, which they bind ſo tight that they afford no hold to their adverſary. The two champions employ every ſtratagem to ſurprize and throw each other: they entwine their arms and legs, they claſp the body, raiſe one another from the ground, bend half over, and him they already think vanquiſhed recommences with freſh vigour; every part of the body labours, and uſes the utmoſt exertions, but they never ſtrike one another. Their combats have more of art than violence in them, and are therefore the more intereſting to a people by no means ſanguinary. Moſt of theſe wreſtlers have no other means of gaining a living.

To ſupply the neceſſary expences for building and repairing theſe temples, maintaining the miniſters and guardians, and the charges of the ſacrifices, a capitation is impoſed, which the people are obliged to pay, under heavy penalties. To make this burthen more ſupportable to the people, they are entertained with pretended miracles, cures performed by the power of theſe gods, and their frequently appearing; but they are more feared than beloved, becauſe in general they believe that they do more miſchief than good, and that they have more evils to dread from them than favours to expect.

Without prejudice to the worſhip of Fo, generally eſtabliſhed, every city or town makes choice of a tutelar divinity or patron: there are ancient and modern ones, and they change them whenever they think proper. They have alſo domeſtic gods, after the example of the Chineſe territorial gods, who preſide over the boundaries of eſtates; ſpirits who preſide over mountains, fire-places, doors, &c.

In regard to the ſect of Lanzo, or the magicians, they have no kind of eſtabliſhed worſhip; all who profeſs it are its public miniſters, as aſpire to be ſo. It ſeems to have no other origin, than the intereſt of thoſe who exerciſe it, and the credulous ſuperſtition of thoſe who hope to derive advantage from it, or ſome particular knowledge. It may therefore be leſs conſidered as forming a part of religion, properly ſo called, than as an effect of blind ſuperſtition.

It has nevertheleſs acquired the conſideration of the great, and the reſpect of the vulgar. Its chiefs are conſulted on important occaſions, and their anſwers paſs for holy inſpirations.

This ſect acknowledges for its founder, one Lao-kun, a native of China, whom they ſay was eighty years in his mother's womb, and at length tore his own way into the world. The head of this ſect reſides in China: every three years, he is obliged to come and pay his homage to the reigning Emperor, who generally advances a few ſteps to receive him, an honour beſtowed on no other grandee of his empire. The Chineſe ſay that the philoſopher Lao-kun, was born about fifty-two years before Confucius; his doctrine is a mixture of that of Fo, and ſome abſurd ſuperſtitions added to it: it has for a long time been neglected in China, but under the dynaſty of the Tangs, which laſted from 618 of our era to 907, theſe ſuperſtitions were in ſuch eſteem, that the miniſters of them were called Tien-ſſee, (celeſtial doctors).

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The ſect of the literati, or Confucius, is with reaſon conſidered as the nobleſt and moſt rational of all thoſe known in the Eaſt: it is compoſed of the greateſt and moſt illuſtrious perſons of the ſtate, the magiſtrates or mandareens of different orders, and all the learned men. The doctrine it preſcribes is contained in the books of Confucius, who is looked upon in Tonquin as the moſt enlightened man that ever appeared, and whoſe precepts they make an honour of following, as well as the rules of conduct he has laid down, and the ceremonies he eſtabliſhed; and no place of honour and authority is obtained in this country without being verſed in his writings. This is in a few words the idea they have of his origin, perſon and doctrine.

The Tonquineſe give him the name of Ong-khoû. He lived more than 550 years before the Chriſtian era. It does not appear that in his time the worſhip of idols was eſtabliſhed in China, as no mention is made of them in his writings. Although morality was not then at that perfection to which he afterwards brought it, there had been, long before him, ſages, whoſe maxims he collected, explained, and formed from them a moral code, adding what ſuited the circumſtances of the time. He eſtabliſhed the practice of it, teaching it publickly, and forming diſciples, who ſeconded him in the project he had formed of reforming the manners, and bringing them to their primitive purity. His doctrine appeared too ſevere in his time, and brought on him perſecutions which he endured with courage, never loſing ſight of the reſtoration of morals. He died in theſe ſentiments, and left to his diſciples the care of perfecting the work he had begun.

The different religious ſects eſtabliſhed in Tonquin cauſe no diviſion in families, and have never excited the leaſt diſturbance in the ſtate. Every one in the ſame family is of what ſect he pleaſes. It is even common to find perſons attached to them all, and following their different cuſtoms. The literati themſelves, who profeſs to diſpiſe the idols, ſometime aſſiſt at the ceremonies of the bonzes, and it is not uncommon to ſee the ſame perſon go to the temples of the idols, the halls of Confucius, and have recourſe to diviners and magicians in times of ſickneſs.

Beſides theſe three principal ſects, there is that of the faſters, or real partiſans of the metempſycoſis, who, though not bonzes, eat nothing that has had life; there are not however many of this ſect in Tonquin, the Tonquineſe having an averſion to even the appearance of faſting, which is why there are ſo few ſocieties of bonzes among them.

They have alſo ſome ſages, who may be compared to thoſe eminent men, who once ornamented Greece: they profeſs to be attached to virtue, and to live like true philoſophers; they ſay they love virtue for herſelf, and without any view to their own intereſts, nor any reward, preſent or future.

Among their religious cuſtoms may alſo be claſſed a number of ſuperſtitions prevalent at Tonquin, more eſpecially among the people. For example, they give their children horrid names, that the evil Genii may be afraid of them, and not hurt them; they change theſe names when they think the children are ſtrong enough not to any longer fear the evil ſpirits: they let ſix or ſeven tufts of their hair grow of different ſizes in honour of their idols. At the commencement of the year they ſet up frightful figures at their doors, to frighten the devils and prevent their entering; for the ſame reaſon they even expoſe infamous ones. Always watching for good and bad days, they are in continual apprehenſion of making miſtakes. At a general review of the troops, they diſcharge all the artillery and muſketry, to put to flight all ſpirits evil-diſpoſed to the happineſs and tranquillity of the ſtate. There are many other cuſtoms equally abſurd, which may be eſtimated by thoſe juſt mentioned.

CHAP.

## CHAP. IX. — *Sciences.* — *Arts and Trades.* — *Fiſheries.*

ALL the ſciences of Tonquin, as well as in China, are ſtudied in the works of Confucius and his commentators, or interpreters: they treat of different ſyſtems of morality, ſome of mathematics, phyſics and aſtronomy, the knowledge of the laws, and the hiſtory of the country.

Nothing can be more imperfect than their geographical and aſtronomical ſciences: their attachment to their ancient cuſtoms prevents any great progreſs in thoſe branches. Their hiſtory is confined to what has happened in their own country. The compilers of the public annals, who labour by the King's command, would be puniſhed with death, if they introduced any facts relative to the hiſtory of foreign countries. But they are perfectly acquainted with the morals of Confucius, their own hiſtory, the laws and cuſtoms of the kingdom.

Knowledge is in great eſtimation in Tonquin; becauſe it is the only road to honour; and the learned men are conſidered as the only nobles of the country. They muſt paſs through different degrees to attain the height they aſpire to, the offices and dignities of the kingdom, which are the recompence of literary merit.

The firſt degree is that of ſingdo, which anſwers to batchelor; the ſecond is hung-cong, or licentiate, the third tuncy, or doctor. The preſident of ſciences is choſen from the moſt able doctors, under the name of trangivin. Every one in his province may be admitted to the firſt degree; it is even eaſily obtained, even by proxy; but there is more difficulty to procure the ſecond; every one is perſonally obliged to ſatisfactorily comply with the required conditions: the third degree is only attainable by intrinſic merit, and the proof is moſt ſtrict.

They can only be admitted as doctor, in the royal city, and in preſence of the King, in a general aſſembly of all the candidates, which is only held once in three years. A ſingle fault in the examination excludes the candidate; thus though thoſe who preſent themſelves for the doctor's degree generally amount to ſome thouſands, ſeldom more than eight or ten are admitted. Such is the attention paid in chooſing perſons to fill the firſt dignities of the ſtate, and who are conſidered as its ſupport.

Corruption, partiality, and the paſſions, which are ſuch ſtrong parties in every concern in the kingdom, here give way to the love of order and juſtice. Nor is it to be wondered at, the penalty of death being pronounced againſt thoſe examining mandarins, who ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be corrupted by bribes, or any other means, and more than one example proves that this ſevere law is put in execution.

All the fruit, for the trouble taken to attain the offices and dignities of the ſtate, is confined to the perſon who enjoys it. The honours expire with him who has poſſeſſed them. The immediate heirs of the firſt perſons in the ſtate have no other diſtinction than being exempt from taxes and public charges; an advantage which does not deſcend to their children, who return to the common order, unleſs they raiſe themſelves from it by their perſonal merit, as did their grandfathers. This cuſtom tends to preſerve equality among all the ſubjects of the ſtate, where there is no other nobility than what diſtinguiſhed and perſonal qualities beſtow.

Every one is not allowed to ſtudy mathematics: who ever without an expreſs licence ſhould ſtudy them, would be ſuſpected of conſpiring againſt the ſtate, becauſe they believe that Heaven preſides over kingdoms, and diſpoſes of the fate of Kings, and that mathematics is the ſcience of the ſecrets of heaven; therefore the King chooſes his mathematicians from among the doctors of the firſt rank.

It is only ſince they have been viſited by Europeans, that they have had any idea of foreign nations, and that they have believed that other continents and nations than thoſe immediately bordering on the frontiers of their kingdom exiſted. They have no diſtinct notion of the diſtribution of the globe into ſea and land, nor of the different parts of the world.

In mentioning the diſeaſes of Tonquin and the method of treating them, we have ſhewn the ſtate of medicine and ſurgery in that kingdom: but it may be further obſerved, that every one is at liberty to follow thoſe profeſſions, and form pupils, without having undergone any examination, and without being obliged to pay any tax. But ſome who wiſh to acquire reputation and practice, take out a kind of diploma, by undergoing an examination before officers appointed for that purpoſe. This examination chiefly conſiſts in knowing if the candidate can diſtinguiſh the plants he employs for the cure of diſeaſes, the one from the other, even when cut up, and mixed confuſedly together. They alſo make them prove on themſelves the virtues of their boaſted remedies, doubtleſs to aſcertain that there is nothing baneful in them. When a rich man is ill it is cuſtomary to propoſe a reward to whoever cures him; doctors and ſurgeons croud around him; each in his turn gives him medicines, which are immediately paid for: and the reward is given to him, whoſe medicine has been found to have operated a conſiderable alteration in the patient: they often ſucceed. What is moſt ſurprizing is, that theſe multiplied medicines do not increaſe or fix the diſorder: they cannot be dangerous, and their compoſition muſt be very ſimple. The doctor to whom they attribute the cure acquires great reputation; and yet thoſe of the ſame profeſſion who have been conſulted with him entertain no jealouſy.

There are a few painters in Tonquin, who are employed to decorate the temples and diſtinguiſhed houſes, but their art is ſtill uncouth; yet ſeveral of them ſhew marks of genius, which under able maſters might ſhine with luſtre. Sculpture is confined to carving a few rude ſtatues of idols, moſt of which are merely figures of invention, and intended to repreſent Genii, under frightful forms: it ſeems that the greateſt perfection lies in making them as horrible and fantaſtic as poſſible. Engraving is unknown to them: but they poſſeſs the art of printing. There are few other arts or trades in Tonquin.

They do not know how to build ſhips: they have ſcarcely any idea of navigation, becauſe they are forbidden to leave their country; but they excel in building all kinds of boats; moſt of them are decked, except thoſe uſed for fiſhing: they have an aſtoniſhing neat light boat, which they keep in their houſes, and during the inundations it ſerves them to paſs from one place to another.

In Tonquin every trade is carried on that is abſolutely neceſſary for the wants of life; and they carry on too much trade with China not to imitate them in many things; but they invent nothing, and have never thought of improving any one branch of their induſtry. Every trade is executed with the ſimpleſt tools, and yet with the greateſt eaſe. A carpenter or joiner contains all his implements in a bamboo, except his axe, which is very narrow: there are blackſmiths, gold and ſilver ſmiths, and they alſo work in copper; they work amazingly cheap: there are potteries every where; they all know how to make gunpowder: almoſt all the women can fabricate linen and ſilk ſtuffs. There are ſome other profeſſions, which will be mentioned when we treat of their internal commerce. What employs the greateſt part of the people is fiſhing, a kind of neceſſary trade for their daily ſubſiſtence: their manner of fiſhing varies much. On the banks of thoſe rivers where the tide flows, they erect light open hurdles: each boat places ſeveral: high water covers them, the fiſh which come up with the

tide find themſelves ſtopped when it ebbs. The ſame thing is practiſed on the ſea-ſhore, with this difference, that the paliſades are ſtable, ſupported by large ſtakes, and form angles, at the point of which are placed cloſe hurdles, which ſtop the fiſh. They take ſuch numbers in this manner, that the fiſhermen give them away to the boats that may be then paſſing.

They catch fiſh with fire: they light large faggots of Indian cane, which they carry before them: the fiſh, frightened by the light, jump into the boat. They have another method very oppoſite to this, which is only practiſed at night, when the ſky is clear, and the moon ſhines in full luſtre: for this purpoſe they have long narrow boats, to each ſide of which they faſten a board two feet wide, the length of the boat, covered with a ſhining white varniſh: it is placed with a gentle ſlope to the ſurface of the water, and turned towards the moon, the light of which encreaſes the luſtre of the varniſh, and makes it appear whiter; the fiſh which play on the water, jump on the ſide of the board next to them, and fall into the boat, where the fiſherman is concealed and takes them. Some fiſh with ſtilts twelve or fourteen feet high, drawing a net after them; if they loſe their balance, they fall into the water, and are often drowned; though they are excellent divers, even in the moſt rapid ſtreams, where they catch the fiſh with the hand, purſuing them even to their fartheſt haunts. Others truſt themſelves on the ſea with a ſingle plank, which ſerves them for a boat; they ſtand on it with one foot, the other they uſe as an oar, and they purſue the fiſh with amazing rapidity. Whole towns ſituated on the ſea-coaſt, fiſh with one and the ſame net, which is generally made of ſilk; eighty or hundred people have each their portion marked on it, they draw it exactly as we do a ſein. Each individual has the fiſh taken in his part of the net, which he is obliged to keep in repair: in favourable ſeaſons they take immenſe numbers this way.

They alſo fiſh at ſea with hooks: their boats for this purpoſe are ſmall and light, each furniſhed with ſome hundreds of hooks, which are only laid once in twenty-four hours, and that during the night: the fineſt fiſh are taken in this manner, and are either ſalted or dried, and ſold in the moſt diſtant provinces.

At certain ſeaſons, very large fiſh make their appearance in the ſeas of Tonquin, which they harpoon: ſeveral boats ſurround him, and when he is ſtruck, they get out of his way to avoid his fury; they follow him at a diſtance, by the trace of his blood, and when he floats on the water they throw a cord round him and drag him to land. They are of the cetaceous kind. The ſea threw one on the ſhore of a monſtrous ſize: the King hearing of it, ſent ſome mandarins to pay his homage to it; the part of its body which was out of the water they covered with mats, and it took a hundred, each two or three feet wide: it was believed that this fiſh contained the ſoul of ſome genii, eminent for his birth; for ſome of the Tonquineſe are ſuperſtitious enough, to ſalute large ſerpents or fiſh with the utmoſt reſpect, without daring to kill or take them. Others more ſenſible do not ſcruple to uſe them, as they find them very profitable, both for ſale and uſe.

The coaſts of Tonquin are at intervals viſited by ſhoals of ſtrange fiſh, which come in cloſe and thick columns, ſomewhat like the herrings that viſit our ſhores: but no remark has hitherto been made, as to the preciſe time that theſe fiſh of paſſage return.

CHAP. X. — *Interior and External Commerce: — Money: — Price of Gold and Silver.*

THE Chineſe bring ſimples for the uſe of medicine to Tonquin, the country not producing ſufficient, while in the vaſt extent of China, every thing of that kind is found in abundance. Beſides the Chineſe being, as we have ſaid, eſteemed the moſt ſkilful doctors of all this part of the Eaſt, they poſſeſs the entire confidence of thoſe who are able to pay them, and who have moſt credit. A Tonquineſe mandarin, ſeeing how much this one branch of commerce was prejudicial to his country, formed a code of practical medicine, in which he taught how to cure all diſeaſes, with the herbs and drugs which were to be found in Tonquin only. His work was approved of by the court; but the cuſtom of uſing Chineſe remedies prevailed, and his receipts are only uſed, when there are no means of doing otherwiſe.

Beſides drugs, the Chineſe bring tea, that of the country being acrid, coarſe, and unworthy of the name: porcelain, which only conſiſts in a kind of cups and ſaucers: ſilk ſtuffs; for though ſilk is more common in Tonquin than in China, they do not fabricate ſuch rich and beautiful ſilks: different kinds of linens: ſugar in powder, and candid: wheat and barley flour; if they bring it in grain, they take care to dry it, ſo as to kill the germ, and prevent its being ſown; for it would grow very well in the elevated parts of Tonquin, if they knew how to cultivate it: iron and copper kitchen utenſils: iron, that of Tonquin being brittle, becauſe it is badly made, and very little fit for fine works: ſpices, ſuch as pepper, cloves, nutmegs, cinnamon, and different dried preſerves: hemp and flax; theſe articles being ſo ſcarce in Tonquin, that they are obliged to make their nets of ſilk: wax and cotton: glaſs ware, iron ware, ſmall looking glaſſes, teleſcopes, white glaſs bottles, glaſs or paſte beads; for the Chineſe imitate glaſs with a paſte that has all the appearance of it.

The Chineſe alſo practiſe ſeveral arts and trades at Tonquin, in which they will not inſtruct the natives, that they may not be able to do without them. It is they that explore and work the mines, as well as melt the gold, ſilver, and copper they obtain from them: they print the fineſt books, and engrave the plates. Cunning and avaricious, they employ every artifice to keep up their credit in Tonquin: they colleague together, and all at once ſtop bringing any merchandize that may be in demand, and only bring a ſupply when they are ſure they may increaſe the price, according to the demand for it.

The Chineſe in Tonquin retain their national dreſs, and all their cuſtoms: they arrive by ſea and land, but moſt are from the provinces of Fokien and Canton: ſome alſo come from the iſland of Haynam and Batavia. Theſe, beſides the general merchandiſe above-mentioned, bring great quantities of tanned ox hides, or buffalo hides, which are in great demand, leather being very ſcarce, as they eat almoſt all animals with their ſkin, and what they do make being of very bad quality: woollen ſtuffs and cloths, which are in much eſteem: painted linens of India: broad linen and cotton cloths. All the merchandiſes of Europe are in great demand; cutlery, clocks, ſoaps, ointments, engravings or prints, ſell immediately. In trading with this country, things of general uſe, low price, and eaſy ſale, are preferable to valuable goods, which would fall to the ſhare of the mandarins, or wives or officers of the King, by whom they would find it difficult to get paid, even after they had ſet their own price on them.

As ſoon as a veſſel arrives off the mouth of the river, intelligence is ſent to court, from whence a detachment of troops is ſent to watch it, but as it is ſome time before this

this detachment arrives, they profit by the interval to land goods, and to conceal from the ſoldiers ſome of the moſt valuable.

The Chineſe veſſels are allowed to go up as far as the camp of the governors of provinces, or to the chief cities and towns; the greater part even aſcend to the capital of the province of the South, one of the largeſt and beſt peopled cities in the kingdom. The Engliſh veſſels have no longer that advantage; they are obliged to remain five or ſix leagues from the mouth of the river in the open ſea. From their ſettlement at Tonquin till 1730, or thereabouts, they as well as the Chineſe aſcended as high as the capital of the province of the South; but an Engliſh captain having ſmuggled ſome copper, the King gave orders to ſeize his ſhip. The captain being informed of it, weighed anchor immediately to drop down the river: armed gallies were ſent to attack him; the river was barricadoed by a multitude of boats full of ſoldiers; even ſtakes were driven with a view of ſtopping of him, but his men ſoon cut them down, a few cannon ſhot deſtroyed ſome of their galleys, and killed ſeveral on board others, ſo that they could only follow him at a diſtance, as far as the ſea, where he more boldly inſulted them, and then ſet ſail.

This contempt of the King's orders cauſed an interruption of the Engliſh trade for ten or twelve years, and it was not reſumed till about 1742, by their ſubmitting to the laws of the country, which forbid ſtrangers from ſelling or landing goods, before they have obtained permiſſion, and paid certain fees.

They have no other money than what is of copper of a round form, without any impreſſion, but merely four characters which mention the name of the King. This money has a ſquare hole in the center, for the convenience of ſtringing them together. They are divided by ſixty, which make a maſs; ten maſſes make a quan, or about the value of half a crown of our money. A quan weighs four or five pounds; it may therefore be judged how troubleſome a large ſum muſt be. This money is badly ſtruck; and loſes its value when the character becomes defaced: which cauſes a real and inevitable loſs to the merchants: nor has it any fixed value; it encreaſes or diminiſhes, at the pleaſure of the court. They receive it alſo from China, which paſſes as current as that coined in the country.

From this it may be ſeen, that gold and ſilver are not uſed as money in Tonquin; but it enters into their trade, and metals are ſold or exchanged by weight; they are only uſed in large purchaſes, or as preſents to the King or mandarins. The few pieces of coined gold or ſilver which circulate in trade, are brought from Japan, by the Chineſe, Dutch, and Engliſh. Not that Tonquin does not poſſeſs mines of gold, the rivers of the country bring it down with their ſand. Some are employed in finding it in a kind of ditches, into which they purpoſely turn the courſe of the water, and find gold at the depth of five or ſix feet in the ſands. They find ſtill more in the clefts of the rocks, and the ſtreams of ſprings which iſſue from them, which indicates mines not yet diſcovered: there are even diſtricts where gold ſhould be very plentiful, ſince they there breed ducks, merely for the profit of the gold they extract from their excrements. There are, beſides, mines that are open, but which are only worked by the Chineſe; and as no one in Tonquin is acquainted with their proceſs, they only account for what they think proper; nevertheleſs the natives of the country themſelves dig and work mines of copper, iron, and lead, but they are not ſufficiently acquainted with the metallurgy to ſeparate the precious metals that may be mixed with them. The gold and ſilver which come from their mines, are melted into ſmall ingots or bars, each weighing ten ounces, equal to twelve of ours.

The ounce of ſilver is eſtimated in the country at the value of four and two-pence, thus the bar is worth two pound one and eight pence. Gold is worth from one pound to one pound five per ounce. This gold, as well as the ſilver, is of high repute, at leaſt in the market, where it increaſes or diminiſhes in price according to the demand for it.

As they make conſiderable preſents of theſe bars to the King and mandarins, who know nothing of the intrinſic value of metals, and only judge of the preſent by its bulk, and the price by its appearance, there are goldſmiths who make bars for that purpoſe, ſo as to contain one-third of alloy; for which reaſon the merchants prefer giving gold or ſilver bars in barter, than copper money, in the value of which they cannot impoſe. It is, beſides, more convenient for them to carry a bar of gold of ten ounces, than the ſame value in copper coin, which would weigh fifteen hundred pounds.

They ſeldom uſe weights and meaſures in Tonquin in buying and ſelling; or if they do, they are far from exact, being juſt as the parties agree. They generally ſell by hand, and valuation. Linen and ſtuffs are ſold by the cubit, which is very arbitrary; ſilk and cotton have a weight peculiar to themſelves and this country only; gold and ſilver alone, which is ſold in bars, has a fixed and equal value throughout the kingdom.

Strangers receive in Tonquin raw or wrought ſilk, ſuch as gauzes, grograms, or ſtrong ſtuffs: linen made from the bark of trees, which are handſome and fine; different work in mother of pearl; works in ratan; all kinds of ſmall furniture and works in varniſh; ebony, ivory, tortoiſe-ſhell, cinnamon, copper, cotton, and ſeveral other articles more or leſs valuable. The Chineſe take a great many ſalted ducks' eggs, which they preſerve with a paſte compoſed of pounded brick and ſalt, with which they cover them. They only eat the yellow. The exportation of rice is prohibited. Notwithſtanding prohibitions, trade is carried on pretty freely in Tonquin; the King only reſerving to himſelf the ſale of cinnamon and copper.

The articles of interior commerce are; the nuts or fruit of the areka, green or dry, which are the chief ingredients in betel, the uſe of which is as common in India, as tobacco in Europe, but may be conſidered more wholeſome to thoſe who chew it; the fruits of the country of all kinds; cotton in pods, or ſpun cotton; linen and that made from bark.

The temperature of the air admits of their rearing ſilk-worms all the year; thoſe who chiefly depend on the profit derived from them, follow that method; however the real ſeaſon to rear them is during ſix months, as long as the mulberry-tree throws out new and tender leaves, for the quality of the ſilk entirely depends on the feeding the worms. The mulberry-trees in this country are not high, like thoſe cultivated in the ſouthern provinces of France, and in a great part of Italy; they are only ſmall ſhrubs, which every year are cut down to the ground during winter, and the plants of which muſt be renewed from time to time, if they would obtain fine ſilk; for it is known by experience, that the old plants, as well as the large trees, give but indifferent ſilk. The ſilk being uſed for almoſt every thing, even among the people, is conſidered as a neceſſary, and every one rears mulberry plants and ſilk-worms at leaſt for their own uſe. They keep the worms extremely clean: they put them on cloſe hurdles, on which they feed them ſeveral times day and night. They come into exiſtence, grow, and ſpin their ſilk in the ſpace of a month: when they are at maturity, they are expoſed to the ſun, or to the heat of a fire: they attach themſelves to a piece of ſtraw, on which they ſpin their ſilk: they are kept in cloſe cabinets, or

ſheltered by ſilk gauze or very fine linen from the muſkitos, flies and ants; they muſt be equally protected from the fowls, rats and frogs, which are very fond of them.

Cinnamon would be a very advantageous article of commerce to a more enterprizing nation: the foreſts abound with it: it is only cultivated in the King's gardens, and thoſe of the temples: individuals are forbid to grow it, the King monopolizing the trade of it. The tree principally grows in the mountains on the frontiers of China; it much reſembles the willow of Europe: they only take the firſt and ſecond bark, the third is neceſſary to the preſervation of the tree. This tree delights in dry and airy ſituations; wet, and plants that cling to them, kill the young plants: they might be obtained more eaſily from this country for tranſplanting than from the iſland of Ceylon.

Varniſh. The tree which produces it does not riſe above twelve or fifteen feet, its bark is whitiſh, its leaves reſemble thoſe of the wild cherry: it does not grow very thick, the largeſt and oldeſt ſeldom exceed eighteen or twenty inches in circumference. This vegetable ſyrup pretty much reſembles turpentine, and is of a reddiſh colour. That from the young trees is the beſt: when they attain the age of twelve or fifteen years, and have acquired their full growth, the bark and leaves become of an aſh colour, and their juice is coarſe; they are then cut down and replaced by others. At all ages, they take care to ſtop the diſtillation in ſpring and autumn, becauſe the varniſh is then mixed with water, and cannot be uſed.

The proprietors of trees ſeldom give themſelves the trouble to collect the varniſh; they ſell the produce to merchants; the price is generally about three halfpence per tree. Theſe merchants hire people to collect it; one man is ſufficient to manage fifty trees, becauſe they are planted very cloſe together. A merchant is ſatisfied when a thouſand trees produce a pound of varniſh in one night, which on the ſpot ſells for about half a crown; the price encreaſes in proportion to the diſtance it is brought from.

Sugar would be a conſiderable branch of commerce in Tonquin, if the inhabitants knew how to prepare it, and eſpecially to refine it. The cane grows naturally with them, and as they have an immenſity of rich moiſt land, it would be very eaſy for them to cultivate it, and ſell a vaſt quantity of ſugar to foreigners: but they content themſelves with bruiſing the canes, ſtripped of their leaves and outer bark, under a mill, turned by an ox, boiling the juice twice, and obtaining from it a kind of thick ſyrup which they call honey of ſugar, and for which they have a quick ſale in the interior of the country, where it is uſed in all ſorts of preſerves, fruits, &c.

Bamboo, or Indian cane, is of ſo much uſe, and ſo neceſſary in Tonquin, that though it grows almoſt every where naturally it becomes a conſiderable object of trade in this country. It furniſhes many of the comforts of life; beſides the kind of food it contains, they obtain from it the ſubſtance of paper; houſes are built of and covered with it. Whole bamboos ſerve for pillows; when ſplit, it is cut into lathes, which are uſed for boards and coverings; when the wood is full grown it is capable even when ſplit, of ſupporting the greateſt burthens. Many houſehold utenſils are made of it, and alſo boats; divided into fine ſhreds, it can be worked into handſome baſkets and boxes of different ſizes, of the neateſt work.

The conſumption of paper being conſiderable in Tonquin, it conſtitutes one of the chief articles of the trade of the country. They not only uſe it at funerals, they alſo decorate their houſes, and cover the walls, and ornament the cielings with it, and renew it every year. Literature takes a great deal, becauſe it can only be written on

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one ſide. It is made from many trees and plants of the country, but chiefly from the bamboo and cotton, next to which are the mulberry tree and elm.

Though the Tonquineſe conſume a vaſt quantity of ſalt, the water of the ſea which waſhes their ſhores, is not ſalt enough to allow the ſalt to cryſtallize by the mere heat of the ſun; the many very large rivers that empty themſelves into it, within a very confined ſpace, prevents that effect. But as ſalt is one of the firſt neceſſaries, many people are employed in making a ſufficient quantity for the conſumption of the kingdom, and though it coſts much care and trouble, it is very cheap. There are whole townſhips employed in this work, and which follow no other.

It may be ſeen from what has been ſaid, that a country ſo rich in itſelf as Tonquin might ſupply a conſiderable trade with Europe. It borders on the richeſt provinces of China; and it might be poſſible by that means to obtain a part of the productions of that vaſt empire, the depôt of which might be in the chief commercial cities of Tonquin; and in return the productions of Europe might obtain a wider market: but to effect that the government muſt allow more freedom to commerce, and that the extortions of the mandarins ſhould not be authoriſed, that free eſtabliſhments be allowed foreigners who might require to reſide in the interior of the country to carry on their connections, which would be as much advantage to the court, as to the people in general. But the adminiſtration has not yet opened its eyes to theſe ſources of public proſperity: they keep in a falſe dread of revolutions, and invaſions from foreign forces, that they fear the pretence of commerce might favour. That is what prevents all communications with foreigners, and that they will ſcarcely allow them to remain any time on their frontiers, or in their ſea-ports; the Chineſe only, as we have ſhewn, are received in great numbers.

## CHAP. XI. — *Government of Tonquin:—Revolutions:—Diviſion of the Power between two Sovereigns.*

THOUGH Tonquin was formerly part of the empire of China, and there are ſtill remains of cities and towns obſervable that the ſovereigns had built; yet the Tonquineſe have always been conſidered as quite a diſtinct people from the Chineſe, who, even in the remoteſt times, called them barbarians: in fact, they very much reſemble the Eaſt Indians, by the form of their features, their food, and manner of dreſſing: by the cuſtom of ſtaining their teeth black, and going barefooted; they have alſo a remarkable conformity with the other Indians in the right great toe, which ſtick out far from the other toes.

It muſt not be expected to find any thing certain in regard to the ancient hiſtory of Tonquin, and the manner in which it was governed before it became a province of China: it is probable the natives of the country were then unacquainted with writing, for in this reſpect we find no inſtructive record: what modern hiſtorians have ſaid of it, ſhould only be conſidered as fables, founded on popular tradition, too abſurd to be believed.

However this country has for many ages uſed the Chineſe character in writing, and adopted part of the laws and cuſtoms of that empire, which are ſtill obſerved; which at leaſt proves that there has been a cloſe connection between theſe two neighbouring people; though it is not known whether the effect of voluntary intercourſe or of conqueſt. If the Chineſe chronicles are believed, the boundaries of that vaſt empire once extended to the kingdom of Siam: in this ſuppoſition Tonquin certainly formed part of it: its ſituation expoſed it to the firſt efforts of the conquerors, and it muſt,

in that time, have been incorporated with the reſt of the empire. But it was not for long. Scarce had the Chineſe armies retired, than the Tartars deſcended from the mountains, and rendered themſelves maſters of Tonquin. They were commanded by a chief named Ding, who, aſſiſted by ſome vagabonds, took the title of King, and arrogated its prerogatives. But his government was ſo inſupportable, that the natives roſe againſt him, and came to open revolt, in which he was maſſacred.

In all probability this revolution was fermented by the Chineſe, and followed by civil wars between the different parties which aroſe in the kingdom, and exhauſted the nation to ſuch a degree, that they reſolved to chooſe a chief who ſupported and reſtored it. The ſovereign power was conferred on a lord named Ledayhang, with the title of King.

It was under his reign that the Chineſe entered Tonquin in force: he vigouroufly oppoſed their enterprize, and died fighting. His ſucceſſor, worthy of him, vanquiſhed the Chineſe in ſix or ſeven pitched battles, and re-eſtabliſhed peace and plenty in his dominion: it was he who in the courſe of a long and quiet reign, built that vaſt and magnificent marble palace, the ruins of which now only remain.

His poſterity reigned quietly for five or ſix generations, and became extinct in the perſon of a daughter of the laſt prince of the blood, heireſs to the kingdom. She married a powerful lord of the family of Tran, who was vanquiſhed by another lord of the family of Ho. The conqueror, after putting to death the princeſs and the King her huſband, ſeized the ſceptre and mounted the throne. He did not long enjoy his ſucceſs; his outrages irritated his new ſubjects, who called in the Chineſe to their aſſiſtance; they vanquiſhed the tyrant, and killed him in battle. The fruit of this victory to the Tonquineſe was the loſs of their liberty: the Chineſe finding themſelves the ſtrongeſt, once more took poſſeſſion of a country, of which they had before been maſters.

The form of government was changed; Tonquin was no longer ruled by a Prince of its own nation, but by viceroys ſent by the Emperor of China, who eſtabliſhed the Chineſe laws, cuſtoms and ſciences. Theſe eſtabliſhments which ſeemed intended to intirely occupy the people, by ſubjecting them to an uniform life, were followed by a long ſtate of tranquillity, which gave them time to aſſume a conſiſtence which they may be ſaid to preſerve at this day; ſince the people of Tonquin make it a kind of boaſt to obſerve in every thing the cuſtoms and laws of China; but they did not obliterate the remembrance of their former liberty, and the deſire of regaining it.

Some viceroys abuſed their power, and practiſed ſuch vexations that the whole nation threw off the yoke; they took up arms under a general as prudent as brave, named Li. The Chineſe were cut to pieces; and the viceroy periſhed in the action.

Fortune continuing favourable to the Tonquineſe, they drove the Chineſe beyond their frontiers, and even ſeized a great part of the province of Canton; but their general perceiving that their very ſucceſs exhauſted them, made offers of peace, which the civil wars then raging in China, obliged the Emperor to accept. He withdrew his troops on conditions, which for five or ſix hundred years have been faithfully obſerved.

They obliged them every three years to ſend an extraordinary embaſſy to China, with preſents in form of tribute. Theſe preſents conſiſted, as expreſsly mentioned in the treaty, of a certain number of ſmall gold ſtatues, repreſenting criminals demanding pardon, and by that the Tonquineſe acknowledged themſelves as ſuch, in regard to the Chineſe, for having maſſacred a viceroy of that nation. This cuſtom

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no longer exiſts; inſtead of ſtatues the ambaſſador preſents a certain quantity of gold books. The Kings of Tonquin alſo receive their ſeal from the Emperor of China, as a mark of dependence, and a confirmation of their coming to the throne: a cuſtom which does not prevent the Kings of Tonquin from being abſolute maſters in their own ſtates.

Their ambaſſadors are received in China with as much pomp as magnificence, leſs through attention or attachment to the Kings of Tonquin, than to give a high idea of their power, by exalting the grandeur of their vaſſals. When the Emperor of China ſends an ambaſſador to Tonquin, this ambaſſador ſupports the pride of his nation, by the pomp and number of his retinue, and the ſtate he maintains, even with the King, neither treating with him nor his miniſters, except in the houſe in which he has been received at Kacho, and paying no viſit. It is at this price that peace has been preſerved between the two ſtates, ſince the great revolution which drove the Chineſe out of Tonquin.

The General Li was the principal chief and inſtrument, and the Tonquineſe were fully ſenſible of his important ſervices: they acknowledged him as King, and his deſcendants ſucceeded him without interruption for more than two centuries. In the midſt of this proſperity, when the family of Li thought itſelf firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne, and reckoned on the entire affection of the people, an adventurer named Mack, an artful and ambitious man, born in the village of Batſha, ſituated at the mouth of the river, after, in his youth, having followed the profeſſion of a fiſherman, and riſing by degrees to the dignity of grand mandarin, now ſaw only the throne that could gratify his ambition, and he effectively got poſſeſſion of it, leſs by force than by addreſs. The Princes of the dynaſty of Li, living in effeminacy and inaction, paid no attention to his bold proceedings till it was impoſſible to ſtop their progreſs. The uſurper, ſoon after ſeizing the ſceptre, made haſte to fortify Batſha, and other places, which enabled him to reſiſt his powerful enemies, the more formidable, as the greater part of the nation with grief ſaw him fill the throne of their ancient Kings. The moſt formidable of theſe enemies was Hoaving, governor or grand mandarin of the province of Tenchoa: he had married his daughter to an adventurer named Tring, of an extraordinary ſtrength and courage, who for ſome time had been chief of a band of robbers, a ſituation that has nothing diſhonourable in it in the Eaſt Indies, ſince it is not puniſhed by death, but on the contrary often leads to a brilliant fortune. Hoaving gave the command of his troops to his ſon-in-law, and before he died, named him tutor to his only ſon, then about fourteen or fifteen years of age.

Tring, maſter of all his brother's forces, and ſeconded by the greateſt part of the nation, made open war on the uſurper Mack, and vanquiſhed him. After his defeat, he retired to the country of Kaobang, a frontier of China, where he ſet up a kind of independent ſovereignty, which he left to his poſterity. They have enjoyed it nearly two hundred years, under the condition of an annual tribute to Tonquin. The laſt Prince of this race was ſtripped of his ſtates by the King of Tonquin, about one hundred and fifty years ago: it is not known if he left any inheritors of his rights.

The ſucceſs of Tring did not ſo far blind him as to lead him to openly uſurp the royal power. After making himſelf maſter of the capital of the kingdom, and demoliſhing the fortifications erected by his enemy, he cauſed it to be publiſhed, that the heir of the houſe of Ho-li might appear; that he had only taken up arms to replace him on the throne of his anceſtors: on this aſſurance, a young Prince of this family appeared, who had been wandering diſguiſed in the foreſts. He immediately acknowledged

ledged him for his ſovereign; but reſerved to himſelf and his deſcendants the dignity of general of all the forces of the kingdom, under the title of chova.

The young Hoaving impatiently endured that all his father's power had been employed only to eſtabliſh the fortune of his brother-in-law, and to call a Prince to the throne, whoſe rights he conſidered as annihilated by the revolution in which the Prince his father had fallen: he refuſed to pay homage to the new King, or to acknowledge Tring as general of the crown: civil war was lighted up in every part of the kingdom: the people were overwhelmed with the greateſt misfortunes, eſpecially in the province of Tenchoa, where Hoaving had eſtabliſhed the center of his operations. But finding, at length, that he was too weak much longer to reſiſt Tring, he retired into Cochin-china, which was then a province of Tonquin, where he cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed by his troops general of the kingdom, with the ſame rights as his brother-in-law Tring, with whom he made war as long as he lived. The deſcendants of Tring and Hoaving, inherited the hatred as well as the titles and pretenſions of the two brothers-in-law, and ever ſince then, for near two hundred and fifty years, there have been two lieutenant-generals of the kingdom, one reſiding at Kacho, and the other in Cochin-china. Both acknowledged the ſupreme authority of the King of Tonquin, but did not ceaſe to treat each other as enemies, never ceaſing the war, till the general eſtabliſhed in Cochin-china, finding himſelf ſtrong enough not to fear any thing from the Tonquineſe general, who was beſides occupied in another war, aſſumed the title of King, and declared himſelf independant of Tonquin. In this revolution, the new kingdom of Cochin-china became much extended, ſeveral petty ſovereigns became tributary to it, which placed it in a ſtate to have nothing to fear from the King of Tonquin, nor the grand general, although his declared enemies. This kingdom equally freed itſelf from all dependence on China, and has no ſhare in the ſolemn embaſſy that the Tonquineſe ſend there every three years.

It is ſaid that at the time of theſe different revolutions, and notwithſtanding the pretenſions and enterprizes of the two generals, the weſtern part of Tonquin was governed by a ſovereign, whoſe ſway extended nearly to the gate of the royal city. This country was then very populous, but its laſt Prince having married his own ſiſter, was accuſed before the King of Tonquin, who only wanting a pretence to deſtroy this power, declared war againſt him. Not being able to ſubdue him by open force, he pretended to accept ſome propoſals that were offered him by that Prince, and had him aſſaſſinated in an interview, appointed to treat of peace. His ſtates ruined by a long war, which had continued for fifty or ſixty years, were re-united to Tonquin. It is thought that the Princes who reigned in this country were of the family of Ho-li, and that they ſtill have a conſiderable party, who only wait a fit opportunity to ſhake off the yoke, and regain their rights, uſurped by force. It is ſaid they hold ſecret meetings, and are forming magazines of arms in the foreſts, which may probably in the end occaſion ſome revolution, and entirely change the preſent form of government.

There is but one King in Tonquin, known by the name of dova: he has the title as well as the diſtinguiſhing ornaments: in his name all the laws are promulgated, he is ſuppoſed to order every thing: but in reality, he has nothing to do with the government. This cuſtom is founded on the conduct that Tring, the firſt general of the ſtate, invariably purſued towards the King he re-eſtabliſhed on the throne: he only appeared as the firſt ſubject, and confidential miniſter of the monarch, but beneath this veil of reſpect and devotion, he attached all the prerogatives of ſovereign

power to his place, by the King himſelf, who made them hereditary in his family, which ſtill enjoys them.

This image of royal majeſty, lives ſhut up in his palace, only having a ſmall detachment of troops under his command, which ſerve him as ſpies. Cuſtom only allows him to appear abroad two or three times in the year, for ſome ceremonies, leſs appertaining to the ſtate than to religion, and which are the remains of Chineſe inſtitutions, ſuch as bleſſing the earth, which the Prince ſolemnly performs, after faſtings, and general prayers, during which he tills the earth, like the Emperor of China, to honour agriculture. This is what they call the ſacrifice of heaven, or the canja.

The remains of the ancient power of the dova, have always given umbrage to the general: he has ſometimes tried to perform the canja; but the mandarins, and even the troops who are ſolely under his orders, refuſed to put on the habits of ceremony, which they aſſume on this occaſion, and finding all claſſes ready to riſe againſt him, he had the confuſion of being obliged to let the ſacrifice recommence by the dova, to the great ſatisfaction of the nation.

Another ſolemn ceremony, called the theckyda, takes place every year, with the greateſt pomp, and ſhould be performed by the King, at the head of all the troops. Its intention is to purge the ſtates of Tonquin of all evil ſpirits. The generals have better ſucceeded in arrogating to themſelves the right of performing this ceremony. As the troops perform the principal functions, and the nation conceives itſelf leſs intereſted in, and as it is a kind of military expedition againſt aerial ſpirits, the generals have inſenſibly retained it. They have been fearful that the King might act artfully, and obtain a party among the troops, and might one day take occaſion of this ceremony to get rid of the general, and re-unite his power to the ſceptre he is ſuppoſed to bear.

Commiſſions ſhould alſo be ſealed with the King's ſeal, without which they would not be eſteemed valid. It is to him only that the Emperor of China allows the title of King, in no way acknowledging the authority of the general: he alſo twice every month, on the firſt and fifteenth day of the moon, receives the viſits of ſome mandarins, and a Prince of the blood, that the general ſends to pay their court; they appear before him in blue robes, with bonnets of cotton, fabricated in the manufactures of the country.

With the exception of theſe ceremonies, the King or Emperor of Tonquin, for that is the title given him by Europeans, to diſtinguiſh him from the chova, to whom they give that of King, is abſolutely unknown to his people: he lives in total ſecluſion, impenetrable to the eyes of the nation.

The dova has his ſeparate quarter, within the encloſure of the chova's palace, which occupies a part of the royal city. If he happens to go out, the people are not permitted even to look at him. Notice is given the day before, to all the inhabitants of the city and country, to keep from the way the Prince is to go: the women muſt remain in the interior of their houſes: they muſt not ſhew themſelves under pain of death: and this ſevere ſentence is executed on the ſpot, if any one ſhould diſobey the order, even through ignorance. Thus the King is inviſible to all but his troops, and the officers who ſurround him.

There is no eſtabliſhed order in the ſucceſſion to the throne. The dova, or emperor himſelf, is often ignorant which of his ſons will ſucceed him, though he ſhould name him, and even though he ſhould have but one ſon, he would not be certain of leaving him the crown and title of King; becauſe the chova or general alone diſpoſes of

of it, and being obliged to give it a Prince of the imperial blood, he chuſes him he ſuppoſes he can moſt rely upon. The eldeſt ſon of the King has never an excluſive right to the throne: in Tonquin, as in China, it has always been the cuſtom to chuſe the moſt worthy among the Princes of the blood royal: likewiſe the election, or aſſumption of the throne muſt be confirmed by the ſovereign tribunal: without this precaution, the Prince elect would not be ſure of his ſituation, eſpecially in a nation obſtinately attached to its cuſtoms.

However confined the power of the King of Tonquin may be, his education is never neglected. He is exactly inſtructed in all the laws of his country, and the rites obſerved in it. His youth is paſſed with maſters, who make him go through all the exerciſes of learning and religion; but from that time he is immerſed in effeminacy and idleneſs; his ſtudies finiſhed, he paſſes the reſt of his life in uninterrupted pleaſures. He is amuſed with concerts, ſhews and dances, he has women allowed him at an early age to keep him in diſſipation; his table is ſerved ſeven different times, both day and night, and the etiquette is, to place on it a hundred and twenty different diſhes.

The dignity of general of the forces of the kingdom is become hereditary in the family of Tring. The general who commanded, or rather reigned, about thirty years ago, was the ſeventh deſcendant from Tring. This form of government, the model of which the Tonquineſe ſeem to have taken from Japan, is ſo well eſtabliſhed, and has hitherto appeared to be ſo well reliſhed by the nation, that all the royal prerogatives belong to the chova, or general.

It is the general who makes war or peace, who confirms or abrogates the laws, who pardons or condemns criminals, who creates or depoſes civil and military officers, who impoſes taxes, and who collects all the revenues of the crown, and diſpoſes of them at pleaſure.

The eldeſt ſon of the chova almoſt always ſucceeds him. However ambition ſometimes creates violent diſſentions among the brothers, and has cauſed dreadful civil wars, which has given riſe to the proverb, that the death of a thouſand dovas is not ſo dangerous to Tonquin as that of one chova. Therefore the brothers and uncles of the reigning chova are at his diſpoſal, and he generally keeps them in the utmoſt ſubjection. He even often puts them to death on the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion. The firſt deſcendants of Tring acted with more generoſity and confidence; they ſhared the cares of public affairs with their brothers and uncles; they beſtowed the moſt honourable titles on them, and entruſted them with the moſt important employments. But ſince the end of the laſt century, and during the reign of a chova well verſed in all the arts of oriental policy, diſtruſtful, ſuſpicious, and of an ill ſtate of health, which ſtill encreaſed his fears, the cuſtom of keeping all thoſe at a diſtance from public affairs, all thoſe who by their birth might pretend to ſovereign power, has prevailed.

Only the preſumptive heir of the general, who is called chura, or young general, has any ſhare in governing, and is often aſſociated with his father. This preſumptive heir to the firſt dignity in Tonquin, has a diſtinct court from his father, and almoſt as brilliant, with his mandarins and officers with the ſame titles, but who every where give way to thoſe of the reigning chova; at his death, thoſe of the chura take their place, except ſome old miniſters, whoſe wiſdom and experience retain them in the employments.

The preſent race of chova is ſubject to fits of madneſs, which at intervals deprive them of the uſe of the ſenſes: this malady ſeems to have been hereditary in this family, ſince the time of him who came to the dignity of chova in 1682, and whoſe

father himſelf had been attacked with fits of melancholy, which rendered even his neareſt relations hateful to him. In one of the fits of madneſs, he put to death the Prince chekening, his ſecond brother, whoſe valour, juſtice and liberality had rendered him the idol of the nation, who had given him the ſurname of the Lightning of Tonquin, after a glorious war, which he had conducted againſt Cochin-China, and which he had terminated by an advantageous peace. The gratitude and attachment of the nation only encreaſed the jealouſy and hatred of the chova; he recalled his brother to the capital. This hero, who might have defied him at the head of a victorious army, did not heſitate to obey his orders, although he foreſaw the fate that awaited him. He was thrown into a dark dungeon, where he languiſhed for a long time, till the regret the nation ſhewed at being deprived of the ſupport and example of ſo great a man, awakened the envenomed rage of the chova, who cauſed him to be poiſoned: on receiving the poiſon, which was to deprive him of life, he turned towards the palace, he teſtified his reſignation by all the marks of reſpect practiſed in Tonquin, and ſwallowed the fatal liquor: he expired a few hours afterwards, with all the appearance of the utmoſt tranquillity of ſoul.

The chova's court is always pompous and brilliant; every thing is in the utmoſt order: his numerous guard occupies the courts of the palace; a number of eunuchs, ſpread through the apartments, receive the petitions of the mandarins, and bring them the Prince's orders: the petitions of the chiefs are preſented kneeling. The ſight of this Prince's court is the moſt ſtriking picture of oriental deſpotiſm; all the moſt powerful lords of the kingdom are there aſſembled, who only ſeek to obtain their maſter's ſmiles by their reſpect and profound ſubmiſſion. Theſe kind of aſſembles poſſeſs an air of majeſty, which would even impoſe on Europeans, except for the ſervile law, which obliges even the grandees to be barefooted during the whole of the audience, but it is the cuſtom of the court, and has nothing humiliating it it for thoſe who practiſe it. The ſovereign treats them with affability, and it may be ſaid that his government is very mild, in compariſon to that of many other eaſtern courts. The greateſt puniſhments they have to dread are fines or baniſhment; there is only the crime of treaſon, true or ſuppoſed, which expoſes them to the forfeit of their lives.

They begin to aſſemble at the chova's at day-break, that is about ſix o'clock, and the audience finiſhes about ten. There only remains with the chova, the captain of his guards and his domeſtic officers, the greater part of which are eunuchs, at leaſt thoſe who enter the women's apartments. They are very numerous, ſome of them very young, and ſo proud and overbearing that they are deteſted by the whole nation. They however poſſeſs much of the chova's confidence in the affairs of government, as well as in his domeſtic concerns, and after ſeven or eight years' ſervice in the palace they arrive at public employment, and riſe by degrees to the firſt dignities in the kingdom; while the learned men, even the moſt celebrated, often remain in obſcurity. But it is almoſt always the intereſt of the chova which elevates theſe eunuchs, and not their talents, nor the perſonal eſteem he has for them: when they die, the wealth they had accumulated by all kinds of meanneſs and injuſtice reverts to the ſovereign, who only allows their relations what he thinks proper. Theſe eunuchs, though abſolutely mutilated, have ſtill a numerous ſeraglio, and as their condition is a certain method of advancing in office, perſons of diſtinguiſhed rank, in the maturity of their age, and fathers of many children, have become eunuchs, in order to approach the perſon of the Prince, gain his confidence, and by that means arrive at the firſt dignities in the kingdom. Very few die in conſequence of this painful operation. Nevertheleſs

theleſs among this kind, ſo vile and degraded, are found ſome of brilliant talents, either for adminiſtration, or the command of armies: but it has been obſerved that thoſe eunuchs had loſt their virility when young and by accident, which in Tonquin is regarded as the preſage of merit and greatneſs. Theſe accidents happen in this country by the bites of dogs, and more eſpecially pigs, which being very common, and kept in their houſes, often mutilate the children, who go naked till the age of ſeven.

Ong-ja-tu-lea, governor of the province of Hienquang, admiral, and miniſter for foreign affairs in the laſt century, was a eunuch of this kind: an incorruptible judge, a brave ſoldier, as prudent as ſucceſsful he was looked upon by the whole nation, as the honour and the ſource of happineſs of Tonquin. The then reigning chova having occaſion for an able miniſter, to relieve him in the cares and fatigue of government, to which his weak ſtate of health prevented him paying proper attention, believed himſelf inſpired in a dream to raiſe the firſt man who ſhould preſent himſelf before him the next morning to that eminent ſtation, and by the ſame force of imagination, he believed that he had ſeen the likeneſs of him he was to meet. Waking full of this idea, he was ſurpriſed to find exactly in the firſt man whoſe affairs brought him to the palace a perfect reſemblance with him that his imagination had traced on his mind. He took him near his perſon with as much confidence as if he had known him for a long time, and in a long diſcourſe he had with him found he poſſeſſed ſo much wit and underſtanding, that he did not heſitate to inveſt him with an authority almoſt equal to his own: the offices and dignities he beſtowed on him only ſerved to juſtify his choice. But was it that theſe exceſſive favours, and a power almoſt unlimited, made the favourite forget what he owed his maſter? or the jealouſy of the chova, who had ſo cruelly put his brother to death, was the cauſe of the wretched end of Ong-ja-tu-lea, ſtill illuſtrious in Tonquin, by the ſingularity of his good fortune, and cruel death? however it might be, under pretence of a conſpiracy againſt the ſtate, whether true or falſe, the unfortunate miniſter was condemned to death, the moſt horrible of all executions: he was torn to pieces by four horſes; his limbs were cut in pieces, burnt, and his aſhes thrown into the river.

At the commencement of every year, the mandarins and military officers renew their oath of fidelity to the chova: theſe afterwards receive the ſame oath from their wives, their children, domeſtics, and all their dependants.

The reſidence of the chova is always at Kacho, in an immenſe palace, encloſed with walls, in the centre of the city; it is ſurrounded by a great number of ſmall houſes, for lodging the ſoldiers; the interior buildings have two ſtories, with openings or porticos to give free paſſage to the air. The gates are lofty and majeſtic. The apartments of the Prince, and thoſe of his wives are decorated with all the magnificence and luxury of the country, that is to ſay, that they are enriched with much gilding, and the moſt beautiful varniſh: they contain all the riches and rarities, collected during a long ſucceſſion of years by powerful and abſolute ſovereigns.

In the firſt court are the ſtables of the moſt beautiful horſes, and largeſt elephants: behind the palace are gardens divided into alleys and parterres, with large ſheets of water, and every thing that can ſerve to amuſe a Prince who ſeldom quits his reſidence.

The ſeraglio is filled with women of all ranks, who offer themſelves to reſide there, or are choſen for their talents and abilities to contribute to the pleaſure of the Prince: there are particularly a great many comedians. The chova who reigned at the beginning of the preſent century, was the ſon of a woman of that claſs. Theſe wives, or

concubines, are at leaſt four hundred in number: but the chova grants his favours to very few. She that brings him the firſt ſon receives diſtinguiſhed honours. The other concubines who have children by him, take the name of duèba, or excellent woman. All the male children, with the exception of the eldeſt, who has the title of chura, are called ducong, or excellent man, and the daughters batua, or princeſſes. The reſt of the women who do not approach the general's bed, and who are only in the ſeraglio to make up number, have but indifferent entertainment while the chova lives: as ſoon as he dies they are turned out of the palace, and they are only allowed to marry among the very dregs of the people.

If the general ſolemnly marries according to the laws of the country, which ſeldom happens, except in the laſt years of his life, and when he no longer expects to have any children, the woman he marries is always of royal extraction, and enjoys all the honours of her rank; ſhe is entitled mother of the kingdom. The Prince in ſome manner buys her, by the tribute he pays to the province of Than-hoa, or Tenchoa, of which ſhe is generally a native.

While their father lives, the children of the chova want nothing as to opulence and diſtinction. After his death, his ſucceſſor only gives his brothers and ſiſters ſuch revenue as he thinks proper, which diminiſhes in proportion as they are diſtant from the throne. In the fifth or ſixth degree, they receive nothing. As all theſe Princes marry, and have children, they muſt eventually be reduced to great poverty; the moſt part only live by rapine, and fall by degrees into a ſtate the more contemptible, as they cannot obtain any office nor military employment. They have been ſeen as porters in the public market, and affecting to uſe hooks ſtained of a colour which announces their origin.

It is true that when the general comes to the ſovereign command, he takes precautions that his brothers ſhould not leave a numerous poſterity. If they give him any cauſe of diſtruſt, he knows how to get rid of them, under pretences that are always approved of: others are kept under a reſtraint that a good deal reſembles ſlavery; born with the fineſt underſtandings, ſome have preſerved their lives, by pretending to be idiots: in this caſe they are lodged in a kind of priſon, where they have merely the comforts of life. They entertain a kind of reſpect for this condition; it ſeems to announce the ligitimacy of the deſcendance from the royal family, in which madneſs is an hereditary diſorder.

The dova, or legitimate King of Tonquin, being only an ideal perſonage, without any real power, it is ſufficient to have ſlightly mentioned him, to have given a ſufficient idea of him: however about thirty five years ſince the family of the Dova was near recovering his authority. The then reigning chova, who had no children, had given his whole confidence to an ambitious eunuch, who abſolutely governed in his name, and who formed the horrid project of ſeizing the ſovereign authority, by aſſaſſinating his maſter, which he did ſecretly. It was eaſy for him for ſometime to conceal his crime in a palace where every one obeyed his orders, and where the monarch is generally inviſible to all but ſome of his favourites. The eunuch continued to give his orders in the name of the chova, ſaying he was ill, and that till he was perfectly recovered he would not ſee any one. The brothers and nephews of the chova who all equally pretended to the right to ſucceed him, ſuſpected his tragical end, and by enquiries proved the crime againſt the eunuch. Many parties were formed in the kingdom, who took arms on different ſides, each drawing over to his cauſe the towns and villages over which he had moſt authority; the whole country was ravaged by the war; the lands remained uncultivated, the plague was added to the horrors of war

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and famine; one-half of the inhabitants of the kingdom periſhed in the courſe of eight years that this civil war laſted. The legitimate ſovereign at length awoke from his ſtupor; he quitted the palace in which he was born, and in which he had been ſhut up till that moment: he endeavoured to reduce the different rebel parties under his authority: many joined him without much ſucceſs, becauſe thoſe who aimed at the ſovereign authority, and the right of replacing the chova, as ſoon as they found they had the worſt in the enterpriſes, retired to inacceſſible places in the mountains and foreſts, from whence they iſſued when the occaſion was favourable. At length the King in 1748, having got poſſeſſion of the arſenal of the province of Tan-hoa, where he found arms and ſtores, ſubdued the rebels and diſarmed them. The ancient form of government was re-eſtabliſhed, that is to ſay, the dova returned to his palace, and himſelf choſe a chova, or general of the troops, depoſitary of the ſovereign power, who only appears to execute his orders; but who, ſooner or later, will imperceptibly re-aſſume the abſolute and independant power which his predeceſſors enjoyed.

## CHAP. XII. — *Of the Forces of the Kingdom.*

TONQUIN has no fortified places: ſhe is proud in having no other ramparts than her troops: her forces would indeed be for midable if the courage of the ſoldiers equalled their number. They reckon a hundred and forty thouſand men, eight or ten thouſand of which are cavalry: they have alſo three hundred and fifty elephants: but this multitude is for the moſt part only commanded by eunuchs, who in general, are not brave, a very requiſite quality in an officer, and have ſeldom any knowledge in the military art: they all buy their ſituations.

The officers are, the enſign, who commands ten men; the captain, a hundred; and the colonel, five hundred. There are no general officers who have larger diviſions except in time of war. Since the revolution in Cochin-China, when the chova made himſelf independent, and aſſumed the title of King, a body of ten thouſand men is kept on the frontiers, commanded by a general officer, who has the care of preſerving the kingdom on that ſide, and watching the motions of the troops of a ſovereign, whom they regard as an enemy. Each governor of a province has ſeven hundred men and an elephant under his orders: theſe detachments are intended to maintain the police, and execute the orders of the chova.

The reſt of the military force is aſſembled in the royal city, or the adjoining camp, and cannot be compoſed of leſs than a hundred thouſand men. It is in this army that the chova places all his confidence: by this means he is ſure to keep the nation in reſpect and obedience, without having occaſion for fortified places, which might as well act againſt him, by the infidelity of the commandants, as contribute to his defence.

Thus though Tonquin is a country open on all ſides, it has little to fear from its neighbours. All that ſurround it are too weak to attack it; the kingdom of Laos is tributary to it. Cochin-China in its actual ſtate dare not undertake to make conqueſts; the inclinations and policy of the Emperors of China do not lead them to conquer, and they would loſe more by declaring war againſt Tonquin than by maintaining peace with her: beſides they know by experience, that they have never been able to keep that kingdom under their dominion, even after having been abſolute maſters of it for a long time. Tonquin is equally ſafe towards the ſea, which is not any where approachable by an enemys fleet. The mouths of the river's are ſo narrow, that it is only with extreme precaution that large veſſels can enter them: the bay of Tonquin, though

very large, defends the coaſts where they might land by the ſhoals which ſurround them for more than two leagues in the ſea. It is ſaid that there is a narrow but very deep river, by which veſſels might with the aſſiſtance of good pilots, aſcend even to the royal city; but this route is yet unknown, and would never be attempted by Indian navigators.

Every year in the fifth moon there is a general review of the troops, under the inſpection of the chova, who himſelf manœuvres: this review is accompanied with three diſcharges of heavy artillery and muſketry: it is enough for a ſoldiert o poſſeſs ſome little learning or ſome trade to be excuſed appearing: the elephants are exerciſed as well as the men; when once trained, they are obedient to command, and perform their evolutions with wonderful preciſion.

Their arms are muſkets with match-looks: they have as yet no knowledge of our ſpring locks; bows and arrows, the ſabre, pike, demi-pike and ſhield: the ſoldiers, as well as the officers, only wear their arms when exerciſing, or when on ſome expedition; except then, they are kept in the arſenal. The troops intended to guard the provinces, have the ſame annual review, in preſence of the mandarins or governors: each of them having a camp near his reſidence, in imitation of that of the royal city: all theſe troops have no regular uniform: every ſoldier knows his chief and his diviſion which is ſufficient for him: he is dreſſed like the people, except that his habit is not ſo long. Thoſe who do the duty of the King's houſe, are cloathed in blue or red ſtuffs, and eſpecially in European cloth, when they can ſupply them with it: it is a diſtinction ſet apart for them.

There are no ſoldiers in the eaſt more expert in the uſe of their arms than thoſe of Tonquin: they exerciſe on land and on board of galleys with muſketry and cannon: thoſe who ſhoot beſt and hit the mark are rewarded, and thoſe who miſs ſeveral times ſucceſſively are puniſhed. They have a ſingular proof of bravery, of which the King is judge, unleſs he appoints one of his chief officers: it conſiſts in receiving a certain number of blows with a wooden ſabre on the head and body: the champion muſt bear them firmly, without trying to avoid them: if he ſinks under the blows, he does not for that loſe the reward propoſed for his conſtancy: the braveſt is he who, in this exerciſe, does not even ſhrink: after having been the receiver, he becomes the aggreſſor in his turn. It is ſaid that a King of Tonquin, in order to prove how far the courage of his braveſt ſoldiers could go, and the contempt of death, had a deep ditch dug, ſtuck full of ſwords and pikes, and propoſed as a reward to him who ſhould be brave enough to throw himſelf into it a conſiderable employ. Only one ſoldier appeared raſh enough to throw himſelf into the ditch; the ſwords which were only ſupported by a ſlight thread, gave way under the weight of his body, and did him no injury: he confeſſed afterwards, that what had determined him was, that he conſidered that the promiſed recompence would be uſeleſs, if he was to be killed by the weapons oppoſed to him.

Whatever pains they may take to exerciſe theſe ſoldiers, they are none the braver, nor more attached to their profeſſion; they only follow it becauſe they are obliged to do ſo. The army is compoſed of men that each village in the kingdom is to furniſh, in proportion to its ſize and number of inhabitants: there are ſome where the moſt part are ſoldiers from father to ſon. Bravery itſelf, in thoſe who meet with an opportunity to diſtinguiſh themſelves, makes no alteration in their fortune; at leaſt the examples are ſo rare that they afford no emulation to the ſoldier: money or intereſt lead ſome to rank; and thoſe means, which are ſhut to the greater part, are what diſcourage them. Thus, when they are obliged to march an army againſt an enemy, all their expedi-

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conſiſt, in general, in a great ſhew of baggage and military noiſe. Formerly they often ſhewed themſelves in force on the frontiers of Cochin-china, when there was a ſecond chova, always in arms againſt him of Tonquin; but their enterprizes were confined to contemplating the walls of a few towns, and encamping on the banks of rivers. If the extraordinary exertion, or unwholeſomeneſs of the air, cauſed diſeaſes in the camp, which carried off only a hundred men, they immediately cried out that the war was murderous and cruel: officers and ſoldiers fled back to their country. They only evinced conſtancy and courage when they were fighting for their liberty againſt the Chineſe. The civil wars which have happened ſince, have rather been terminated by the addreſs of the generals, and the chova himſelf, than by force of arms: they are not very delicate as to the means of ſucceeding in this way; perfidy and treaſon with them are as lawful and honourable as bravery, provided they can accompliſh their object.

The ſoldiers, whether thoſe in the royal camp, or thoſe in the camps of the mandarins, or thoſe diſperſed in the villages, on condition of aſſembling at the time of exerciſe, receive a certain quantity of rice per day: their pay, beſides that, is not more than twelve or fifteen ſhillings a year, of our money; but they are exempt from all taxes; and if they were not doomed to remain for ever in the ſame ſtate, their lot would not be below that of the greater part of the people. Their moſt valuable qualification is their height; the talleſt are reſerved for the chova's guard.

In a country where navigation is only encouraged in the interior of the kingdom, that is on rivers and canals; where that of the ſea is confined to fiſhermen, there can be no marine of any conſequence. It is compoſed of only two or three hundred gallies, of different ſizes, more fit for the navigation of rivers than the ſea; they have neither maſts nor ſails, only oars; the rowers are unſheltered, and expoſed to muſquetry and all offenſive weapons; wherefore theſe galleys are more uſed at ſhows, and in reviews, than in military expeditions; they carry a four-pounder in the prow. Beſides this fleet, the court maintains four or five hundred light ſailing boats, very fit for the tranſport of troops and ſtores; but too weak for fighting. All theſe veſſels, great and ſmall, are kept in vaſt magazines; from whence they are eaſily launched into the water, when it is requiſite.

In the King's palace, in the environs of the royal city, and in the provinces, are different arſenals, filled with arms and warlike ſtores: the moſt conſiderable is ſaid to be in Thang-hoa, of which province the reigning princes are natives. It is ſaid, that in this province there is a vaſt plain, ſurrounded by mountains, and ſo fortified by nature, that it is every where inacceſſible, except at one very ſmall entrance. It is there that the chief collection of ſtores, cannon, and arms of all kinds, are kept: they alſo ſay it is there that the chova keeps his moſt valuable treaſures: he conſiders this ſpot as a place of ſafety, to which he might retire, in the event of an unforeſeen revolution: he has even made a very ſhort road, through the foreſts, from the royal city to it, and which is forbidden to all except thoſe ſent there by the King: this way is only a day's journey, while the common route takes up ſeveral days. They pretend that the fearful and ſuſpicious prince who reigned in 1685 had a ſubterranean paſſage made from his palace to this retreat.

## CHAP. XIII.—*Revenue and Wealth of the King of Tonquin.*

THE King of Tonquin is one of the richeſt Princes of the Eaſt: he has the moſt valuable treaſures, and very conſiderable fixed revenues, which conſiſt in the produce

of his domains, different duties, and the ſale of all the offices. The grain gathered on the lands belonging to the King is put into his magazines: there is one of an immenſe extent in the province of the South; it is ſaid to cover nearly a ſquare league; the produce of thirty or forty harveſts are kept in it, for rice, of all the productions of that kind, keeps the longeſt without ſpoiling. Theſe magazines are never opened but in times of great ſcarcity, when the people are in danger of dying of hunger, or when it is neceſſary to make depots of proviſions on the frontiers, in time of war.

The duties, or taxes, conſiſt in a real tax, and the capitation. The real tax is of new invention, and has only been laid on lands within theſe fifty or ſixty years: if in the declaration of their lands the people were not to conceal a great part, they could not pay it without being ruined. The capitation is of long ſtanding: it was formerly very trifling; but as it was repreſented to the King that it was impoſſible to know the exact number of his ſubjects, it has been much increaſed. This tax is collected with ſuch ſeverity, that thoſe who contribute to it would be obliged to quit their country, if they were to pay exactly what they are eſtimated at; but, as the ſyſtem of finance is by no means ſo perfect as in moſt ſtates in Europe, and the numbering a populous nation appears to them to be impracticable, the tax is laid on each village, or community, in the aggregate, and diviſion is afterwards made on individuals by the principal inhabitants in each place. The males only pay from the time they are twenty: ſoldiers, guardians of the temples, and bonzes, are exempt; as alſo all girls, women, and old men above ſixty.

Theſe taxes are collected in the current money of the country, in produce, and all kinds of merchandize, in bars of gold and ſilver. The purpoſes to which they are applied, after the collection, could only be conceived by miniſters of an oriental deſpot, who only looks upon his ſubjects as ſo many ſlaves invariably deſtined to gratify his whims, and whoſe happineſs is of no concern to him. If there is any regularity in the application of the produce and ſums accruing from taxes, it is only for the benefit of the King, without any advantage to the nation.

The firſt diviſion of the revenue of the kingdom is between the King and thoſe in his ſervice; his wives, children, eunuchs, mandarins of the houſehold, and his troops.

The portion which belongs to the King is carried into his palace, and diſtributed into different depots. The gold and ſilver is thrown into rooms lined from top to bottom with the hardeſt wood, and which have but one opening: the other metals are kept in ſubterranean places, conſtructed under the King's apartments. Thus whatever comes from the people never returns to them. As in time the largeſt magazines would not be ſufficient to contain theſe treaſures, they have, in different provinces, dug reſervoirs lined with boards on all ſides, into which they throw the copper money: an exact regiſter is kept of the quantity put in from time to time, and they are then covered with water, high enough to prevent its being taken away.

As for the linens, of raw ſilk, or worked into ſtuffs, which are paid as taxes, there are prodigious magazines of them in the palace, where they are ſuffered to rot, rather than beſtow them on the people. It is the ſame with the wood that the provinces are obliged to furniſh, to maintain the palaces; as the quantity ſent in is always more than neceſſary for the work to be done, the greater part is left to rot.

Thus all the expences of the King and his houſehold, thoſe of the dova, or reigning emperor, who is conſidered as forming part of the chova's eſtabliſhment, the officers and troops, are defrayed without touching his treaſures: there is even part of the taxes ſet apart ſolely to augment them.

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Thus it is not ſurpriſing that, in a country ſo rich in itſelf, the people ſhould in general be poor and miſerable, even to wanting the neceſſaries of life. If ſome individual becomes rich, it can only be by the greateſt induſtry, and always at the expence of thoſe wretches, of whoſe labour he makes his profit.

Still the King's treaſures do not, by a good deal, take up all the produce of the taxes. As they entirely belong to him, he diſtributes certain portions of them to his officers, wives, and children. He grants the revenues of ſeveral towns; and while they enjoy them they are conſidered as the lords of them, and repreſent the King in collecting the taxes. Theſe temporary lords are tyrants whoſe exactions are more burthenſome to the people than thoſe of the public officers, unleſs, which is very rare, any one among them happens to be poſſeſſed of ſentiments of humanity; beſides, it is dangerous to conciliate the affections of the people by benefactions, however diſintereſted they may be: they would immediately be ſuſpected of intentions repugnant to the tranquillity of the ſtate, and the intereſts of the reigning deſpot.

Independent of taxes, the King has many other means of drawing conſiderable ſums from his ſubjects, and which he does not neglect: ſuch are the ſale of offices, and honorary mandarins that he creates from time to time, and which the richeſt of the eunuchs, and other ſubjects are obliged to purchaſe: money raiſed for the repairs of the roads, which the people are obliged to do, by allotted work: cuſtoms eſtabliſhed on rivers; for there are none on coming into the cities, nor on the highways; each boat pays ſeven-pence halfpenny on going from one province to another; and this tax has no other end than to benefit ſome favourite of the Prince. In every province there is a cuſtom-houſe, where they receive the tenth of all merchandiſes brought into it. All theſe revenues muſt bring immenſe riches to the King; but they are not calculated: it is forbidden, under very ſevere puniſhment, to pry into the ſecrets of the ſtate. It is not even permitted the financiers, appointed to receive the public money, to know any thing on that head beyond what they ought to pay in perſonally; nor to compare their receipts with thoſe of other collectors: every one muſt keep within his own ſphere, without any communication.

## CHAP. XIV. — *Civil and Criminal Laws, and the Juſticiary of Tonquin.*

INDEPENDENT of general laws, which are eſtabliſhed on the ſame principles in Tonquin as in China, there are peculiar cuſtoms in this kingdom; and each place has its own, which are often in contradiction to the received laws, but which only exiſt among individuals, and in very confined territories: for if the circumſtances are carried before the chief tribunals of the province, they pay no reſpect to local cuſtoms, they decide according to the laws admitted throughout the kingdom.

The juriſdiction of cities is eſtabliſhed the ſame as in China, and depends upon the rank they hold in civil order. Each province has its capital; then comes the city of the firſt claſs, named Fou; that of the ſecond claſs, or Cheu; the third, or Huien; titles which are added after the diſtinguiſhing name of the cities.

It ſhould be obſerved that the name of mandarin has been beſtowed on different magiſtrates by the Europeans, and is derived from the Portugueſe word *mandar*, which ſignifies to order or command. The word mandarin does not exiſt in the Chineſe or Tonquineſe languages: in both a magiſtrate is called quan. The importance of the place decides the dignity of the quans; as with us, the lord mayor of London is of higher rank and eſtimation than the ſame office of any other city, and ſo in gradation throughout the kingdom. The

The juriſdiction of tribunals is only eſtabliſhed for civil cauſes: there is then city and juriſdiction; mandarin, or quan, of the firſt, ſecond, and third claſs, who are under the juriſdiction of one another: the third under the ſecond, and the ſecond amenable to the firſt. Beſides, in every province there is the tribunal for outrages; that in which every native has a right to impeach the mandarin, who he may conceive has acted unjuſtly towards him. This is the firſt tribunal in the province, and is immediately ſubſervient to the ſovereign tribunal of Kacho. The governor has alſo his particular tribunal, compoſed of two judges, that is, of himſelf and a mandarin of letters, who ſhares with him the cares of civil adminiſtration, and who ſees to the obſervance of the laws. The cognizance of criminal affairs appertains ſolely to the governor: he puniſhes all ſlight faults on the ſpot; thoſe which deſerve death, the ſentence ſhould be ſent to the chova, who confirms or ſuſpends the execution.

Each tribunal has ſeveral judges, who each preſide in their turns: it has its public officers, or kind of ſerjeant, who goes to ſummons the parties to appear in judgment. Every one accuſed, juſtly or not, is obliged to pay down a certain ſum proportioned to the dignity of the tribunal before which he is to be tried: this ſum is not returned to him, even though the accuſation is proved to be unjuſt; but the accuſer is made to indemnify him, and the ſum depoſited goes inſtead of fees to the judge.

Next to the tribunals of the third claſs are the ſubaltern judges. Each borough with the dignity of Xa, with right of juſtice over a diſtrict, the limits of which are marked, ſhould be furniſhed with a tablet expoſed to public view, on which is written in Tonquineſe characters the King's edict, which grants it that privilege. This edict is renewed upon the acceſſion of every new chova, which produces immenſe ſums to the crown.

Every xa is divided into villages; each village into quarters, and if the place is conſiderable, there are other ſubdiviſions, and each has its chief. The Xa has three, who convoke aſſemblies by the ſound of a drum, which is always kept with the firſt chief: they preſide at the meetings, and execute the police.

It is to the firſt that all the orders of mandarins, and even thoſe from court, are nominally addreſſed: without this formality they would be conſidered ſubreptitious. In abſence of the firſt, the ſecond or third takes his place. They have the right to impoſe fines, and even to beat with rods for certain crimes. It is they who, in conjunction with the learned men in the aſſemblies, proportion the taxes among individuals.

Theſe chiefs are choſen by plurality of votes; they remain in place for ten years: the firſt is exempt for life from all public burthens; the others have one half of their taxes remitted them during a certain number of years, and from all charge during their ſtay in office. It may be ſaid, that theſe places are in ſome meaſure purchaſed, ſince thoſe who are elevated to them are obliged to give feaſts to all their juriſdiction; the expences of which would fall very heavy on them, if they did not know how to remunerate themſelves by the extortions they practiſe on their clients.

Three villages generally compoſe a xa, and three xas a tong, the chief of which is elected by a plurality of voices of the xas; then in each tong is a ſuperior chief, without any authority, whom they call quan, or honorary mandarin. All their chiefs receive their confirmation from the mandarin of the province of the third rank. This diſpoſition being the ſame all over the kingdom, order is every where uniform. Each xa may be conſidered as a kind of popular republic, or a government in which women have no part, nor young men under twenty: at that age they have a vote, and right of ſuffrage in the aſſemblies.

Above

Above all the tribunals is the ſovereign council, eſtabliſhed in the capital, to which appeals lie from all ſentences in the provinces, paſſed by mandarins, even thoſe of the firſt rank. Things judged there might be ſuppoſed to be ended, if it went with the King himſelf, or what we call the privy council; as there is no ſentence which is not ſubject to reviſion, the proceſſes that powerful mandarins have intereſt to prolong are never finiſhed.

The affairs or quarrels of the great are decided in the capital by different tribunals, the rank and names of which anſwer to their different functions. One judges ſtate crimes; another, murders; another, difficulties ariſing concerning landed property; another, thoſe concerning houſes, hereditary rights, &c. &c. Beſides the Chineſe laws, which form the code of right of the country, there are many edicts and peculiar conſtitutions, old and new: authentic deciſions digeſted in ſeveral books, the authority of which almoſt always carries it over the laws of China. Many of theſe peculiar to Tonquin breathe more juſtice, humanity and benevolence than thoſe of China: ſuch is that which forbids the expoſing or ſtrangling of children, let them be ever ſo deformed: while in China this barbarous cuſtom is not only tolerated but even preſcribed by an ancient law.

But it is in vain that theſe laws appear dictated by juſtice, and formed to ſecure the happineſs of the nation. Such corruption has crept into all the tribunals, that there is no crime which cannot be compromiſed for money, nor any proceſs of which any deciſion required may not be purchaſed: thus the judges always decide in favour of the richeſt, or moſt powerful: the exceptions are ſo rare, that they may be counted for nothing.

It is not to be wondered at, if, from what has been ſaid, a juſt idea has been formed of the national character; all the civil and military offices are venal. Thoſe of the learned are only for a time. It is not more than a century ſince the inhabitants of Tonquin lived in happy abundance; the laws were ſtrictly obſerved, taxes were light, and the corruption of the tribunals was not publicly tolerated; but a chova who reigned ſixty or eighty years ſince, in ſome meaſure changed the form of government: he prodigiouſly increaſed the taxes, burthened the people with extraordinary labours, erected mountains in the plains, or cut away mountains, without any uſeful end, but merely to ſatisfy his whims: he increaſed that crowd of eunuchs which reduced the nation to poverty by their boundleſs power; made many burthenſome eſtabliſhments, which ſtill remain, with the exception of ſome works which are not fixed, becauſe they depend on the caprice of the ſovereign.

Notwithſtanding all theſe abuſes, it cannot be ſaid that the deſpotiſm of Tonquin is abſolute, and the government wholly arbitrary; although on account of the taxes, and the labours they are obliged to perform, the ſubjects are under a kind of actual ſervitude. Still they are not born ſlaves; they poſſeſs their own property; inheritance paſſes from father to ſon, and even to collaterals: thus property is reſpected, and the Prince has in reality no power over the lives of his ſubjects, unleſs they incur the penalty of death by tranſgreſſing the laws. But the ſtain of deſpotiſm is impreſſed on the whole nation in general, becauſe there is no law which does not give way to the will of the Prince, who is ſurrounded by a crowd of miniſters ſtill more fatal to the people, on account of their avidity, injuſtice and extortions: they buy their places very dear, and that for them authoriſes all their abuſes. Hence, the fears, diſtruſt, the want of emulation, which ſtifle talents and induſtry, and enervate the mind, repreſs courage, and are the cauſe that the nation in general are ſolely occupied in procuring their daily ſuſtenance, without carrying their views farther.

Criminal

Criminal affairs are adjudged in the laſt caſe by the King only; and, as in general the Tonquineſe character is not ſanguinary, ſentence of death is ſeldom paſſed on criminals. All executions take place in the royal city, and are ſo few that they do not reckon more than twenty or thirty in a year in the whole kingdom. The general puniſhment is to loſe the head, which is looked upon as the utmoſt infamy. Only princes and nobles are allowed to be ſtrangled. Traitors, and thoſe who attempt the King's life, are torn with pincers, and drawn by four horſes. The puniſhment for female criminals is to be tied to a looſe ſtake, and in that ſituation delivered to an elephant, who ſeizes them with his trunk, throws them into the air, then catches them on his tuſks, and finiſhes by trampling of them under his feet: adultery is puniſhed in this manner. The place of executioner is not diſhonourable: it is an office executed from father to ſon, by a family originally from Cochin-china. The other corporeal puniſhments, which are inflicted on the ſentence of the mandarins, are exile, perpetual impriſonment, or, what is the ſame thing, taking care of the elephants: thoſe thus ſentenced are virtually dead, as they loſe their votes in the aſſemblies, in the places of their origin or reſidence, and are not ſubject to public charges: as thoſe are very burthenſome, many criminals, eſpecially among the lower claſs of the people, are not ſorry to be exiled.

Another kind of puniſhment is to receive blows on the thighs, with rods as thick as the thumb; or to receive a certain number of blows with a wooden hammer on the knees: not to break the bones, they are enveloped with circles of bamboo. The manner of giving the torture is painful, but not dangerous nor horrid: they preſs a gun-barrel againſt the ancle-bone, and ſtrike it with a bamboo ſtick. Theſe puniſhments have only the pain and diſgrace of the moment attached to them: thoſe who ſuffer them loſe none of their rights of ſociety. Thieves are puniſhed in this manner; that crime never being puniſhed with death, unleſs accompanied with murder. They think the life of a man of more value than all the wealth he can ſteal.

The puniſhment moſt dreaded is to be mutilated of a finger, or an ear, becauſe they cannot hide their diſgrace: generally, for the fourth offence, proved by the fingers or ears they have loſt, they are condemned to loſe the head, to rid ſociety of a troubleſome and incorrigible member.

The law of retaliation, ſtrictly obſerved in Tonquin, maintains a kind of equity in all actions which come before a court; the accuſer, if he cannot convict the accuſed, undergoes the puniſhment that would have been incurred by him he had calumniated.

The priſons of Tonquin are more to be dreaded than their puniſhments: it is really a place of continual ſuffering. They have only the damp earth for flooring, which ſerves as bed to the wretches confined: men and women are mixed together, and lie in the dark, mud and ordure; and it often happens that the living are thus lying with half-rotten dead bodies. At night their feet are confined in a kind of ſtocks ſcrewed with a padlock. The King allows nothing for the feeding of the priſoners, and their guards are avaricious enough to take from them what the charity of the public allows them, or what their friends ſend them. Thoſe who are the beſt treated are thoſe who are rich enough to ſoften theſe barbarians by preſents. It is with reaſon that gaolers are regarded in Tonquin as the moſt odious and cruel of mankind, and as ſo many inhuman executioners. This vile employment is, however, very much ſought after: it is only obtained by the intereſt of the mandarins, who reward their ſervants with this place, in which they enrich themſelves with the miſery of criminals, and by their cruelty.

THE kingdom of Achem is ſcarcely known, becauſe being out of the route of travellers, they muſt go out of their way to get to it. It is one of the richeſt countries of Aſia. It ſtands in need of none of the productions of its neighbours, to whom it furniſhes abundance of metals. There are mines of gold, ſilver, ſteel, lead and iron. As the people pay no ſubſidy, the King reſerves to himſelf the produce of his mines; and attentive to the happineſs of his ſubjects, he only employs ſlaves to work them. It is the only country in Aſia, in which humanity is not cruſhed beneath the weight of deſpotiſm.

An animal different from our common worms produces their ſilk, of which they make dreſſes, very gloſſy, but of a bad quality. The moſt precious production of this country is the lacker gum, which is the moſt eſteemed of all that of the Eaſt. They diſtinguiſh two ſorts. The red is uſed to paint linens, and varniſh furniture and cabinets, and to make wax. Silver is the current money of the kingdom.

The inhabitants are of a very regular height, but the women have the noſe rather flat. Both ſexes go nearly naked, and only cover their natural parts. They cover their heads with a blue bonnet, from which hang hog's teeth. Their bracelets which are their moſt eſteemed ornaments, are of coral, or yellow amber, and ſometimes of tortoiſe-ſhell, or of ſhells.

Poverty, and the tyranny of extortioners, are unknown to them. Every individual, quiet poſſeſſor of his property, has ſeveral wives, each of which has her particular employment in the houſe; and elephants for domeſtic uſes. Though the country produces many quadrupeds, the fleſh of the dog is preferred. A great plenty of vines alſo grow there, but they only uſe the fruit to extract a kind of brandy from it. They make their ſalt from the ſubſtance that covers the ſurface of ſtagnant waters: they alſo extract it from the leaves of a tree, called Adam's fig-tree. They burn them, and from their aſhes reſults a very pungent ſalt, which they poſſeſs the ſecret of ſoftening by boiling it, and afterwards ſtraining it ſeveral times through linen.

Their gunpowder is of the beſt quality; and it is to this people that the orientals attribute the glory of that deſtructive invention, which appears the more extraordinary, as this country has remained five hundred years without being engaged in war. This ſecret paſſed to the Pegonans, who communicated it to the Chineſe, who claimed the honour of the diſcovery, becauſe they doubtleſs were the firſt who made uſe of it in war.

The kingdom of Tipra produces nothing that can tempt the curioſity of the traveller, nor the avarice of the trader. There is a gold mine of indifferent quality: it is exchanged in China for ſilver. Much ſilk is alſo collected there, but the kind is coarſe, and only uſed for the commoneſt purpoſes. This people has a great propenſity for ſtrong liquors. Inſtead of figures they calculate with ſtones, which might be taken for ſmall agats. They ſeldom travel in foreign countries: they have no commercial relation with other nations, who only know them by name.

The kingdom of Aracan has ſuch an extent of boundary, that it ſeems to invite all commercial nations. The air is pure; the plague and other contagious diſorders are unknown. The plains, rich and fertile, produce all the neceſſaries of life. Numerous flocks range the delightful vallies, which ſupply nouriſhment to all kinds of domeſtic and wild

wild animals. Horſes are very ſcarce. Buffaloes are employed to till the earth; their horns are their weapons: any thing red enrages them; thoſe they intend to attack they ſuffer to paſs quietly, and afterwards fall on them behind with their murderous horns. Theſe animals, naturally indocile, are obedient only to the blacks who have the care of keeping them: they flock around them, on the ſounding of a horn which calls them. The winter, ſo called, as being the ſeaſon of the rains and tempeſts, begins in April and ends in October. They have elſe no ſeaſon but ſummer, in which they reap an abundant harveſt of vegetables, grain and fruits: but they grow neither wheat nor rye.

The capital gives a vaſt idea of this kingdom. Its extent is ſeveral leagues; the number of its inhabitants equals that of the firſt cities in Europe, and they reckon ſix hundred pagodas in it. The riches of the King's palace beſpeaks the plenty of gold. The golden hall is ſo called becauſe it is covered with that precious metal from top to bottom; a hundred ingots of gold, each weighing forty pounds is ſuſpended from the ceiling, which itſelf is of maſſive gold. There are alſo ſeven golden idols as large as life. They are hollow within, but are about two inches thick; but what enhances their value, is, the rubies, emerals, ſapphires and diamonds, which decorate the forehead, arms and waiſt, of theſe vain images. In this apartment is alſo a ſquare ſeat of gold, ſupporting a cabinet of the ſame metal, ſtill more enriched with jewels.

The ſovereign poſſeſſes two rubies as large as the little finger, and at the baſe the ſize of a hen's egg. The rubies have been the cauſe of bloody wars between the neighbouring Kings, becauſe ſuperſtition has created a belief, that whoever poſſeſſes them will be the arbitrator of the deſtiny of the others. The King only wears them at his coronation.

This people contented with the productions of their ſoil, cannot conceive how any one can riſk his life to acquire reputed wealth: they only arm for war, and never for commerce, which is only carried on by ſtrangers, who flock thither from all parts of the world. The Mahometans eſpecially have a conſiderable trade in elephants, which they carry to the coaſt of Coromandel, to Golconda and Perſia, from whence they bring linens, ſilks, and ſpices. The moſt abundant productions of the country are timber for building, lead, tin, and elephants' teeth. It may not be ſuperfluous to give ſome account of the manners and character of a people with whom it would be eaſy to eſtabliſh an advantageous commerce.

The inhabitants of Aſtracan have the forehead broad and flat. This is rather a whim of fancy, than a natural defect. It is by applying a plate of lead to the forehead of children, that they deface the works of nature. Their noſtrils are large and open; their ears hanging reach even to their ſhoulders. Their dreſs conſiſts in a cotton ſhirt which covers the arms breaſt and belly; a training robe, and ſo many etceteras, that when they put them all on, they reſemble a ball of cotton rather than men: the hair is tucked up behind, after the manner of Dutch women. The women's heads have no other dreſs than their hair: it is arranged in buckles, without being faſtened, and looks very well.

The meats would not provoke the appetite of an European. They eat rats, mice, ſnakes, and all the moſt diſguſting animals. Fiſh does not ſuit their palate till it is ſpoiled. They quench their thirſt with pure water, or with a liquor that runs from a kind of palm tree, from which they extract it, by making an inciſion in the trunk.

Virginity is not an eſteemed virtue with them. Huſbands prefer running the riſk of fathering the children of others, rather than marry a novice. It is generally

Dutch ſailors who are liberally paid for this infamous proſtitution. The King ſhut up in his palace, vegetates in liſtleſs indolence with the Queen and his concubines. Every year each of the twelve governors, chooſes in his diſtrict twelve girls of the ſame age, whom they expoſe to the burning rays of the ſun, to create perſpiration. They are afterwards dried with a fine cloth which is ſent to court, that they may determine by the ſmell, which is moſt worthy to enter the ſeraglio. Thoſe who are rejected, fall to the lot of the courtiers, who receive them as a mark of the greateſt favour. It is ſaid that the monarch has no other guard than his concubines, who are trained to the uſe of arms. He aſſumes the pompous title of "Emperor of Aracan, poſſeſſor of the white elephant and the two rubies, legitimate heir to Pegan and Bramas, lord of the twelve provinces of Bengal, and ſovereign judge of Kings, who proſtrate their head beneath his feet."

The pleaſing arts are unknown among them, if one may judge by the little progreſs they have made in the neceſſary ones. Medicine eſpecially is only one impoſition, accredited by ſuperſtition. The prieſts, called Raulins, are called in to the ſick. They blow on them, at the ſame time pronouncing ſome myſterious words. They offer up to the god of the four winds a ſacrifice of fowls, hogs, and the fatteſt animals, which muſt be repeated four times, unleſs the patient dies or recovers before that time. The Raulins feaſt on the food thus offered to their gods.

When the diſeaſe is obſtinate, their fruitful impoſture inſpires the wife, children, or ſome one of the relations, with a ſtrange remedy, by which the Raulins profit. They raiſe an altar, on which they place an idol, in a room richly furniſhed, where the prieſts and relations aſſemble to partake of a grand feaſt. He who preſides at this ceremony dances and jumps about till his ſtrength fails him. They then tie a cord to the cieling, which he lays hold of to ſupport him, and to be able to ſpring with more ſtrength, till he falls into a kind of ſwoon, which they take to be a divine delirium. Every one ſeems to envy his lot, becauſe they believe he has a diſcourſe with the idol. The prieſts who gravely preſide at this extravagant ceremony, anoint the patient with oils and perfumes; and if he dies, they are never blamed: they give it out that his death is a bounty from the gods, who have taken him from the filth of this earth to eternal manſions.

The exceſs of their ſuperſtition is ſeen in their funerals: while the prieſts recite oriſons, and perform their fumigation of incenſe, the friends and relations of the deceaſed beat on copper ſaucepans to frighten away the black cat; for if by misfortune it ſhould touch the body, its ſoul, baniſhed from its heavenly dwelling, where it would have glutted in luxury, would reaſſume its vile and mortal ſpoils. There is one order of prieſthood which they believe partakes of divine privileges. The family of the defunct invites them to a great feaſt: and when they refuſe to go to it, it is a preſage that the ſoul of the deceaſed is precipitated into the depths of hell.

They hire weepers, who utter groans, which only the cuſtom of hearing can prevent from appearing ridiculous; thoſe who are not rich enough to procure the honour of the funeral pile, are expoſed at the edge of the water, where the tide carries them away. Sometimes the carcaſes are devoured by birds of prey, who, finding plenty of food, are ſo numerous and ſtrong, that they will attack oxen and buffaloes.

Sometimes they accelerate the death of their friends and relations, when they ſee them overwhelmed with a painful old age, or an incurable diſeaſe; and what among poliſhed nations would be puniſhed, is with them an act of piety, becauſe they ſay it is cruel to ſuffer thoſe to linger in miſery on earth, whom happineſs attends in heaven.

Theſe people are plunged in the groſſeſt idolatry. Their temples are built in the form of pyramids, which contain a confuſed multitude of images. They have domeſtic gods, the figure of which they mark on their arms and ſhoulders with a hot iron. The barking of dogs, the lowing of cattle, the roaring of wild beaſts, the ſinging of birds, are looked upon as ſo many omens, which the prieſts interpret as they think fit. They celebrate a feaſt of the dead, in which their devotion is carried to the moſt cruel pitch of fanaticiſm. One of their idols is drawn on a clumſey chariot, accompanied by prieſts clothed in white ſatin. The fanatic devotees throw themſelves under the wheels, and they eſteem their blood the moſt acceptable offering they make their idol; others fix themſelves on iron hooks faſtened to the chariot. They are afterwards placed in the temples, bloody as they are, where they become objects of public worſhip. Every one is happy when a drop of blood falls on his cloaths. Theſe pious madmen are eſteemed martyrs.

There are three claſſes of prieſts. Their chief who reſides in the iſland of Munay, has the direction of the public worſhip. His orders are ſeldom diſobeyed. The reſpect he inſpires approaches adoration. The King, abſolute as he is, never diſputes the precedency with him at ceremonies, and is never covered before him. All the prieſts condemn themſelves to eternal celibacy; whoever tranſgreſſes in that point is immediately degraded, and thrown back among the profane. Though all obey the ſame chief, they do not all obſerve the ſame diſcipline. Some live retired in their private houſes, at their own expence, without being any burthen on ſociety. Retired from the tumult of the world, and deſpiſing the pleaſures of life, they are forgotten by mankind, and only inhabit rocks in gloomy foreſts or deſerts. When the wants of life oblige them to appear in public, they have an humble aſpect, and downcaſt eyes; but their modeſty ſeems to be an artifice to command admiration. Others, more happy and leſs ſolitary, inhabit magnificent palaces, where they indolently enjoy the wealth that the King and Princes profuſely beſtow on them, with a view of ingratiating themſelves with heaven.

Theſe idolatrous prieſts are intruſted with the education of youth, as if men ſolely deſtined to prayer and mortification were qualified to form magiſtrates, warriors, artiſts and miniſters. There are alſo hermits, a kind of wild man, who are eſteemed in proportion as they are fantaſtic. They, like the prieſts, are divided into three orders, who all renounce the ſtrongeſt paſſions of our nature, with an idea of thereby pleaſing the Creator, who wiſely beſtowed thoſe very paſſions on us, to be enjoyed, but not abuſed, nor wholly neglected.

Though Europeans have had conſiderable intercourſe with the kingdom of Ava, it may ſtill be ſaid to be a country as yet to be explored. The greater part of thoſe who have given a deſcription of it were either warriors or traders, leſs governed by a wiſh of making obſervations, than a deſire of acquiring wealth. They, however, all agree that the ſoil is fertile in rice and fruits: it contains mines of lead, copper and ſilver, which the idleneſs of the inhabitants renders uſeleſs. In Ava, the capital of the kingdom, they carry on a conſiderable trade in muſk; and the moſt valuable rubies and ſapphires come from thence. The inhabitants perfectly ſucceed in working them. Commerce would flouriſh there if the different revolutions did not interrupt that tranquillity ſo neceſſary to induſtry.

The government is deſpotic; the King, who is only the miniſter and depoſitory of the law, has uſurped the right of forming, infringing, and changing them at diſcretion. Each province ſends a deputy to court to act as their protector; he has the right to make known the wants of his fellow-citizens, and as the King is always well

informed, tranſgreſſors are eaſily accuſed and puniſhed. Vanity has intitled him, King of Kings, to whom all owe obedience; the friend and relation of the gods of heaven and earth, who from love of him, preſerve animals and regulate the ſeaſons; brother to the ſun, couſin to the moon and ſtars; abſolute ſovereign of the tides, King of the white elephant and four-and-twenty paraſols.

This monarch is ever intoxicated with pride; when he riſes from table, he has a trumpet ſounded to announce to the other ſovereigns of the world that they may go to dinner. Foreign ambaſſadors are as well as his own ſubjects obliged to fall proſtrate before him, and even elephants are taught to lie down when he paſſes.

The ſoldiery are not paid from the public treaſury. Each governor has in his province a proportion of land, the produce of which is aſſigned to maintain the military in time of peace, and when they take the field, they are furniſhed with arms, cloaths, and proviſions. The officers are diſtinguiſhed from the ſoldiers by the magnificence of his pipe, of which the number of joints ſhews his rank.

The kingdom of Jangoma is ſituated to the north of Siam. Its extent cannot be preciſely determined, becauſe it has often changed maſters, and undergone frequent revolutions, which have altered its limits. This country is governed by prieſts, whoſe power ſhould be confined by law, ſince the inhabitants aſſume the title of Franks, a diſtinction by no means applicable to a people diſgraced and degraded by ſlavery. The nature of the ſoil and its inhabitants are but little known, and it is only from the relations of Chineſe, and the traditions of the Siameſe, that a ſlight idea may be formed of them. The more a people is unknown to Europeans, the more advantageous is the commerce that may be carried on with them, to whoever diſcovers its ſource.

The inhabitants are of large ſtature and well made: an education almoſt ſavage keeps up their natural vigour. The burning rays of the ſun ſpares them the neceſſity of wearing many cloaths: they wear only a girdle of fine linen, which conſtitutes all their ornament; they always go bare-headed, and the uſe of ſhoes is unknown to them. The women, as gallant as the Peguans, are much handſomer, and their voluptuous monarchs fill their ſeraglios with them.

Though the ſoil produces whatever can ſupply the neceſſaries and luxuries of life, it refuſes wheat. But in lieu of bread, they make rice-cakes, which conſtitute the common food of the inhabitants. Beſides the neceſſaries of life, the country produces great quantities of muſk, pepper, ſilk, gold, ſilver, copper and benjamin. It is true ſome travellers aſſert that they obtain the greater part of theſe riches from China; but it would be leſs expenſive to a company eſtabliſhed at Siam to get them from Jangoma than from the extremities of the Eaſt, and the more ſo, as this people, having no commercial relations, are ignorant of the advantages of their ſituation.

We know but little of their cuſtoms: but we find that with them the devil plays a conſpicuous part. The ſick promiſe him ſacrifices, if he will deign to reſtore them to health, and when they have obtained that bleſſing, they celebrate their recovery by a great feaſt, to which all the friends and relations bring preſents of fruits, to propitiate this evil being, whom they conſider as the author of all diſorders. They muſt be fully perſuaded that the devil does not like muſic, ſince it is by the ſound of inſtruments that they endeavour to drive him out of his houſe; and doubtleſs, from the ſame motive the prieſts are called in to ſing by the bed-ſide of the ſick man, who, cheered by their funereal voices, hopes a ſpeedy relief to his pains.

What with other nations of the earth is a ſource of affliction, with them is the occaſion of feaſtings and joy. Death excites no regret among them, or at leaſt they

are ingenious in ſoftening of it. The body is carried by ſixteen men, on a throne made of reeds, to the place where it is to be burnt; the relations and friends accompany it, preceded by inſtruments: they beſtow gifts on the prieſts, who like birds of prey, live on the ſpoils of the dead. When the body is reduced to aſhes, they retire to the houſe he has juſt left. Two days are paſſed in dancing and feaſting, and afterwards the widow, clad in all the mockery of woe, repairs with her friends and relations, to the place were the body was burnt; there, weeping and wailing, they collect the bones the flames had ſpared. Their mourning conſiſts merely in cutting their hair.

Laos, which ſignifies thouſands of elephants, has its name from the number of thoſe animals, which fill the foreſts of that country. The climate is ſo temperate, and the air ſo pure, that it is ſaid that men of a hundred, and even a hundred and twenty years old, retain the freſhneſs and vigour of their prime. Bountiful nature ſpreads her ſtores over the plains and vallies, and even on the mountains. The canals, which receive the torrents precipitated from elevated places, diſtribute them with economy over the lands, and there are neither marſhes, nor ſtagnant waters. The two banks of the river have different qualities: the eaſtern ſide is much more fertile, and produces larger and ſtronger animals, the trees are more lofty, and of an incorruptible quality. The beſt rice of India grows there. The lands where it has been ſowed, after it is gathered in, becomes covered with a kind of froth, which hardened in the ſun becomes ſolid ſalt. The beſt benjamin and lacker, from which they make Spaniſh wax, comes from thence: it is a kind of earth, with which the ants cover their dwellings and magazines.

Though their ivory is of an excellent quality, they prefer the horn of the rhinoceros. Superſtition has attributed to it the virtue of fixing fortune. The great, as they become elevated, part with the one they poſſeſs, and purchaſe one of more efficacy. There is no treaſure ſo carefully preſerved. The flowers, which enamel the plains, ſupport numerous ſwarms of bees, which furniſh wax and honey. The mines of tin, iron and lead are very productive. Gold and ſilver rolls in the rivers, from whence they take it in wire nets. Muſk, in which they trade conſiderably, is not a produce of the country, but they have a compoſition of ambergris, and a juice which they extract from the body of a cat, which ſpreads an agreeable odour. There are many wild animals in the foreſts. They cultivate the earth with buffaloes and oxen. The rivers breed ſuch enormous fiſh, that two men can ſcarcely carry one. The poor people feed on ſalted herrings and rice. Though there is no ſalt water in the whole country, it produces beautiful rubies; but doubtleſs that ſcum which covers the earth after the rice harveſt, ſupplies the want of it, in forming that precious ſtone in the boſom of the earth.

The Chineſe, before the irruption of the Tartars, carried on a conſiderable commerce with this country; they brought velvets, ſilk ſtuffs, camblets, carpets, horſe-hair, cottons, gold, ſilver, and porcelain, which they exchanged for ivory, opium, and medicinal herbs.

In the province of Laos, which gives its name to the kingdom, is a deep pit, from whence they obtain rubies, and particularly emeralds, one of which, in the poſſeſſion of the King, is as large as a common orange. The trade that might be carried on in this country would furniſh a certain advantage, becauſe they are the moſt upright people in buſineſs, and the moſt faithful to their engagements of any in India. Not but what they are tempted to obtain whatever they ſee uncommon in the hands of a ſtranger; but they prefer obtaining it by importunity rather than by violence. The moſt flattering praiſe they can receive is to hear themſelves extolled as keeping their promiſes inviolable. Theft or murder on their highways are ſeldom heard of: the police

police prevents all ſuch diſorders. The towns and villages in whoſe territory the traveller has been inſulted, are obliged to make good his loſſes.

Their virtues however are not without a mixture of vices. Buried in eternal gluttony, they only work to ſupply the indiſpenſable wants of nature. All fatigue diſheartens them: enemies to perſeverance they cannot fix long to one object, and they never ſee below the ſurface. Boundleſs in their inclination for women, they ſeem to live only to multiply their kind. Sorcery and magic are the ſources of many crimes and ſuperſtitions; but it is a diſorder of the mind, which is moſt inveterate throughout the Eaſt, where nothing important is undertaken, without conſulting and liberally paying thoſe accredited impoſtors.

The purity of the air prolongs life, and though the country is not very extenſive, they can raiſe five hundred thouſand combatants, and it would be eaſy to form an army of centenaries, all healthy and vigorous. They are not ſo abſtemious as in other countries of India; they have four meals a day; rice, fiſh, and buffalo's fleſh is their common food: they ſeldom eat veal, beef, or poultry: they roaſt the birds in their feathers, which gives the fleſh a diſagreeable taſte.

The magiſtrates and miniſters generally take but one wife; but that is leſs an effect of their moderation than of their avarice. They would wiſh it to be underſtood, that too much occupied by their public duties, they cannot beſtow that time on their pleaſures which they conſecrate to buſineſs: but the great number of their concubines makes amends for confining themſelves to one wife. Marriages are engagements for life, but divorces are ſo common, that they ſeem to be only tranſient and capricious unions. When a woman is convicted of adultery, the huſband may inflict what puniſhment he pleaſes.

Their funerals are rather feſtivals than ſcenes of grief. The prieſts are paid and ſumptuouſly feaſted, who cry and ſing funeral hymns, to inſtruct the dead in the road to heaven. They put ſums of money, in proportion to his fortune, in his tomb. It may be preſumed that the prieſts, who are the guardians of theſe tombs, cauſe thoſe treaſures to circulate in ſociety, which imbecility would bury in the earth.

It may be obſerved that the commerce of this kingdom has experienced different revolutions: formerly its productions were brought to Siam: but ſince the irruption of the Bramas, they have paſſed to Pegu. The animoſities that continual wars maintain between the two nations, has transferred the trade to Camboya, where the Laos have a ready and eaſy ſale for their benjamin, lacker, and other articles.

This ignorant people boaſts of having taught the Siameſe the art of writing on the leaves of the palm-tree. The language and characters are the ſame: but the Laos cannot pronounce the letter L, and R. It is ſaid that in their earlieſt times, their worſhip, more purified than that of other nations, was free from ſuperſtitions. They had no temples, and adored a God the creator, who watched over the welfare of the world, and whom they could only pleaſe by the practice of virtue, and not by ſacrifices or ceremonies. They believed that after a certain revolution of ages, the univerſe would be renewed, and this ſyſtem of the great periodical year has been adopted, by almoſt all the nations of antiquity. Their commerce with the Chineſe changed theſe ſimple notions. They had prieſts who erected themſelves to legiſlators, and who, that they might not be refuted, produced books written in foreign characters. Their doctrine not being underſtood appeared the more myſterious, and was reſpected. It was eaſy for thoſe artful impoſtors to beſtow on it a divine origin.

Their doctors are divided into three claſſes: one teaches how the univerſe and the gods were formed, but their ſyſtem reſts on fable and not on reaſoning. The others,

whom they call illuminati conciliate, all embarraſſing difficulties, and contradictory maxims.

The new doctrine eſtabliſhed the eternity of the heavens and ſixteen terreſtrial worlds, in the higheſt of which they enjoyed pleaſures unalloyed: theſe worlds decayed and were renewed, and they reckon eighteen thouſand years from the creation of the preſent earth. They admit a hell; but the prieſts never mention the puniſhments that are there prepared for the wicked, that they may not ſhock timid and corrupt men. Polygamy is the reward they hold out to the rich in the other world; but as this doctrine is not favourable to the women, they believe that thoſe who have lived well will be changed into men. This reward they alſo promiſe thoſe who enrich them, and aſſure them they ſhall have as many wives as can be bought for the money they devote to alms.

The prieſts, ſubjected by law to continence, conſole themſelves with the perſuaſion, that after their death they ſhall have the power to create as many women as they chooſe, and to diſpoſe of them at their own pleaſure. It is with the idea of glutting their lubricity, that they practiſe continence during their lives; and they conſider that as a crime on earth, which will be a virtue in heaven. Their convents, which are ſchools of debauchery, are filled with men taken from the dregs of ſociety; and proud of the dignity of the office, they exact a reſpect, that the head of the nation cannot refuſe them without danger. Their cells are ſeparated the one from the other; that of their ſuperior is magnificently furniſhed; gold and ſilk diſplay all that luxury can produce: ſeated on a brilliant throne, he receives the homage of his ſubalterns and proſtrate devotees.

I ſhall not enter into a detail of the regimen, as I ſhould be obliged to repeat what has been ſaid of the Talapoins; but ſhall mention certain practices which ſeem to juſtify the opinion of thoſe who pretend that chriſtianity was in its infancy eſtabliſhed among theſe people.

The fourteenth of every month, they are obliged to aſſemble to make a public confeſſion of their faults. An humble avowal obtains abſolution, and as the reparation is not painful relapſes are frequent. They alſo make great uſe of holy water. They attribute to it great efficacy in curing the moſt obſtinate diſeaſes: the prieſts, who make it an article of trade, exchange it for precious liquors. Their altars are decked with flowers, and lighted with numerous flambeaus: they have alſo chaplets, which ſerve the ignorance of thoſe who cannot read their hymns and prayers. The beads are ſometimes diamonds or rubies.

They have alſo their Eaſter, and their jubilee; during theſe ſolemnities, they refrain from work, and this time of reſt is profaned by debauch. Preachers mount the roſtrum, from whence they inculcate pure and ſtrict maxims, which find plenty of tranſgreſſors. The rich purchaſe diſpenſations: the avaricious prieſts only grant them for a time, and when that is expired they muſt renew their leave to tranſgreſs. None but the poor ſhould deſpair of eternal felicity: all the rich pay their impoſtors liberally.

The kingdom of Camboya is only known to a few travellers, who, after having viſited it for a ſhort time, have given us very uncertain accounts of it. This country, defended by a chain of mountains, is watered by a large river which croſſes it. Its vicinity to the line renders the air extremely hot, and to ſoften the burning heats they only inhabit the ſides of rivers or lakes: the navigators ſuffer much from the troubleſomeneſs of gnats.

This

This country, one of the moſt fertile in India, produces wheat, and rich harveſts of rice, vegetables of a ſuperior quality, and very fine oil. Beſides neceſſary productions, they have excellent ſugar and indigo, which the inhabitants prepare with much induſtry. The fields are covered with trees, the branches of which bend under the load of fruit. Japan wood, ſandal and eagle wood, abound in the plains and foreſts. All kinds of medicinal drugs, opium, and camphor, are among the moſt plentiful productions of the country. The mountains contain an exceeding tranſparent cryſtal. This fortunate land produces amethyſts, hyacinths, rubies, topazes, chryſolites, agates, milk-ſtones, and blood-ſtones: raw ſilk and ivory are extremely cheap. An ox of five hundred weight only coſts a crown, and you have one hundred and forty pounds of rice for four pence. Elephant and tiger hunting is permitted to every one, and in the foreſts are lions and moſt wild beaſts, which only ſeem to delight in the deſerts of Africa.

The coaſts which are one hundred and forty leagues in extent, only afford five or ſix ports, where veſſels may be in ſafety. The moſt celebrated is oppoſite to Siam; where the greateſt trade is carried on in lacker, gum, and elephants' teeth. The port of Pontameas attracted numerous foreign veſſels; but its trade has wholly fallen, ſince it was ravaged by the Siameſe in one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventeen. The other ports are little known.

The ſea which ſeparates this kingdom from that of Siam is ſtrewed with an infinity of ſmall iſlands, which makes the navigation dangerous. The two largeſt, though fertile, have been changed into deſerts, becauſe the pirates who infeſt this ſea carried off from the inhabitants the produce of their labour and induſtry.

It would be eaſy to form an advantageous eſtabliſhment in the iſland of Quadrol, where there are many ſandy bays, in which nature has formed ports. There is alſo a cluſter of eight iſlands, where the anchorage is ſafe. Pulocondor is the only one inhabited: the French call it the Iſle of Orleans. It is only three leagues in length and one and a half broad: the port is commodious, and the anchorage eaſy. The ſea abounds with all kinds of fiſh, and particularly turtles, the ſhells and oil of which are a conſiderable object of commerce. It is the country of monkies and lizards; ſome are hideous and entirely covered with ſcales; their bite is death: others have the feet and hands armed with claws; their tail, ſeven or eight feet long, is triangular: their fleſh is good to eat. There are alſo flying ſquirrels, and rats with ears like thoſe of a man. Moſt of the trees are odoriferous; that which yields the gum, has its bark and leaves very much reſembling the cheſnut tree: there are many wild trees, which afford fruits beautiful to the eye, but of an inſipid and often a dangerous taſte. A botaniſt might there make an abundant harveſt of plants unknown in other climates.

There is only one village, which ſometimes reckons four hundred inhabitants, and which is often deſerted, becauſe they fix every where that they can ſupply their wants. It is to this iſland that the Cochin-Chineſe baniſh the Chriſtians. The Engliſh made themſelves maſters of it, and eſtabliſhed a factory there in one thouſand ſeven hundred and two. The governor had taken ſome Macaſſars into his pay, with a promiſe of diſcharging them at the end of three years. He broke his promiſe, and detained them to ſtrengthen his infant colony: this infraction ſhould have created diſtruſt: he forgot that his example authorized them to betray him; in fact, theſe barbarians, although religious obſervers of treaties, thought themſelves entitled to revenge, and in one night all the Engliſh were maſſacred.

The

The kingdom of Camboya is inhabited by Portugueſe, Japaneſe, Cochin-Chineſe, and Malays; ſome of which are tranſient traders, and others have fixed their reſidence there. The Portugueſe have no prieſts, and their religion is a medley of idolatry and Chriſtianity. They live on a moderate penſion allowed them by the King, and by hunting. The men are well made, and the women very handſome; but their want of modeſty deprives them of all the advantages they might derive from their charms. This people never expoſe themſelves to the dangers of the ſea, to acquire riches; but they behold ſhips of all nations enter their ports, to purchaſe the ſuper-abundant productions of their ſoil. They obtain there much gold, and linens as fine as thoſe made in Holland: their needle-work is very much eſteemed.

The religion is nearly the ſame as that of Siam. They admit many celeſtial dwellings for the ſouls freed from their bodies: in ſome they quaff delicious liquors, and feed on the moſt exquiſite meats, and every pleaſure awakens the ſenſes and prevents deſire; women, always young and beautiful, return the paſſions they inſpire. There is another heaven reſerved for the ſolitary Talapoins, who lived ſtrangers on the earth; their happineſs conſiſts in a ſtate of inſenſibility, which is a kind of annihilation, which appears to be a raviſhing enjoyment to this lazy people. In the higheſt heaven reſide the gods, and thoſe diſtinguiſhed men who, imitators of their virtues, ſhare their happineſs. They alſo admit of thirteen hells, into which the wicked are caſt, according to the degree of their crimes.

Their clergy is numerous, and divided into ſeveral claſſes, the firſt of which uſurps the precedence of the King himſelf; thoſe of the ſecond walk, his equals; and as they are perſuaded they participate in the perfections of divinity, they pay them religious worſhip, though the greater part of them are born in the moſt abject ſtate. They have a chief, who is ſtyled King of the prieſts, and who, within a certain diſtrict, poſſeſſes all the authority and privileges of one.

There are two orders of nobility. From the firſt are taken the governors of cities and provinces, the miniſters and judges: they are diſtinguiſhed by their gold box; thoſe of the ſecond order only carry a ſilver one.

The king is abſolutely deſpotic: he diſpoſes at pleaſure of the property of his ſubjects, or rather of his ſlaves. Children have no right to the inheritance of their father; and what the deſpot deigns to leave them is looked upon as a condeſcending bounty. A country ruled with an iron ſceptre is never very populous: though this kingdom is very extenſive, they can ſcarcely muſter thirty thouſand warriors. This little King is as proud and luxurious as the greateſt monarchs of Aſia; and the idea of an imaginary greatneſs ſometimes makes him inſolent to ſtrangers.

The country of Campa has but little coaſt, yet many ports and commodious bays. Travellers have never penetrated into the interior of the country: they know no other city than Feneri, where the King had his reſidence, before the country was under the dominion of the Cochin-Chineſe, who flying from the tyranny of the Tartars, were received by a people of whom they are become the maſters.

Their arms are the muſket, pike, and ſabre, which they uſe with much dexterity. They are gentle and affable, particularly to ſtrangers. There is the utmoſt ſubordination among them, from the King to the loweſt ſubject. The legiſlature is ſevere, and the ſlighteſt fault never goes unpuniſhed. The common people muſt never have any ſilver, and whoever ſhould be convicted of having kept any would be ſeverely puniſhed. Gold is an article of trade, and they only uſe copper money. All the employments are ſold, and according to their price they beſtow conſequence: he who has exhauſted

hauſted his fortune to purchaſe an employment ſoon repairs his loſſes by extortions, which remain unpuniſhed, in order not to frighten thoſe who would purchaſe theſe places.

Freedom of worſhip is tolerated by law; but the moſt part are diſciples of Mahomet or Confucius: there are alſo idolators, ſome of whom adore reptiles and the vileſt of animals; others only acknowledge the ſun and moon, as the authors of nature. The Mahometans of this country have relaxed from the ſeverity of the maxims preſcribed by the alcoran: they eat pork without ſcruple; and, outraging the rights of hoſpitality, they unbluſhingly proſtitute their wives to ſtrangers. They only reſerve their legitimate wife, whom they cannot repudiate, unleſs convicted of adultery.

The Chineſe go there every year with tea, china, ſilk, and different articles, which they exchange for odoriferous woods, and gold, which is much finer than that of China.

There is no country has more commercial relations with Siam than Cochin-China, which ſignifies weſtern China, a name given it by the Portugueſe to diſtinguiſh it from Cochin. It is of eaſy acceſs; the ports are numerous and commodious, and there are as many as four-and-twenty fathoms in the bays. The country is very populous, and full of cities and towns, which may be attributed to its fertility, for which it is indebted to conſtant and regular inundations, which, when they retire, leave a ſediment which enriches the lands; and the heat of the ſun gives the productions a quick maturity and delicious flavour. There is a tree they call incorruptible, becauſe it never decays either in the ground or in the water: they make ſhips' anchors of it. The mountains where this tree grows produce eagle wood, the alvé, calamber, and all ſorts of odoriferous woods: the air is filled with the fragrance of flowers and perfumes.

This country contains quarries of all kinds of marble, and many gold mines. The inhabitants have learnt the art of melting metals from the Chineſe; but they have not taught them the method of caſting iron in moulds, and making cannon and mortars.

The largeſt and ſtrongeſt rhinoceros of India inhabits their mountains. The foot of the male is half a yard in diameter, and his teeth as much as five yards long.

The interior commerce is conſiderable. The fairs, which attract numerous merchants, are ſupplied with goods of every kind. The ſilk of the country is not of the firſt quality; but ſo plentiful, that it is uſed to make nets, cordage, and ſails. The land tortoiſe furniſhes them with oil. Pepper, ſugar, honey, and wax, form a conſiderable branch of trade. The Chineſe and Japaneſe had ſeized all the advantages of it. Theſe ſtrangers are not ſubject to the laws of the country: they have their own magiſtrates, and they decide all differences which ariſe among the traders of their own nation.

The portrait that travellers have drawn of the Cochin-Chineſe has either been the work of hatred or flattery. The Dutch, who have been ill-treated by them, accuſe them of infidelity in their engagements, of pride, and lying. Others, who have been better received by them, praiſe their affability to ſtrangers, their candour in trade, and above all, their love of the rights of hoſpitality. Though theſe accounts combat each other, all modern travellers agree that their manners are as ſimple as their dreſs. Their mild and peaceable character prevents them from thoſe exceſſes, which in a moment deſtroy the merit of ſeveral years of virtue. Their diſhes are ſimple, and ſeaſoned with cleanlineſs. Rice, vegetables, and fiſh are their only food. Their general drink is a kind of tea, different from that of China: they alſo mix a ſyrup, which they obtain

from the wood of the calambae, with their water, which gives it a very agreeable odour; but they prefer ſtrong liquors to wine, which however they uſe in moderation; and they never indulge in exceſs, except at weddings and ſolemnities.

Although always dependant on their neighbours, they let their hair grow, as a mark of their liberty. The great are magnificent and pompous; they ſet off their dreſs with pearls, which they prefer to diamonds. The women only appear veiled; but when they are ſaluted, they uncover the face. The doctors, cloathed in black damaſk, wear a mitre on their heads: they never cut their nails nor beard, to ſhew they are leſs anxious to pleaſe than to inſtruct.

The houſes have no other ornaments than paintings and ſculpture gilt. Their marriages, funerals and feſtivals are the ſame as thoſe of the Chineſe, from whom they are deſcended.

The King and all the great officers of ſtate, as well as the learned men, follow the doctrine of Confucius, tranſmitted to them by their anceſtors. They have neither temples nor prieſts; and every one pays a particular worſhip to the great *Tien*. The people, plunged in the gloom of idolatry, abandon themſelves to the groſſeſt ſuperſtitions. They have their bonzes, who are divided into ſeveral claſſes: ſome of them live on the produce of the lands and ponds which are aſſigned them; others, ſubſervient to a ſuperior, live in common on the alms of the people; and that is a more certain ſource than the limited production of a field. To judge by the filthineſs of their temples, the greater part of which are in ruins, it does not ſeem that the prieſts and their followers are very much attached to their religion.

Thoſe who admit the dogma of metempſycoſis make a ſcruple of killing the moſt noxious animal or vileſt reptile; yet by a contradiction, common to error, they ſacrifice hogs to the manes of their anceſtors and gods. They believe that the ſouls that do not paſs into other bodies, are changed into demons, ſylphs, incubuſſes, and ſuccubuſſes. Thus the fear inſpired by theſe evil beings, gives riſe to a thouſand imaginary fables.

The axe of the law ſtrikes all criminals indiſcriminately. The King, a ſevere and incorruptible judge, pronounces their ſentence of condemnation. Thoſe who repreſent him in the provinces are more indulgent, becauſe they are more eaſily corrupted. The woman convicted of adultery is trampled to death by an elephant: the firſt theft is puniſhed by the loſs of a finger: the ſecond by that of an ear, and the third by death. Falſe witneſſes are puniſhed according to the weight of the accuſation. When the monarch pronounces his deciſions, he is mounted on a ſuperb elephant, and thoſe who have petitions to preſent, muſt not come within eighty paces.

This Prince is very rich, becauſe ſeveral of his neighbours buy his protection at an exorbitant price. Elephants, wax, and ivory which his own country ſupplies, and the tributes paid him by his proteges in ſcented woods and gold duſt, open a new ſource of riches. Beſides what he exacts from his tributary Princes, he has eſtabliſhed a general capitation, and every man, from eighteen to ſixty, pays about eightpence ſterling. This tax is leſs degrading than eight months labour to which every ſubject and ſlave is liable. At the death of every poſſeſſor, he ſeizes their lands, and only leaves the children the money and furniture. His revenues are alſo encreaſed by duties impoſed on foreign merchandizes.

The conſtitution of the kingdom of Cochin-China is wholly military. Their arms are the muſket, the bow, and dagger. Their exerciſe is performed in ſilence. The chief directs all their evolutions by the motion of his ſtaff: and if he neglects his duty, he is reduced to the rank of a common ſoldier.

The

The court of the monarch diſplays all the pomp of Aſia. The firſt dignities of the ſtate are entruſted to eunuchs. The preſumptive heir of the throne, has always the command of the naval force, and his private guard conſiſts of five thouſand men. His younger brother is generaliſſimo of the land forces, and has two thouſand ſoldiers for a guard. There is always a ſtanding army to prevent revolts.

Crimes againſt the Royal Majeſty are cruelly puniſhed. The criminal is tied to a ſtake, and every ſoldier cuts off a piece of his fleſh, till he is made a perfect ſkeleton. The ſeverity of puniſhments in a nation ſhews their inclination to crimes. The law propoſes to frighten by the ſhew of vengeance, and it often only ſerves to heighten their ferocity.

The ſoldiers are cloathed in ſatin, and the officers in gold or ſilver velvet.

There are military ſchools, in which children are educated at the public expence. They have ſilk robes, and other appurtenances which flatter their vanity, beſtowed on them as rewards for diſtinguiſhing themſelves. Thoſe who neglect their leſſons are cloathed in linen.

AN

# ACCOUNT OF COCHIN-CHINA,

IN TWO PARTS.

THE FIRST TREATS OF THE TEMPORAL STATE OF THAT KINGDOM; THE SECOND, OF WHAT CONCERNS THE SPIRITUAL.

WRITTEN IN ITALIAN

By the R. E. CHRISTOPHER BORRI, a Milanese, of the Society of Jesus, Who was one of the firſt Miſſionaries in that Kingdom *.

## TO THE READER.

THIS account is ſo ſhort, it requires not much preface, or, to ſay the truth, any at all; a little time ſufficing the curious to inform himſelf of the value and contents of it. Who the author was, appears by the title, and what the cauſe of his going into that kingdom, his profeſſion and only buſineſs being to preach Chriſtianity to the infidels: he lived five years among them, and learned their language to perfection; and therefore his relation is not like thoſe of travellers, who juſt paſs through a country; or merchants, that touch at ports upon the buſineſs of trade, and conſequently deliver very fabulous accounts, either to make their travels the more ſurpriſing, or for want of knowing better, taking things upon hearſay, and not underſtanding their language to get certain information. This father, on the contrary, frequently converſing with all ſorts of people, and having a ſettled reſidence there for years, had the opportunity of knowing what he wrote. He gives the deſcription of the kingdom, a conſiderable part whereof he travelled over: he ſpeaks of its product, which he had the benefit of for ſuſtenance and cloathing: he tells us the temper and ſeaſons of the air, which he ſeveral times felt: he relates the inundations which he often ſaw: he gives an account of their ſects, which he learned from their prieſts, or omſaiis, whom he converted to Chriſtianity: he ſets down the power and government of the kingdom, which he could be no ſtranger to, being familiar with ſeveral men in great authority: and, to conclude, he particularizes how far the Chriſtian faith has been there propagated, which he well knows, as having been himſelf a labourer in the vineyard for the firſt five years; and after that, receiving it from thoſe that ſucceeded him. In fine, the relation is curious, though ſhort, and ſeems to carry all the air of truth imaginable, beſides the general approbation it has always received in all parts, which is the greateſt commendation that can be given it.

* Churchill's Coll. vol. ii.

PART

# PART I.

## OF THE TEMPORAL STATE OF THE KINGDOM OF COCHIN-CHINA.

### CHAP. I.—*Of the Name, Situation, and Extent of this Kingdom.*

COCHIN-CHINA, ſo called by the Portugueſe, is by the natives called Anam, ſignifying a weſtern country, becauſe it lies weſt of China; for which ſame reaſon the Japaneſe in their language give it the name of Cochi, ſignifying the ſame as Anam, in the Cochi-Chineſe language. But the Portugueſe, having by means of the Japaneſe been admitted to trade in Anam, of the Japaneſe word Cochi, and this other word China, compounded the name Cochin-China, applying it to this kingdom, as if they called it Cochin of China, the better to diſtinguiſh it from Cochin the city in India, inhabited by the Portugueſe: and the reaſon why, in the maps of the world, we generally find Cochin-China ſet down under the denomination of Cauchin-China, or Cauchina, or the like, is no other but the corruption of the right name, or that the authors of thoſe maps would ſignify that this kingdom was the beginning of China.

This kingdom on the ſouth borders upon that of Chiampá, in eleven degrees of north latitude, on the north ſomewhat inclining eaſtward with Tunchim; on the eaſt is the Chineſe ſea, and on the weſt north-weſt the kingdom of Lais.

As to its extent I ſhall here ſpeak only of Cochin-China, which is part of the great kingdom of Tunchim, uſurped by a King who was grandfather to him now reigning in Cochin-China, who rebelled againſt the great King of Tunchim: for as yet the Portugueſe have traded only in this province, and here only the fathers of the ſociety have been converſant in order to introduce Chriſtianity: yet at the end of this account, I ſhall diſcourſe concerning ſome particulars of Tunchim, where our fathers got footing ſince my return into Europe.

Cochin-China extends above a hundred leagues along the ſea, reckoning from the kingdom of Chiampá, in the aforeſaid eleven degrees of north latitude, to the gulf of Ainam, in the latitude of ſeventeen degrees or thereabout, where the King of Tunchim's dominions begin. The breadth is not much, being about twenty miles, all the country plain, ſhut up on the one ſide by the ſea, and on the other by a ridge of mountains inhabited by the Kemois, which ſignifies a ſavage people; for though they are Cochin-Chineſe, yet they no way acknowledge or ſubmit to the King, keeping in the faſtneſſes of the uncouth mountains, bordering on the kingdom of Lais.

Cochin-China is divided into five provinces; the firſt, bordering on Tunchim, where this King reſides, is called Sinuvá; the ſecond Cachiam, here the Prince, the King's ſon, reſides and governs; the third Quamguya; the fourth, Quignin, by the Portugueſe called Pullucambi; and the fifth, confining on Chiampá, is Kenran.

## CHAP. II. — *Of the Climate and Nature of the Country of Cochin-China.*

THOUGH this kingdom, as has been ſaid, lies between eleven and ſeventeen degrees of north latitude; hence it follows of courſe, that the country is rather hot than cold, and yet it is not ſo hot as India, though it be in the ſame latitude, and within the torrid zone. The cauſe of the difference is, becauſe in India there is no diſtinction of the four ſeaſons of the year, ſo that the ſummer laſts there nine months without intermiſſion, without ſeeing ſo much as a cloud either day or night, and therefore the air, is continually, as it were, inflamed with the great reflection of the ſun beams. The other three months are called winter, not becauſe there is any want of heat, but becauſe at that time it generally rains day and night; and though to appearance ſuch continual rains ſhould naturally cool the air, yet they falling in the three months of May, June, and July, when the ſun is in its greateſt elevation, and in the zenith of India, and no winds blowing but what are hot, the air continues ſo inflamed, that ſometimes the heat is more intenſe than in ſummer, when for the moſt part there are pleaſant winds blowing from the ſea, which cool the ground, wherewith, if Almighty God did not relieve thoſe countries, they would be uninhabitable.

But Cochin-China enjoying the diſtinction of the four ſeaſons, though not in ſo perfect a manner as Europe, is much more temperate; for though its ſummer, which comprehends the three months of May, June and July, be violently hot, becauſe it lies within the torrid zone, and becauſe the ſun is then in its zenith, yet in September, October, and November, the autumn ſeaſon, the heat ceaſes, and the air becomes very temperate by the continual rains, which at this time uſually fall upon the mountains of the Kemois, whence the waters running down in abundance ſo flood the kingdom, that meeting with the ſea they ſeem to be all of a piece. The inundations during theſe three months, for the moſt part happen once a fortnight, and laſt three days at a time. They ſerve not only to cool the air, but to fertiliſe the earth, making it fruitful and abundant in all things, but particularly in rice, which is the moſt common and univerſal food of the kingdom. During the other three winter months, which are December, January and February, there are cold northerly winds, bringing cool rains, and ſo ſufficiently diſtinguiſhing the winter from other ſeaſons. To conclude, in March, April, and May, the effects of ſpring appear, all things being green and bloſſoming.

Now ſince we have ſpoke of theſe inundations, I will not conclude this chapter without firſt obſerving ſome curioſities that occur from them.

The firſt one is, that all men in general wiſh for them, not only that they may cool the air, but much more for the fertilizing of the earth; for which reaſon, as ſoon as they appear, all the people are ſo pleaſed and joyful, that they expreſs it by viſiting, feaſting, and preſenting one another, all of them crying, and often repeating, "daden lut, daden lut;" that is the inundation is come, it is here; and this is done by perſons of all degrees, even to the King himſelf.

And as the inundations often come ſo unexpectedly, that very often when they do not think of it at night, they find themſelves the next morning ſurrounded with water, ſo that they cannot go out of their houſes, throughout the whole kingdom, as has been ſaid; hence it is that abundance of cattle are drowned, for want of time to retire to the mountains, or higher grounds. For this reaſon there is a pleaſant ſort of law throughout the kingdom, which is, that if any oxen, goats, ſwine, or other beaſts are drowned, the owner loſes them, and they belong to him that firſt takes them,

them, which cauſes much ſport and jollity; becauſe when the lut happens they all go out in boats to ſeek the drowned cattle; upon which they afterwards feaſt and treat one another.

Nor are the younger ſort without their paſtime; for there being in thoſe fields of rice an infinite number of rats, their neſts filling with water, they are forced to ſwim out and get upon the trees to ſave themſelves; and it is pleaſant to ſee the boughs loaded with rats, like fruit hanging on them. Then do the boys run out in their boats, ſtriving to outdo one another in ſhaking the trees, that the rats may fall and be drowned; which childiſh paſtime is wonderfully beneficial to the country, delivering it from thoſe miſchievous creatures, that otherwiſe by degrees would devour all the harveſt.

In ſhort, the lut cauſes another conſiderable advantage, which is, that it affords every body the opportunity of furniſhing his houſe with all neceſſaries; becauſe the country being all navigable during theſe three days, commodities are very eaſily conveyed from one city to another, and therefore then are held the greateſt fairs and markets, and with a greater concourſe of people than at any other time in the year. Then alſo it is that they lay in proviſion of wood to burn and build, bringing it from the mountains in boats, which by this means come into the ſtreets and into the very houſes, built for this purpoſe upon high pillars, that water may have free paſſage, the people ſtill living during that time in the upper floors; to which it would be ſurpriſing if the lut ſhould ever riſe, they being built according to the ſituation of the place, to ſuch a height as they know by long experience is ſufficiently above the waters.

## CHAP. III. — *Of the Fruitfulneſs of the Country.*

IT is an eaſy matter to conceive the fertility of Cochin-China, by the advantages accruing from the lut; yet we will mention ſome other particulars relating to it. The lut leaves the land ſo fruitful, that rice is gathered three times a year in ſuch great plenty and abundance, that there is nobody will work for gain, all perſons having enough to live on plentifully.

There are great quantities of fruit of ſeveral ſorts all the year round; and they are the ſame with thoſe in India, Cochin-China being within the ſame climate. But to come to particulars; the oranges there are bigger than ours in Europe, and very full; the rind of them is thin, tender, and ſo well taſted, that it is eaten with the juice, which has a pleaſant reliſh like lemons in Italy.

There is a ſort of fruit which the Portugueſe call bananas, and others Indian figs; though, in my judgment, the name of a fig is neither proper to thoſe in India, nor in Cochin-China, becauſe neither the tree nor fruit has any reſemblance with our figs; the tree being like that we call Indian wheat, but higher, and the leaves ſo long and broad, that two of them would ſerve to wrap a man in quite round, and from head to feet. Hence ſome have taken occaſion to ſay, that this was the tree in paradiſe, with the leaves whereof Adam covered himſelf. This tree at the top produces a cluſter of twenty, thirty, or forty of theſe bananas together; and each of them is in ſhape, length, and thickneſs of an indifferent citron in Italy. Before the fruit is ripe the rind is green, but afterwards yellow as the citrons are. There is no need of a knife to pare this fruit, for the rind comes off as we ſhell beans. This fruit has a moſt fragrant ſmell; the pith or fleſh of it is yellow and firm, like that of a bergamot pear when full ripe, that melts in the mouth: by this it appears to be no way like our fig, except in the taſte and ſweetneſs. There is another ſort of them which is only eaten roaſted, and with wine; the ſtem dies every year, when it has produced the fruit, and leaves a young

young ſprout at the foot, which grows up againſt the next year. That which in Italy they call an Indian fig, is nothing like the plant or fruit of this banana we now ſpeak of; nor in this which we have in Italy called an Indian fig in thoſe parts. This fruit is common throughout all India. There is another ſort in Cochin-China, that is not found in China nor India: it is as big as the largeſt citrons we have in Italy; ſo that one of them is enough to ſatisfy a man. Theſe are nouriſhing, very white within, and full of black round ſeeds, which chewed together with the white ſubſtance, are of a delicious taſte, and a good medicine againſt the flux.

There is another fruit in Cochin-China, which I have not ſeen in any other country of India, and this they call can; the outward form and nature of the rind is like our pomegranate; but within it contains a ſubſtance almoſt liquid, which is taken out and eaten with a ſpoon, the taſte is aromatic, and the colour like that of a ripe medlar.

They have another peculiar to the country that grows and is like our cherries, but taſtes like raiſins, and is called gnoo.

There are alſo melons, but not ſo good as ours in Europe, nor are they eaten without ſugar or honey. The water-melons are large and delicate.

There is a fruit called giacca, which is common to the other parts of India, but much larger in Cochin-China: it grows on a tree as high as the walnut or cheſnut, and has much longer prickles than the jubeb. It is as big as a very large pompion in Italy, ſo that one of them is a man's load: the outer rind is like that of a pine-apple, but ſoft and tender within. This fruit is full of certain yellow round kernels, like a ſmall piece of coin that is round and flat; and in the middle of every one of them is a ſtone that is thrown away. There are two ſorts of this fruit; one in Portugueſe is called giacca barca; the ſtone of this is thrown away, and the pulp is ſtiff: they do not take out the ſtone of the other, nor is the pulp hard but ſoft as glue; both theſe in taſte ſomewhat reſemble that delicious fruit called the durion, whereof we ſhall ſpeak next.

This durion is one of the moſt delicious fruits in the world, and only found in Malaca, Borneo, and the adjacent iſlands. The tree differs little from the giacca laſt mentioned, and the fruit itſelf is like it without, and that reſembles the pine-apple, even in the hardneſs of the rind. The meat within is very white about the bone, to which it ſticks like glue, and taſtes very like our mangiare bianco (a dainty among the Italians). This meat and liquor is divided into ten or twelve little apartments, in each of which the fleſh and moiſture is about its ſtone, which is as big as a large cheſnut. And it is to be obſerved, that when they break open the ſhell of this fruit there comes from it an ill ſcent, like that of a rotten onion, all the ſubſtance within remaining of a moſt ſweet and inexpreſſible flavour; reſpecting which I will relate what happened in my preſence: a prelate arrived at Malaca, and one there opened a durion before him to give him a taſte; the prelate was ſo offended at the naufeous ſmell that came from it when broke, that he would not taſte it by any means. Being afterwards ſet down to dinner, they gave the reſt of the company mangiare bianco, but on this prelate's plate they laid the white ſubſtance of this fruit, which is ſo like the mangiare bianco, that he could not diſtinguiſh the difference by the ſight. The prelate taſted it, and thought it ſo much more delicious than uſual, that he aſked what cook dreſſed it ſo rarely? Then he that had invited him to dinner, ſmiling, told him it was no other cook but God himſelf, who had produced that fruit, which was the very durion he would not taſte. The prelate was ſo aſtoniſhed that he thought he could never eat enough; and they are ſo dear, that even at Malacca, where they grow, they ſometimes coſt a crown a piece.

Cochin-China abounds in another ſort of fruit, by the Portugueſe called ananas; which, though it be common to all India and Brazil, yet becauſe I have not found it well

well deſcribed by thoſe that have written of it, I would not paſs it by. This fruit does not grow on a tree, nor from a ſeed, but on a ſtalk, like our artichokes, and the ſtem and leaves are much like thoſe of the thiſtle or artichoke. The fruit is like a cylinder, a ſpan long, and ſo thick that it requires both hands to graſp it. The pulp within is cloſe and like a radiſh, the rind ſomewhat hard, ſcaly like a fiſh. When ripe it is yellow both within and without, is pared with a knife, and eaten raw, the taſte of it a ſharp ſweet, and as ſoft as a full ripe bergamot pear.

There is beſides in Cochin-China a fruit peculiar to that country, which the Portugueſe call areca. The trunk of it is as ſtraight as a palm-tree, hollow within, and produces leaves like thoſe of the palm, only at the top among theſe leaves there grow ſome ſmall boughs, which bear the fruit, in ſhape and bigneſs like a walnut, green without juſt as the nut is; within it is white and hard like a cheſnut, and has no taſte at all. This fruit is not eaten alone, but is wrapped up in leaves of betle, well known in India, which are like our ivy-leaves in Europe, and the plant itſelf clings to trees like the ivy. Theſe leaves are cut in pieces, and in them they wrap a bit of areca, each of of them making four or five morſels; and with the areca they put ſome lime, which is not there made of ſtone as in Europe, but of oyſter-ſhells; and as among us there are cooks and caterers, &c. ſo in Cochin-China there is one in every family whoſe buſineſs is to wrap up theſe morſels of areca in betle, and theſe perſons being commonly women, are called betleres. They fill their boxes with theſe morſels, and chew them all day, not only when they are at home but when they are walking or talking, at all times and in all places, never ſwallowing but ſpitting them out when they are well chewed, retaining nothing but the reliſh and virtue of it, which wonderfully comforts the ſtomach. Theſe morſels are ſo much in uſe, that when a perſon goes to make a viſit he carries a box full of them, and preſently offers ſome to the party viſited, who puts it into his mouth; and before the viſitor departs, he that is viſited ſends to his betler woman for a box of the ſame, and preſents it to the viſitor to return his kindneſs; and theſe morſels muſt be ſtill making. There is ſo much of this areca uſed, that the greateſt revenues of that country come from the fields of it, as among us of olive-gardens, and the like.

Tobacco is alſo uſed there, but not ſo much as betle. The country alſo abounds in all ſorts of pompions, and ſugar-canes. The European fruits are not yet come thither; but I believe grapes and figs would take very well. Our herbs, as lettuce, endive, colworts, and the like, come up well in Cochin-China, as they do throughout all India: but they all grow into leaves, without producing any ſeed, ſo that it muſt ſtill be ſupplied out of Europe.

There is alſo great plenty of fleſh, by reaſon of the great multitude not only of tame cattle, as cows, goats, ſwine, buffaloes, and the like; but of wild, ſuch as deer, much bigger than thoſe of Europe, wild boars, &c.; and of hens, both tame and wild, of which ſort the fields are full, turtles, pigeons, ducks, geeſe, and cranes, which are ſavoury enough; and, in ſhort, other ſorts, which we have not in Europe.

Their fiſhery is very great, and fiſh ſo delicious that, though I have travelled ſo many countries, I do not think I have met with any to be compared to that of Cochin-China. And the country, as was ſaid before, lying all along upon the ſea, there are ſo many boats go out a-fiſhing, and they bring in ſo much fiſh to all parts of the kingdom, that it is really very remarkable to ſee the long rows of people continually carrying fiſh from the ſhore to the mountains; which is duly done every day for four hours before ſun-riſing. And though generally among the Cochin-Chineſe fiſh is more valued than fleſh, yet the chief reaſon why they apply themſelves ſo much to fiſhing is to furniſh

themſelves with a kind of ſauce, which they call balachiam, which is made of ſalt-fiſh macerated and ſteeped in water. This is a ſharp liquor, not unlike muſtard, whereof every body lays in ſuch ſtore, that they fill barrels and tubs of it, as many in Europe lay in their ſtocks of wine. This of itſelf is no food, but ſerves to ſharpen the appetite to the rice, which they cannot eat without it. For this reaſon, though rice be the general and moſt common ſuſtenance in Cochin-China, there muſt be vaſt quantities of balachiam, without which it is not eaten, and conſequently there is continual fiſhing. There is no leſs plenty of ſhell-fiſh, oyſters, and other product of the ſea, eſpecially of one ſort, which they call cameron. (I ſuppoſe this to be the Portugueſe word *camerano*, ſignifying ſhrimps or prawns.)

Beſides all this, Providence has furniſhed them with a ſort of food ſo rare and delicate that, in my opinion, it may be compared to the manna wherewith the choſen people of God were fed in the deſart. This is ſo peculiar to Cochin-China, that it is no where elſe to be found: and I will give an account of what I know of it by experience, and not by hear-ſay, having ſeen and eaten of it ſeveral times.

In this country there is found a ſmall bird like a ſwallow, which faſtens its neſt to the rocks the ſea-waves break againſt. This little creature with its beak takes up ſome of the foam of the ſea, and mixing it with a certain moiſture it draws from its own ſtomach, makes a ſort of ſlime, or bituminous ſubſtance, which ſerves to build its neſt, which, when dry and hardened, remains tranſparent, and of a colour between green and yellow. The country-people gather theſe neſts and being ſoftened in water, they ſerve to ſeaſon meat, whether fiſh, fleſh, herbs, or any ſort whatſoever; and give every thing ſo different a reliſh, and ſo proper to it, as if they had been ſeaſoned with pepper, cinnamon, cloves and the richeſt ſpice; this neſt alone being enough to ſeaſon all ſorts of proviſions without ſalt, oil, bacon or any other addition; and, therefore, I ſaid I thought it like manna, which had in it the taſte of all the moſt delicious meats, except that this is the work of a ſmall bird, and that was made by God's angels. Such great ſtore of them is found, that I myſelf ſaw ten ſmall boats laden with neſts taken among the rocks, at not above a mile's diſtance. But they being ſo precious a commodity, the King only deals in them, they being all kept for him; and his greateſt vent is to the King of China, who values them at a high rate.

They eat no ſort of white meats, looking upon it as a ſin to milk the cows or other creatures: and the reaſon they give for this nicety is, that milk was by nature appointed for ſuſtenance of the young ones: as if the owner of the young ones could not diſpoſe of their ſuſtenance. They eat ſome things which we loath and count venomous, as cameleons, which are here ſomewhat bigger than thoſe that are ſometimes brought dried up into Italy out of other countries. I ſaw a friend buy ſome tied together in a cluſter, and lay them upon the live coals, which having burnt the ſtring, they walked about gently as they uſed to do till they felt the heat of the fire; they being of a violent cold nature reſiſted awhile, but were at laſt broiled: my friend took them up, and ſcraping off the burnt ſkin with a knife, the fleſh remained extraordinary white; then he bruiſed and boiled them in a certain ſort of ſauce like butter, and then eat them as a great dainty, inviting me to partake with him: but I had enough with the ſight of it.

Cochin-China abounds in all other things neceſſary for the ſupport of human life; and in the firſt place for cloathing: there is ſuch a plenty of ſilk, that the peaſants and mechanics generally wear it; ſo that I was often pleaſed to ſee men and women at their labour, carrying ſtone, earth, lime or the like, without the leaſt fear of tearing or ſpoiling the rich clothes they had on. Nor will it be wondered at, when it is mentioned

that the mulberry trees, whoſe leaves feed the ſilk worms, grow in vaſt plains, as hemp does amongſt us, and run up as faſt; ſo that in a few months the worms appear upon them, and feed in the open air, ſpinning their thread at the proper time, and winding their bottoms in ſuch plenty, that the Cochin-Chineſe have not only enough for their own uſe, but they furniſh Japan, and ſend it into the kingdom of Lais, whence it afterwards ſpreads as far as Tibet. This ſilk is not ſo fine and ſoft, but ſtronger and more ſubſtantial than that of China.

The ſtructures the Cochin-Chineſe uſe of wood, are nothing inferior to thoſe of any other part of the world; for without falſifying, this country has the beſt timber in the univerſe, in the opinion of all that have been there to this time. Among the variety and multitude of their trees, there are two that moſt uſually ſerve for building, and are ſo incorruptible, that they do not decay in the leaſt, either under ground or under water; and they are ſo ſolid and heavy, that they do not ſwim upon the water, and a log of them ſerves inſtead of an anchor to a ſhip. One of them is black, but not ſo as ebony; the other is red, and both of them when the bark is taken off are ſo ſmooth and ſleek that they ſcarce need any plaining. Theſe trees are called tin, and it would not be deviating much from the truth to ſay they were that incorruptible wood which Solomon made uſe of for building the temple: for we know the ſcripture gives them a name much like this, calling them ligna thyina. The mountains of Cochin-China are all full of theſe trees, all ſtraight, of ſuch a prodigious height, that they ſeem to touch the clouds, and ſo thick that two men cannot fathom them. Of this timber the Cochin-Chineſe build their houſes, every man being free to cut down as many as he pleaſes.

The whole fabric of their houſes reſts upon high, ſolid, and well ſettled pillars, between which they place boards to remove at pleaſure; either to exchange them for cane lattices, which they weave neatly, to let in the air in hot weather; or to leave a free paſſage for the water and boats, at the time of the inundation, as we obſerved above. They have alſo a thouſand curious inventions, and ingenious contrivances to ſet off their houſes with carving, and other works on wood, which are a very great ornament.

Since we have begun to talk of trees, before we proceed upon any other matter, I will here mention ſomething of a ſort of wood, accounted the richeſt commodity that can be carried out of Cochin-China to other parts; which is the moſt famous wood called aquila, or eagle-wood, and calamba; which are the ſame thing as to the tree, but differ in their value and virtue. Of theſe trees, which are thick and high enough, the Kemois mountains are very full; if the wood be cut off a young tree, it proves aquila or eagle-wood, and of this there is great abundance, every one cutting as much as he can: but when the wood is of an old tree, that proves calamba; which were very hard to be found, had not nature itſelf provided for it, cauſing theſe ſame trees to grow on the tops of inacceſſible mountains, where growing old without being expoſed to deſtruction, ſome boughs of them now and then drop down, breaking off, either for want of moiſture, or through age, and are therefore found rotten and worm-eaten, infinitely exceeding the common aquila or eagle-wood, in virtue and ſweet ſcent; and this is the ſo highly valued and famous calamba. The aquila is ſold by any body, but the calamba belongs only to the King, becauſe of the high value of its perfume and virtue. And to ſay the truth, it is ſo ſweet where they gather it, that ſome pieces being preſented to me, by way of experiment, I buried them above a yard and a half under ground, and yet they diſcovered themſelves by their fragrancy. The calamba where taken, is worth five ducats a pound; but in the port of Cochin-

China, where the trade is, it bears a much greater price, and is not ſold under ſixteen ducats a pound. In Japan it is worth two hundred ducats a pound; but if there be a piece big enough for a man to lay his head on like a pillow, the Japaneſe will give at the rate of three or four hundred ducats a pound: the reaſon of which is, becauſe they inſtead of a ſoft down pillar, when they ſleep, lay their head on ſome hard thing, and generally it is a piece of wood, which every one according to his ability, endeavours to have of as great value as he can; and a piece of calamba is looked upon as a pillow fit for none but a King, or ſome great lord. Yet the aquila, though of leſs price and eſteem than the calamba, is ſo conſiderable, that one ſhip's load of it enriches any merchant for ever, and the beſt advantage the King can allow the governor of Malacca, is to grant him one voyage of aquila; becauſe Brahmans and Banians of India burning their dead with this ſweet wood, the conſumption of it is continually very great.

To conclude, Cochin-China abounds in rich mines of the moſt precious metals, eſpecially gold; and to reduce to a few words what might be ſaid more at large of the plenty of this country, I will conclude with that which the European merchants trading thither commonly ſay of it; which is, that in ſome meaſure the wealth of Cochin-China is greater than that of China itſelf; and we all know how rich that country is in all reſpects.

I ought in this place to ſay ſomething of the beaſts, whereof we before obſerved there was a great variety and numbers in Cochin-China; but that I may not dilate too much, I will only treat of the elephants and abadas, or rhinoceroſes, chiefly found here; of which many curious things may be ſaid, which perhaps very many have not heard off.

## CHAP. IV. — *Of the Elephants and Abadas, or Rhinoceroſes.*

THERE are abundance of elephants in the woods of Cochin-China, which they make no uſe of, becauſe they know not how to take or tame them: therefore they bring them tame and well taught from Cambogia, a neighbouring kingdom. Theſe are twice as big as thoſe of India, the round print of their feet they leave behind them being not leſs than half a yard diameter; the two teeth ſticking out of the mouth, whereof ivory is made, are very often four yards and a half long; that is thoſe of the males, for thoſe of the females are much ſhorter; by which it is eaſy to compute, how much thoſe elephants of Cochin-China are bigger than thoſe ſhewn about in Europe, whoſe teeth are not above three quarters of a yard long. The elephants live many years; and I aſking how old one might be, the driver of it told me, it was ſixty years old before it came from Cambogia, and had lived forty in Cochin-China: and having myſelf ſeveral times travelled upon elephants in that kingdom I can relate many things that will ſeem ſtrange, but yet are very true.

An elephant generally carries thirteen or fourteen perſons, who are thus diſpoſed of: as we lay a ſaddle on a horſe, ſo they clap a certain machine upon the elephant, which is like a coach, wherein there are four ſeats; it is faſtened with chains under the elephant's belly, as a horſe's ſaddle is girt. The coach has two doors on the ſides, where ſix perſons ſit, three on a ſide, and another behind where there are two more; and laſtly the nayre, who ſupplies the place of a coachman, ſits over the elephant's head and guides him. Nor have I travelled in this manner by land only, but very often by ſea too, croſſing arms of it above a mile over; and it is wonderful to any body that knew it not before, to ſee ſuch a vaſt great lump of fleſh ſwimming under

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ſuch a weight, ſo that it looked like a boat rowing. True it is, the beaſt groaned under the toil, occaſioned by the unreaſonable bulk of his own body, and the difficulty of breathing; and therefore to eaſe itſelf in that pain, it ſucked in water with the trunk, and ſpouted it out ſo high, that it looked like ſome great whale gliding along the ocean.

For the ſame reaſon of its mighty corpulency, it finds much difficulty in ſtooping down; and this being abſolutely neceſſary for the convenience of paſſengers to get up to or down from the coach, he does it not but when commanded by the nayre; and if when he is kneeling, any one ſtops but never ſo little, upon ceremony, or any other account, he riſes up, not having patience to continue in that poſture, it is ſo painful.

Nor is it leſs wonderful to behold, how at the nayre's command he makes, as it were, a ladder of his limbs for the greater convenience of thoſe that are to get up into the coach: the firſt ſtep is his foot, which is high enough; for the ſecond he turns out the firſt joint above the ſame foot, diſtant enough from the other; for the third he bends his knee; for the fourth his hip-bone, ſticking out to that purpoſe; and from whence he that gets up, lays hold of a chain faſtened to the coach itſelf, where he ſeats himſelf.

By this it plainly appears how much they are miſtaken who ſay and write that the elephant can neither kneel nor bow down; and that the only way to take him, is to cut the tree he leans againſt to ſleep; for that falling together with the falſe ſupport, and not being able to riſe, he becomes a certain prey to him that lies in wait; which is all a fable, though it be true he lies not down to ſleep, that being an uneaſy poſture to him as has been ſaid, but ſleeps always ſtanding, with a continual agitation of his head.

Upon occaſion of war or battle, they take off the roof of the coach, whence, as it were from a tower, the ſoldiers fight with muſkets, arrows, and ſometimes a ſmall piece of cannon, the elephant being ſtrong enough to carry it, his ſtrength being anſwerable to all the reſt: and I have ſeen one myſelf, that would carry vaſt weights upon his trunk, and another that lifted up a great piece of cannon with it, and another who by himſelf launched ten galliots one after another, taking hold of them very dexterouſly with his teeth, and ſhoving them into the ſea. I have ſeen others pull up large trees with as much eaſe as we do a cabbage or a lettuce: with the ſame eaſe they throw down houſes, levelling whole ſtreets when they are commanded, either to do harm to an enemy in war, or to ſtop the fury of the flames upon occaſion of any fire.

The length of the trunk is proportionable to the height of the reſt of his body, ſo that he can take up any thing with it off the ground without ſtooping. It is made of abundance of ſmall ſinews knit together, which makes it ſo pliable, that he can take up the leaſt thing, and yet ſo ſtrong and firm as we have ſhewn.

All the body is covered with a rough aſh coloured ſkin. An elephant's uſual day's journey is twelve leagues, and his motion has the ſame effect upon thoſe that are not uſed to it, as that of a ſhip at ſea.

I ſhall ſay nothing more wonderful concerning the elephant's docility, or aptneſs to learn, than what is generally reported; by which it will appear there was reaſon to ſay, "no beaſt was more ſenſible than the elephant;" for it does ſuch things as ſeem to be the acts of prudence and underſtanding. In the firſt place, though the nayre makes uſe of a certain inſtrument of iron a yard long, which has a hook at one end wherewith he ſtrikes and punches him, that he may be watchful, and mind what

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he bids him to do, yet for the moſt part he governs him only by words; by which it appears he underſtand the language very well; and ſome of them underſtands three or four that are very different, according to the ſeveral countries they have lived in. Thus he that I travelled on, ſeemed to underſtand the language of Cambogia, whence he came, and that of Cochin-China where he was. And who would not admire to hear the nayre diſcourſe with his elephant, tell him the way and road he is to take, what place he is to paſs by, what inn they are to lie at, what they ſhall there find to eat, and in ſhort, give him an exact account of all that is to be done during the journey; and to ſee the elephant perform what he expects from him, as regularly as any man of good ſenſe could do; inſomuch that when the elephant ſeems to have underſtood what place he was to go to, he takes the ſhorteſt cut to it, without minding the beaten road, rivers, woods, or mountains, but goes on, not doubting to overcome all difficulties, as in effect he does; for if any rivers be in the way, he either fords or ſwims them; if woods, he breaks the bows of the trees, pulls them up whole, or cuts them with a ſharp iron like a ſcythe, which for this purpoſe is faſtened to the fore part of the top of the coach, wherewith upon occaſion having firſt laid old of the boughs, he cuts them with his trunk, and makes himſelf way, cutting through the thickeſt foreſt, where it is eaſily known to have been an elephant that made the way; and all this he does with great eaſe and expedition in obedience to the nayre.

One only thing that diſturbs this creature, and puts it to great pain is, when a thorn or ſuch like runs into the ſole of his foot, which is extraordinary ſoft and tender, and therefore he treads very cautiouſly, when he goes through places where there may be danger of ſuch an accident. I once went a journey with ſeven or eight elephants in company, and heard the nayres every one warn his own beaſt, to look out carefully where he ſet his feet; for they were to paſs over a ſandy place about a mile in length, where thorns grew up among the ſand; upon this intimation all the elephants held down their heads, and looking out as it were, for ſome ſmall thing that is loſt, they walked that mile very cautiouſly, ſtep by ſtep, till being told there was no more to fear, they lifted up their heads, going on as they had done at firſt. Being come at night to the inn, the nayres ſent the elephants to the wood to feed, without taking the coach off their backs; and I aſking why they did not take it down, they anſwered, that the elephants fed on the boughs of the trees, and therefore they left the coach on their backs that they might cut them with that iron we mentioned was before it. The next day being come where there was no wood, every nayre carried a large bundle of green boughs for his elephant. I took particular ſatisfaction in obſerving one, who, more nimbly than the reſt, laying hold of thoſe boughs with his trunk, barked them with his teeth, and then eat them up as quick, and with as good a guſt as we would a fig, or any other ſort of fruit. Diſcourſing the next day with my fellow travellers, who were about twenty, I told him how much I was pleaſed to ſee that elephant eat the boughs ſo cleverly. Then the nayre, by order of the elephant's maſter, called him by his name, which was Gnin, he being at ſome diſtance, but preſently lifted up his head to give ear to what was ſaid to him; "Recollect," ſaid the nayre, "that father, the paſſenger that looked upon you yeſterday when you was eating; take ſuch a bough as one of them was, and come before him as you did yeſterday." No ſooner had the nayre ſpoke the words, but the elephant came before me with a bough in his trunk, ſingling me out among all the company, ſhewed it me, barked, and eat it, then inclining himſelf very low, he went away, as it were laughing, making ſigns of joy and ſatisfaction; leaving me full of aſtoniſhment, to ſee that a

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beaſt ſhould be ſo apt to underſtand, and do what it was commanded. Yet the elephant is obedient to none but the nayre, or his maſter; and he will only endure to ſee them get upon him; for if he ſhould ſee any other perſon mount, there were danger that he would throw down the coach with his trunk, and kill him; and therefore when any body is to get up, the nayre generally covers his eyes with his ears, which are very large and ill ſhaped.

If at any time the elephant does not obey ſo readily as he ſhould, the nayre beats him cruelly on the middle of his forehead, ſtanding himſelf all the while upright on his head. One time when I was upon him, with ſeveral others, the nayre beat him in this manner, and every ſtroke he gave him, it appeared as if we ſhould have been all thrown down headlong. Generally they give him ſix or ſeven ſtrokes on the middle of the forehead, but with ſuch force, that the elephant quakes, and yet bears all patiently. There is only one time when he obeys neither the nayre, nor any other perſon, which is, when on a ſudden he is inflamed with luſt; for then, being quite beſide himſelf, he bears with nobody, but lays hold of the coach with all that are in it, killing, deſtroying, and beating every thing to pieces. But the nayre by certain ſigns diſcovers it a little before it comes on and getting down ſpeedily with all the paſſengers, unloads him, taking down the coach, and leaves him alone in ſome bye place till that fury be over; after which, being ſenſible of his error, and as it were aſhamed of himſelf, he goes with his head low to receive the blows that are to be given him, thinking he has deſerved them.

Formerly the elephants were of great uſe in war, and thoſe armies were formidable that carried great troops of them into the field; but ſince the Portugueſe found out the way of uſing artificial fireworks to them, they are rather hurtful than otherwiſe; for not being able to endure thoſe ſparks of fire which get into their eyes, they betake themſelves to flight, breaking their own armies, killing and confounding all that ſtand in their way.

The tame elephant fights with only two creatures, which are the wild elephant, and the abada, or rhinoceros; the latter it overcomes, by the firſt is generally conquered. The rhinoceros is a beaſt of ſhape between a horſe and an ox, but as big as one of the ſmalleſt elephants, covered all over with ſcales, as it were ſo many plates of armour. He has but one horn in the middle of the forehead, which is ſtraight and pyramidal, and his feet and hoofs are like thoſe of an ox. When I was at Nuocmon, a city in the province of Pulucambi, the governor went out to hunt a rhinoceros, that was in a wood near our dwelling place. He had with him above a hundred men, ſome on foot, and ſome on horſeback, and eight or ten elephants. The rhinoceros came out of the wood, and ſeeing ſo many enemies, was ſo far from giving any tokens of fear, that it furiouſly encountered them all; who opened and making a lane, let the rhinoceros run through: it came to the rear, where the governor was a-top of his elephant, waiting to kill it; the elephant endeavours to lay hold with his trunk, but could not by reaſon of the rhinoceros's ſwiftneſs and leaping, and ſtriving to wound the elephant with its horn. The governor knowing it could receive no hurt, on account of its ſcales, unleſs when ſtruck on the ſide, waited till leaping it laid open the vulnerable part, and caſting a dart, dexterouſly ſtruck it through from ſide to ſide, with great applauſe and ſatisfaction of all the multitude of ſpectators; who without any more to do, laid it upon a great pile of wood, and ſetting fire to it, leaped and danced about whilſt the ſcales were burning and fleſh roaſting, cutting pieces as it roaſted, and eating them. Of the entrails, that is, the heart, liver, and brain, they made a more dainty diſh, and gave it to the governor, who was upon a riſing ground diverting

diverting himſelf with their merriment. I being preſent, obtained the hoofs from the governor; which are looked upon to have the ſame quality and virtue, as the claws of the great beaſt (or hoof of the elk), and ſo the horn is good againſt poiſon, as that of the unicorn.

## CHAP. V. — *Of the Qualities, Cuſtoms, and Manners of the Cochin-Chineſe; of their Way of living, their Habit and Cures.*

THE Cochin-Chineſe are in colour like the Chineſe; that is, inclining to an olive-colour: I mean thoſe that are neareſt the ſea; for thoſe up the inland, as far as Tonquin, are as white as Europeans. The ſhape of their faces is exactly like the Chineſe, with flat noſes, ſmall eyes, but of an indifferent ſtature, not ſo ſhort as the Japaneſe, nor ſo tall as the Chineſe. Yet they are ſtronger and more active than either of them, and braver than the Chineſe, but are outdone by the Japaneſe in one thing, which is the contempt of life in danger and battle; the Japaneſe ſeeming to make no account of life, nor to apprehend the leaſt fear of death.

The Cochin-Chineſe are naturally the moſt courteous and affable of all the eaſtern nations; and though on the one ſide they value themſelves much upon their valour, yet on the other they look upon it as a great ſhame to ſuffer themſelves to be tranſported with paſſion. And whereas all the other eaſtern nations, looking upon the Europeans as a profane people, do naturally abhor them, and therefore fly from us when we firſt come among them: in Cochin-China it happens quite contrary; for they ſtrive who ſhall be neareſt us, aſk a thouſand queſtions, invite us to eat with them, and in ſhort uſe all manner of courteſy with much familiarity and reſpect. So it happened to me and my companions when we firſt came there, being as it were among friends of an old ſtanding. This is a very good diſpoſition to facilitate the preaching of the goſpel.

This loving and eaſy diſpoſition is the cauſe of much concord among them, they all treating one another as familiarly as if they were brothers or of the ſame family, though they have never known or ſeen one another before; and it would be looked upon as a moſt vile action, if one man eating any thing, though ever ſo little, ſhould not ſhare with all about him, giving every one a bit. They are alſo naturally kind and free hearted to the poor, to whom it is cuſtomary among them never to deny alms, when aſked; and it would be reputed a great fault to deny it, as if it were due to them. Thus it happened, that ſome ſtrangers eſcaping from a ſhipwreck in a port in Cochin-China, and not knowing the language to make known their want, but learning only this word, doii, which ſignifies, I am hungry: when the natives ſaw ſtrangers at their doors, crying out doii, as if the greateſt misfortune in the world had befallen them, every one ſtrove to be before another in giving them ſomething to eat; ſo that in a ſhort time they gathered ſo much proviſion, that a ſhip being afterwards given them by the King to return to their country, they took ſuch an affection to that country, where they found all things for their ſuſtenance at ſuch an eaſy rate, that not a man of them would go away. So that the captain of the ſhip was forced to drive them aboard with many blows and cuts, which he effectually did, loading the ſhip with rice they had gathered only by going about, crying, I am hungry.

But as ready as the Cochin-Chineſe are to give, ſo are they as apt, if not more, to aſk for any thing they ſee, ſo ſoon as ever they caſt their eye on a thing that is new to them, and curious, they ſay, "ſchin mocaii;" that is, give me one of theſe things; and it is ſuch a rudeneſs to refuſe them, though the thing be rare and precious, that

whoſoever ſhould do it, would be ever after looked upon as a vile perſon; ſo that a man muſt either hide, or be ready to give what he ſhews. A Portugueſe merchant diſliking this uncommon cuſtom, as not uſed to it, reſolved, ſince every one aſked of him whatſoever he ſaw, to do the ſame with them; accordingly he came to a poor fiſherman's boat, and laying hold of a pannier full of fiſh, in the country language ſaid to him, "ſchin mocaii;" the honeſt man made no anſwer, but gave him all the pannier as it was, for him to carry home, as he did, admiring the liberality of the Cochin-Chineſe; but taking compaſſion on the poor fiſherman he afterwards paid him the full value of it.

The manner of breeding and civility of the Cochin-Chineſe is more or leſs the ſame with that of the Chineſe, always punctually obſerving all niceties; we know theſe latter obſerve between ſuperiors and inferiors, equals, and the reſpect due to old perſons, ever preferring the eldeſt, of what degree ſoever, and giving them preference before the younger. Wherefore ſome of thoſe gentlemen coming often a viſiting to our houſe, though the interpreter told them that a father we had there, ſomewhat older than the reſt, was not our ſuperior, yet they could never be brought to pay their reſpect to the young ſuperior, before the old man. In every houſe, though ever ſo poor, the Cochin-Chineſe have three ſorts of ſeats; the firſt and meaneſt, is a mat upon the bare floor, on which perſons of equal quality ſit, as thoſe that are of the ſame family. The next is a low ſtool, covered with a very fine mat; which is for perſons of better account. The third, is a couch about three quarters of a yard high, on which only the lords and governors of places ſit, or perſons dedicated to the divine ſervice, and on this they always make our fathers ſit.

This good nature and civility of the Cochin-Chineſe makes them ſo courteous to ſtrangers, whom they allow to live according to their own laws, and to wear what clothes they pleaſe; and ſo they praiſe their cuſtoms and admire their doctrine frankly, preferring them before their own, quite contrary to the Chineſe, who deſpiſe all but their own cuſtoms and doctrine.

As for their habit, we have before obſerved that it is the general cuſtom in Cochin-China to wear ſilk, it only remains to ſpeak of the faſhion of their cloaths. To begin with the women: I think it the moſt modeſt garb of all India; for even in the hotteſt weather, they ſuffer no part of the body to be uncovered: they wear five or ſix petticoats, one over another, all of ſeveral colours; the firſt reaches to the ground, which they trail along with ſuch gravity and ſtate that the tips of their toes are not ſeen; the ſecond is half a ſpan ſhorter than the firſt, the third ſhorter than that, and ſo one over another, ſo that all the ſeveral colours appear; and this is the women's habit from the waiſt downwards; for on their bodies they wear doublets checkered of ſeveral colours; over all they have a veil, but ſo thin, that though it covers them, yet it is tranſparent, and ſhews all their gaiety with modeſty, and makes a beauteous majeſtic appearance. Their hair is looſe, ſpreading over their ſhoulders, ſo long that it reaches to the ground, and the longer the greater beauty it is reckoned. On their head they wear ſuch a broad cap, that it covers all the face, ſo that they cannot ſee above four or five paces before them; and theſe caps are interwoven with ſilk and gold, according to the quality of the perſon. The women when met, are not obliged to any other return of civility, but to lift up the brims of their caps, ſo much as their face may be ſeen. The men, inſtead of breeches, ſwathe themſelves with a whole piece of ſtuff, putting on over them five or ſix long and large gowns all of fine ſilk, and of ſeveral colours, with wide ſleeves, like thoſe of the monks of the order of St. Benedict; and theſe gowns, from the waiſt downwards, are all ſlaſhed curiouſly, ſo that as a man

moves he makes a ſhew of all theſe ſeveral colours together, and if any wind blows to lift them up, they look like peacocks with their fine feathers ſpread abroad.

They let their hair grow as the women do, down to their heels, and wear the ſame ſort of hats or broad caps. Thoſe who have any beard, and they are but few, never cut it; being in this like the Chineſe, as they are in ſuffering the nails of their hands to grow, which the people of note never pare; this being a mark of diſtinction between them and the commonalty, who always keep them ſhort for the conveniency of their trades; whereas the gentry have them ſo long, that they cannot graſp any thing ſmall in their hands. Nor can they approve of our faſhion of cutting our hair and nails; being of opinion, that they were given by nature as an ornament to man: ſo that ſome diſcourſe ariſing once concerning hair, they ſtarted an objection, which was not ſo eaſy at firſt to anſwer, ſaying: "If the Saviour of the world, whom in your actions you profeſs yourſelves to imitate, wore his hair long, after the manner of the Nazarites, as you yourſelves do affirm, and ſhew by your pictures, why do not you do ſo too?" adding, "that our Saviour's wearing long hair demonſtrated it to be the better faſhion." But at laſt they were ſatisfied with the anſwer we made, that this imitation did not conſiſt in the outward dreſs.

The ſcholars and doctors are ſomewhat more gravely clad, without ſo many colours and flaſhes, and therefore cover all their gowns with one of black damaſk. They alſo wear a thing like a ſtole about their necks, and a blue ſilk maniple on their arms, covering their heads with caps made after the manner of mitres.

Both men and women carry fans in their hands, rather for ornament than uſe, and they are not unlike thoſe the women in Europe uſe. For mourning, as we Europeans uſe black, they wear white. They never uncover their heads in ſaluting, that being looked upon as an uncivil action: in this they agree with the Chineſe, among whom that cuſtom is reputed ſo unmannerly, that to comply with them in this particular, the fathers of the ſociety were forced to obtain leave of Pope Paul the Fifth to celebrate the holy ſacrifice of the maſs covered. In ſhort, the Cochin-Chineſe wear neither ſhoes nor ſtockings, only ſaving their feet with leather ſoles faſtened acroſs the toes with ſilk, like ſandals, nor do they think it indecent to go quite barefoot; and though going ſhod or unſhod they are apt to dirty their feet, they value it not, their being in every houſe at the door of the chief room, a large pan of clean water, in which they waſh their feet, leaving there thoſe ſoles or ſandals, and taking them again when they go away, becauſe they cannot dirty their feet, all the floors being covered with mats.

The Cochin-Chineſe not being ſo fond of their own cuſtoms as to deſpiſe thoſe of ſtrangers, as the Chineſe do, our fathers in thoſe parts have no occaſion to change their habit, wherein they differ but little from the generality of all India. They wear a thin cotton caſſock, which they call chingon, and is generally blue, without any cloak, or other upper garment. They have no ſhoes, neither after the European nor country faſhion; the firſt they cannot get, becauſe there is nobody knows how to make them; and the latter they cannot endure, becauſe of the pain it is to any one that is not uſed to it, to have his toes ſpread at a diſtance from one another, by the buttons that faſten them on, and therefore they chooſe, as the leſs evil, to go quite barefoot, though it expoſes them to continual pains in the bowels, eſpecially at firſt, by reaſon of the dampneſs of the country, and their not being uſed to it. True it is, that in time nature complies, and the ſkin grows ſo hard, that it is no pain to walk upon ſtones or briars. When I returned to Macao, I could not endure ſhoes, feeling them a weight and incumbrance to my feet.

The

Drawn by W. Alexander F.S.A.

Engraved by George Cooke.

*Natives of Turon Bay.*

*(Cochin China.)*

The chief ſuſtenance of the Cochin-Chineſe is rice; and it is wonderful, that though the country abounds in fleſh, fowl, fiſh, and fruit, of ſo many ſeveral ſorts, yet when they eat, they firſt fill their belly with rice, and then taſte of other things, as it were for faſhion's ſake. They make more account of rice than we do of bread, and that it may not clog them, they eat it alone without any ſeaſoning of ſalt, ſugar, oil, or butter, but boiled in ſo much water as will keep it from burning, ſo that the grain remains whole, only ſoftened and moiſtened. For this very reaſon that the rice is not ſeaſoned, it is the eaſier of digeſtion, and therefore thoſe who live upon rice, as they do in the Eaſt, commonly eat it at leaſt four times a-day, and a great quantity of it to ſupport nature. The Cochin-Chineſe eat ſitting croſs-legged on the ground, with a round table before them, breaſt-high, with mouldings, or adorned with ſilver or gold, according to the people's quality or wealth: it is not very large, becauſe the cuſtom is for every man to have one to himſelf; ſo that at a feaſt, as many gueſts as there are ſo many tables are provided, and the ſame is done when they dine privately; only, ſometimes man and wife, or father and ſon, will make a ſhift with the ſame table. They neither uſe knives nor forks; of the firſt they have no need, as every thing is brought up from the kitchen cut into ſmall bits; the place of the laſt is ſupplied by two little ſticks, wherewith they neatly and very readily take up any thing; nor have they any need of napkins, for they never foul their hands nor touch any thing with them.

There are frequent invitations among neighbours, and at theſe entertainments they provide other ſorts of diſhes than what we have hitherto ſpoken of; for they make no account of rice, ſuppoſing every man has enough of that at home; and though he that treats be never ſo poor, he does not come off with credit, unleſs every gueſt's table be ſerved with at leaſt an hundred diſhes; and it being the cuſtom to invite all their friends, kindred and neighbours, there is no feaſt where there is leſs than thirty, forty, fifty, ſometimes a hundred, and even two hundred gueſts. I was once myſelf at a ſolemn entertainment, at which no leſs than two thouſand were feaſted, and therefore theſe banquets muſt be made in the country, that there may be room for ſo many tables. Nor muſt any one be ſurpriſed that the tables being ſmall, they are furniſhed with a hundred diſhes at leaſt; for upon theſe occaſions they very curiouſly make frames of ſugar canes on the table, on which they diſpoſe of the ſaid diſhes; and there muſt be in them all the varieties of meat the country produces, as well fleſh as fiſh, and butcher's meat as fowl, wild and tame creatures, with all ſorts of fruit the ſeaſon affords; for if but one were wanting, it would be a great fault in the entertainer, and they would not count it a feaſt. The men of quality that are invited eat firſt, being waited on by their chief ſervants. When the maſters have taſted of all they like beſt, the principal ſervants take their places and eat, being waited on by the inferior ſort; then theſe ſucceed in their places, and becauſe all of them are not able to conſume ſuch plenty, and according to cuſtom all the diſhes muſt be emptied, when theſe are ſatisfied, then the very meaneſt ſervants of every great man come in, and do not only eat their belly full, but put up all the fragments in bags they carry for that purpoſe, and carry them home, where they merrily divide it among the boys, and other mean fry, and ſo the feaſt ends.

Cochin-China produces no grapes, and therefore inſtead of wine they drink a liquor diſtilled from rice, which taſtes like brandy, and reſembles it in colour and harſhneſs, ſpirit and briſkneſs, and they have ſuch plenty of it, that all people in general drink as much as they will, and are as drunk as people are among us with wine. Graver

perſons mix that liquor with ſome other water diſtilled from calamba, which gives it a delicious ſmell, and is a delicate compoſition.

Between meals they drink hot water, wherein they boil the root of an herb they call chia, from which the liquor is named. It is cordial, and helps to diſpel humours from the ſtomach, and promote digeſtion. The Japaneſe and Chineſe uſe ſuch a ſort of drink, but in China, inſtead of the root they boil the leaves of the herb; and in Japan a powder made of the ſame leaves; however, the effect is the ſame, and they all call it chia.

Amidſt this great plenty of meat, and abundance of proviſions, it is incredible how much hunger and thirſt we Europeans endure; not ſo much for want of food, as becauſe we are not uſed to that diet, nature finding a very great want of bread and wine; and I believe the Cochin-Chineſe would be in the ſame condition, ſhould they come into Europe, where they would be deprived of their uſual ſuſtenance of rice, though they had plenty of other delicate proviſions. To this purpoſe, I will not omit to relate what happened to us with a governor of Cochin-China; he being a friend of ours, was invited by us to eat at our houſe, and the more to ſhew our affection, we endeavoured to have ſeveral diſhes dreſſed for him after the European manner. He ſat down to table, and when we expected he ſhould acknowledge our kindneſs, commend the cookery, and thank us for the variety, as we had been at much trouble about it, when he had taſted them all, he could not eat of any one, though out of civility he ſtrove againſt his ſtomach; and we were obliged to dreſs more meat according to the country faſhion, the beſt we could, whereof he afterwards eat very ſavourily, to his own and our ſatisfaction. Yet Providence does not neglect a thouſand ways to ſupport thoſe that undergo theſe hardſhips for the preaching of the goſpel, finding means, even in this world, to requite what they ſuffer for the ſake of God, as happens in this particular of food, as was before ſaid of going barefoot; for by degrees nature becomes familiar with it, and ſo habituated to the cuſtom of the country, that it ſeems ſtrange on returning to its firſt ways. This happened to me, who, when I returned from thence, coveted nothing but the rice of Cochin-China, which I thought ſatisfied me more than any other thing.

As for phyſicians, and their mode of practice, there are aboundance of doctors, not only Portugueſe but natives; and it often is experimentally known, that the country phyſicians eaſily cure ſeveral diſeaſes, which the European phyſicians know not how to treat; ſo it ſometimes happens, that after our phyſicians have given over a patient, they call in one of the country, and he cures him.

The phyſicians of the country follow this ſort of practice: being come to the patient's bed-ſide, they ſtay a little to ſettle themſelves after the motion of coming; then they feel the pulſe for a long while together, very attentively, and with much conſideration; after which they uſually ſay, "you have ſuch a diſtemper," and if incurable they honeſtly ſay, "I have no cure for this diſeaſe," which is a ſign the patient will die. If they find the diſeaſe curable they ſay, "I have a medicine that will cure him: and I will do it in ſo many days." Then they agree what they are to have if they cure the ſick man, bargaining the beſt they can, and ſometimes they draw up writings to bind the contract. After this the phyſician himſelf prepares the medicine, without the help of an apothecary, for which reaſon there are none in the country; and this they do that they may not diſcover the ſecret of the art they practice, and becauſe they will not truſt another to put together the ingredients they preſcribe. If the patient recovers within the time appointed, as generally happens, he

pays

pays the price agreed on; if he miſcarries, the phyſician loſes his labour and medicines.

The medicines they give are not like ours, which cauſe a loathing and are laxative; but theirs are palatable as their broths, and nouriſhing without any other ſuſtenance, which makes them give the patient ſeveral doſes in a day, as we give broth at ſo many hours interval; and theſe do not alter the courſe of nature but only aſſiſt its uſual operations, diſperſing the peccant humours, without wracking the patient.

I remember an occurrence worth relating in this place: a Portugueſe falling ſick, ſent for the European phyſicians, who having uſed their endeavours, gave him over. When they were gone, a phyſician of the country was called, who undertook to cure him in ſo many days, ſtrictly enjoining him, whilſt he was under his hands, to have nothing to do with women, upon pain of certain death, from which the virtue of his medicine could not deliver him. They agreed upon the price, and the phyſician undertook to cure him in thirty days. The patient took the medicines preſcribed to him, and in a few days found himſelf ſo well recovered, that he was not afraid to tranſgreſs the phyſician's injunction; who, coming to viſit him, by the alteration of his pulſe diſcovered the ſick man's incontinency, and bid him prepare to die, becauſe there was no cure for him; but that he ſhould pay him his money, ſince it was none of his fault that he muſt die. The caſe was tried, the ſick man was adjudged to pay, and ſo he died.

Bleeding is alſo uſed but not ſo much as in Europe; nor is it done with a ſteel lancet, but they have abundance of gooſe quills, in which they fix ſome bits of fine porcelain, made ſharp and ſhaped like the teeth of a ſaw, ſome bigger, ſome leſs, of ſeveral ſizes; when they are to let blood, they apply one of theſe quills to the vein, proportionable to the ſize of it, and giving it a fillip with the finger, open the vein, only ſo much of the porcelain entering as is requiſite; and what is moſt wonderful, when they have drawn the blood, they uſe no fillet or binding to ſtop it; but wetting their thumb with ſpittle they preſs the orifice, ſo that the fleſh returning to the place whence it was parted, the blood is ſtopt, and runs out no more, which I ſuppoſe to proceed from the manner of opening the vein, as it were ſawing it with the indented porcelain, and therefore it cloſes again the eaſier.

There are alſo ſurgeons, who have ſome wonderful ſecrets, whereof I will give but two inſtances, one practiſed upon myſelf, the other upon one of our brothers, my companion. I happened to fall from a very high place, with my breaſt againſt the corner of a ſtone, whereupon I preſently began to ſpit blood, and had a wound in my breaſt outwardly. We applied ſome medicines after our European manner, but to no purpoſe. A ſurgeon of the country came and took a quantity of a certain herb like what we call mercury, and making it into a plaſter, laid it on my breaſt; then he cauſed ſome of that herb to be boiled for me to drink; and made me eat the ſame herb raw; and thus in a few days perfectly cured me. I, to make another experiment, cauſed the leg of a hen to be broken in ſeveral places, and making a plaſter as he had done of the ſame herb, bound it upon the broken leg, and in a few days it was whole and ſound.

A ſcorpion bit a brother of ours, my companion, in the neck; and in that kingdom the bite of a ſcorpion is mortal. All his throat ſwelled immediately, and we were about giving him extreme unction. A ſurgeon was ſent for, who immediately ſet a pot of rice boiling in nothing but fair water, then clapping the pot to the brother's feet, covered him and it cloſe with cloths, that the ſteam might not eſcape, and as ſoon as the ſteam and hot vapour of the rice reached the place where the bite was, the brother felt

felt the pain aſſuaged, the ſwelling in his throat fell, and he remained as ſound as if nothing had ailed him.

Many other inſtances might be added, but I ſhall only ſay that the medicines in thoſe parts have a greater virtue than when they come to us; and particularly I can affirm, that I brought with me a ſmall caſk of rhubarb, which was extraordinary good there, and when I came into Europe, having ſpent two years by the way, I found it ſo changed, that I ſcarcely knew it myſelf; ſo that thoſe medicines loſe much of their virtue in conveying from diſtant countries to our parts.

## CHAP. VI. — *Of the Civil and Political Government of the Cochin-Chineſe.*

I WILL give a brief account of as much as may ſuffice for the reader's information; for it would be too tedious, and beyond the purpoſe of this my ſhortr elation, to diſcourſe of every thing in particular. The government of Cochin-China in general, is a medium betwixt thoſe of China and Japan; for the Japaneſe make leſs account of learning than military knowledge: and on the contrary, the Chineſe attribute all to learning, taking little notice of warlike affairs. The Cochin-Chineſe, following the example of neither, equally encourage learning, and ſkill in war, according as occaſion offers; ſometimes preferring the ſoldier, and ſometimes the ſcholar, and ſo rejecting them, as appears moſt convenient.

In Cochin-China there are ſeveral univerſities, in which there are profeſſors, ſcholars and degrees conferred by way of examination, in the ſame manner as is practiſed in China; the ſame ſciences being taught, and the ſame books and authors read; that is, Zinfu or Confucius, as the Portugueſe call them, which are authors of ſuch profound learning, and in ſuch eſteem and reputation among them, as Ariſtotle is among us, being much more antient than he. Theſe books of theirs are full of erudition, of ſtories, of grave ſentences, of proverbs, and ſuch like things, for the directing a civil life, as are Seneca, Cato and Cicero among us: and they ſpend many years in learning the true ſenſe of the phraſes, words, characters and hieroglyphics they are written in; but what they moſt value is moral philoſophy or ethics, economy and policy. It is comical to ſee and hear them, when they are ſtudying, read and repeat their leſſons in ſuch a tone as if they were ſinging, which they do to uſe themſelves to it, and give every word its proper accents, which are many, every one expreſſing a different thing; and therefore one would think, that to converſe with them, a man muſt underſtand the grounds of muſic.

The language they generally ſpeak is different from what they read and teach in the ſchools, and which their books are written in: as among us the vulgar language differs from the Latin uſed in the ſchools. In this they differ from the Chineſe, who, if they are learned or noble, always uſe the ſame language which they call of mandarines, that is, of doctors, judges and governors; and the characters they uſe in writing and printing their books are above eight thouſand, all differing from one another. For this reaſon the fathers of the ſociety ſpend eight and even ten years in ſtudying the Chineſe books, before they can be maſters, and go abroad to converſe with them. But the Cochin-Chineſe have reduced the characters to three thouſand, which they generally make uſe of: and theſe are enough to expreſs themſelves in their harangues, letters, petitions, memorials and ſuch things which do not belong to printed books; for thoſe of neceſſity muſt be in Chineſe characters. The Japaneſe have been more ingenious, who, though in all that belongs to books, whether written or printed, they agree with the Chineſe, yet for common uſes had found out forty-eight letters, where-

with

with they expreſs whatſoever they pleaſe, as well as we do with our alphabet: and yet the Chineſe characters are in ſuch eſteem even among the Japaneſe, that theſe forty-eight letters, notwithſtanding the uſe they are of above the others, are contemned in compariſon of them, inſomuch that in ſcorn they call them women's letters.

The ingenious invention of printing was found out in China, and Cochin-China, long before it was in Europe; but not in ſuch perfection: for they do not compoſe joining letters and characters, but with a graver, pen-knife or ſuch inſtrument, cut and carve the characters upon a ſtone as they will have in their books: on this board ſo carved they lay their paper, and print it off, as we in Europe do copper plates, or the like.

Beſides theſe books of morals they have others, which contain things they account ſacred; as for inſtance the creation and beginning of the world; of the rational ſouls of demons; of idols, and of their ſeveral ſects. Theſe books are called ſayc-kim, to diſtinguiſh them from the profane, which they call ſayc-chin. Of the doctrine of their ſacred books, we ſhall treat in the ſecond part of this account, where the ſubject will be more ſuitable.

Though the language of the Cochin-Chineſe be in one reſpect like that of the Chineſe, both of them uſing all monoſyllables, delivered in ſeveral tones and accents, yet they utterly differ in the word itſelf, the Cochin-Chineſe being more full of vowels, and conſequently ſofter and ſweeter, more copious in tones and accents, and therefore more harmonious. The language of Cochin-China is, in my opinion, the eaſieſt of any, for thoſe that have a muſical ear, to take the tones and accents; for it has no variety by way of conjugation of verbs, or declination of nouns, but one and the ſame word, with the addition of an adverb or pronoun, ſignifies the preſent, the preterite and future tenſes, the ſingular number, and the plural; and in fine ſerves for all moods, tenſes, and perſons, and the diverſity of numbers and caſes. For inſtance this word, To have, which in the Chineſe language is Co, by only adding a pronoun, ſerves all occaſions, ſaying I have, thou have, he have; the name of the perſon making that diverſity, which we expreſs by altering the termination, thus, I have, thou haſt, he has. In the ſame manner they make the ſeveral tenſes; ſaying for the preſent, I now have; for the preterite, I heretofore have; and for the future, I hereafter have: and ſo without ever altering the word Co: by which it appears how eaſily this language may be learnt; as it happened to me, who in ſix months underſtood ſo much, that I could diſcourſe, and even hear their confeſſions, though not ſo perfectly, for it requires at leaſt four years to be a maſter. [This variety of moods and tenſes appears better by the Latin or other languages, than in Engliſh, where we uſe much the ſame method, as he repreſents in Cochin-China; our variations are the ſame, being but few, as for inſtance in the ſame word, I have, you have, we have, they have, I ſhall have, may we have: and ſo in this, and many others.]

But to return to our relation: I was ſaying that the Cochin-Chineſe reward not only the learned with dignities, employments and revenues; but that they make great account of good ſoldiers, in which particular they act differently from us; for inſtead of aſſigning brave commanders ſome land, earldom or marquiſate, as a reward of their valour, they allot him ſuch a number of people and vaſſals, belonging to the King himſelf, who, whatſoever part of the kingdom they live in, are obliged to own him as their lord to whom they have been aſſigned by the King, being bound upon all occaſions to ſerve him with their weapons, and to pay him all thoſe duties they before paid to the King himſelf; and therefore, as we ſay, ſuch a one is lord, earl, or marquis of

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ſuch a place, they ſay, ſuch a one is a man of fifty, ſuch a one of a thouſand men, to ſuch a one the King has added three thouſand, to ſuch a one two thouſand; their dignity, wealth and grandeur increaſing by the addition of many vaſſals. We ſhall ſpeak of the wars of this kingdom in the next chapter.

It remains that we ſay ſomething deſerving notice of the civil government. In the firſt place they govern rather after a military manner, than by judges, counſellors and lawers, and their formalities; the viceroys and governors of provinces performing that function; for every day they give public audience four hours daily, in a large court within their own palace, two hours in the morning, and two after dinner. Hither all ſuits and complainſs are brought, and the viceroy or governor, ſitting on a tribunal raiſed like a balcony, hears every man in his turn; and theſe governors being generally men of ſound judgement, capacity and experience, they eaſily diſcover the truth of the matter by the queſtions they put, and much more by the common conſent of the ſtander-by, which is gathered by the applauſe they give the plaintiff or defendant, and accordingly they immediately, without delay, give judgement with a loud voice, which is immediately executed without any demur or appeal, whether the ſentence be death, baniſhment, whipping or fine, every crime being puniſhed as the law appoints.

The crimes generally tried and ſeverely puniſhed are many, but they are particularly rigid againſt falſe witneſſes, thieves and adulterers. The firſt of theſe being convicted of having given falſe evidence, are themſelves indiſpenſably condemned, as if they had committed the crime they accuſe others of; and if the crime they alledged deſerved death, they are ſentenced to die: and experience teaches that this way of trial is very proper to find out the truth.

Thieves, if the theft be conſiderable, are beheaded; if ſmall, as for inſtance a hen, for the firſt offence, they have a finger cut off, for the ſecond another finger, for the third an ear, and for the fourth the head.

Adulterers, both men and women, indifferently, are caſt to the elephants to be killed, which is done thus: they lead the criminal out into the field, where, in the preſence of an infinite number of people flocking together, he is ſet in the middle, with his hands and feet bound, near an elephant, to whom the condemned perſon's ſentence is read, that he may execute every part of it orderly; firſt, that he lay hold of, graſp and hold him faſt with his trunk, and ſo hold him in the air, ſhewing him to all the company; then he toſs him up, and catch him upon the points of his teeth, that his own weight may ſtrike them through him; that then he may daſh him againſt the ground; and laſtly that he bruiſe and cruſh him to pieces with his feet: all which is exactly performed by the elephant, to the great terror and amazement of the ſpectators, who are taught by this puniſhment, at another man's coſt, what fidelity is due between married perſons.

Since we are upon this point of matrimony, it will not be irrelative to mention ſome further particulars concerning it before we conclude this chapter. The Cochin-Chineſe, though heathens, never contract matrimony within thoſe degrees forbid by the laws of God and nature, nor within the firſt degree of the collateral line of brothers, and ſiſters. In other degrees, matrimony is lawful to every man with only one woman; though rich men have many concubines, under pretence of grandeur and generoſity, looking upon it as coveteouſneſs not to have as many as every man's income will conveniently maintain: and theſe are called ſecond, third, fourth and fifth wives, and ſo on, according to every one's rank, all which wait upon the firſt, which is accounted and really is the true wife, whoſe buſineſs it is to chuſe the others for her huſband.

But theſe marriages of theirs are not indiſſoluble, the laws of Cochin-China allowing of divorces, but not at the will of either party, it being firſt requiſite that the perſon ſuing for it convict the other of many offences; which being made out, it is lawful to diſſolve the firſt marriage, and marry again. The huſbands bring the portion, and leave their own houſes to go to the wife's, upon whoſe fortunes they live, the women managing all the houſehold affairs, and governing the family, whilſt the huſband lives idle at home, hardly knowing what there is in the houſe, ſatisfied that they have meat and clothes.

## CHAP. VII. — *Of the Power of the King of Cochin-China, and of the Wars he has in his Kingdom.*

I TOOK notice at the beginning of this account, that Cochin-China was a province of the great kingdom of Tunchim, uſurped by the grandfather of the King now reigning; who being made governor of it, rebelled againſt the ſaid King of Tunchim, to which he was not a little encouraged by having in a ſhort time collected a great many pieces of cannon, from the wrecks of ſeveral Portugueſe and Dutch ſhips, caſt away upon thoſe rocks, which beink taken up by the country people, there are above ſixty of the largeſt at this time to be ſeen in the King's palace. The Cochin-Chineſe are now become ſo expert in managing artillery, that they perform it better than the Europeans, practiſing continually to ſhoot at a mark with ſuch ſucceſs, that being proud of their ſkill, as ſoon as any European ſhip arrives in their ports, the King's gunners challenge ours, who being ſenſible that they cannot ſtand in competition with them, as well as they can avoid this trial of ſkill, being convinced by experience, that they will hit any thing as exactly with a cannon, as another ſhall do with a firelock; which they are alſo very expert at, often going out into the field to exerciſe. Another great encouragement to rebellion was, his having above a hundred gallies, which rendering him formidable at ſea, and the artillery by land, he eaſily compaſſed his deſigns againſt the King of Tunchim. Beſides, on account of the conſtant trade with Japan, there were in Cochin-China abundance of catanas, which are ſcimitars made in Japan, and excellently tempered: and all the country abounding in horſes, which, though ſmall, are handſome and mettleſome, on which they fight, caſting darts, and daily exerciſe themſelves.

The power of this King is ſo great that whenever he pleaſes he can bring eighty thouſand fighting men into the field, and yet is always in fear of the King of Tunchim, whoſe power is four times as great; to whom, for quietneſs-ſake, he, by agreement, pays a tribute of all ſuch things as his kingdom affords, and are uſeful for that of Tunchim, particularly of gold, ſilver, and rice; furniſhing, beſides all this, plank and timber for building of gallies. And for the ſame reaſon he was about entering into a league with the fugitive ſon of the late King, who lorded it in the utmoſt province of Tunchim, which borders upon China, that in caſe he ſucceeded, and became maſter of Tunchim, Cochin-China might remain free from all tribute and acknowledgement.

For the better underſtanding hereof, it is to be obſerved, that when I was in Cochin-China, that kingdom was in the poſſeſſion, not of the preceding King, but the tutor or governor of that ſon, who made his eſcape from the ſaid governor to ſave his life. This Prince lived like a fugitive in the fartheſt province adjoining to China, where being known what he was, the late King's ſon, he was received by that people as their ſovereign lord, and by his good government he had ſo ſtrengthened himſelf, that

his tutor already declared King of Tunchim, was much afraid, ſeeing him grow ſo great, leſt he ſhould agree with the King of Cochin-China, who is on the oppoſite ſide to catch him between them, and expel him from his unjuſt poſſeſſion. He therefore every year formed a conſiderable army to deſtroy the aforeſaid Prince, but always to no purpoſe, becauſe the army being of neceſſity to march five or ſix days, through a country where there is no water to drink but that of ſome rivers coming from the enemy's country, the army always found it poiſoned by the Prince's party, with a ſort of herb, the effect of which was ſuch, that it deſtroyed both men and horſes, which obliged him always to retire after much trouble and expence thrown away.

The military diſcipline and art of war, in Cochin-China, is almoſt the ſame as in Europe, the ſame form being obſerved in drawing up, fighting, and retiring. This King has generally war in three parts of his kingdom: firſt, he is always upon his defence againſt the King of Tunchim, who, as has been ſaid, continually threatens and aſſaults his frontiers, and therefore the King of Cochin-China has his reſidence in Sinuua, the extreme part of his dominions, the better to oppoſe him and march his forces towards the confines of Tunchim, which is a powerful province, and generally under experienced and martial governors.

The next is a ſort of civil war, raiſed by two of his own brothers, who aiming to be equal in command and power, not ſatisfied with what has been allotted them, have rebelled againſt him, and craving ſuccours from Tunchim, gave him perpetual trouble. Whilſt I lived in thoſe parts, they having got ſome pieces of cannon, which they carried upon elephants, fortified themſelves ſo well upon the frontiers, that the King's army marching againſt them, was in the firſt engagement routed, with the loſs of three thouſand men; but coming to a ſecond battle, the King's brothers loſt all they had gained before, being both made priſoners; and they had both immediately loſt their lives, had not His Majeſty's natural clemency and brotherly affection prevailed, and taken place of his anger, ſo far as to ſpare their lives, yet ſo as to keep them priſoners.

The third place where he has continual war, is on the weſt ſide and utmoſt bound of his kingdom, called Renran, againſt the King of Chiampá; whoſe efforts being weaker, are ſufficiently repulſed by the troops of that ſame province, and the governor.

He is alſo in continual motion, and making warlike preparations to aſſiſt the King of Cambogia, who has married his baſtard daughter, ſending him ſuccours of gallies and men, againſt the King of Siam; and therefore the arms of Cochin-China and their valour, are famous and renowned, as well by ſea as by land.

At ſea they fight in gallies, as has been ſaid, each of which carries cannon, and is manned with muſketeers. Nor will it ſeem ſtrange that the King of Cochin-China has an hundred or more gallies in readineſs, when the method of furniſhing them is known. It is therefore to be obſerved that the Cochin-Chineſe do not have a crew of criminals or other ſlaves to row in their gallies; but when they are to go out to fight, or for any other purpoſe, the way to mann them immediately is this: a great number of officers and commiſſaries go out privately, and ſcouring on a ſudden all together throughout the whole kingdom, with the King's authority, preſs all they find fit for the oar, conducting them altogether to the gallies, unleſs they be exempted by birth, or any other privilege. Nor is this method ſo troubleſome as it appears at firſt ſight; for in the firſt place they are well uſed and paid aboard the gallies; and beſides their wives and children are fed and provided with all things neceſſary according to their condition, all the while they are from their houſes. They do not only ſerve at the oar, but upon

upon occaſion lay hold of their weapons, and behave themſelves bravely, for which purpoſe every one has his muſket, darts and ſcimitar allotted him; and the Cochin-Chineſe being of an undaunted ſpirit and brave, they give good tokens of their valour, either rowing to join their enemies, or with their arms when joined. Their gallies are ſomewhat leſs, but particularly narrower than ours, and ſo neat and well adorned with gold and ſilver, that they afford a glorious ſight. Chiefly the ſtern, which they account the moſt honourable poſt, is all over gold, and there the captain and perſons of chief note have their ſtation; and the reaſon they give for it is, that it being the captain's duty to be the firſt upon any danger, it is fit he ſhould be in the moſt proper part of the galley for that purpoſe.

Among other ſorts of defenſive arms they uſe in war, they have certain oval, hollow targets, ſo long that they cover a man entirely, and ſo light, that they can manage them without any trouble. The cities of this kingdom have a great advantage in the manner of their houſes, which being all of wood upon pillars of timber, as before mentioned, when the enemy comes ſo ſtrong, that they perceive they cannot oppoſe him, every man flies to the mountain with what he has, firing the houſes, ſo that the enemy finds nothing but the ruins left by the flames, and having no place to fortify himſelf, nor any thing to ſubſiſt on, is forced to retire back to his own country, and the inhabitants returning to the ſame place in a ſhort time with great eaſe rebuild their houſes.

## CHAP. VIII. — *Of the Trade and Ports of Cochin-China.*

THE great plenty Cochin-China affords of all things neceſſary for the ſupport of human life, as has been ſaid before, is the cauſe that the people have no curioſity or inclination to go into other kingdoms to trade; and therefore they never go ſo far to ſea, as to loſe ſight of their beloved ſhore; yet they are very ready to admit of ſtrangers, and are very well pleaſed they ſhould come not only from the neighbouring countries, but from the remoteſt parts to trade with them. Nor do they require to uſe any art for this purpoſe; ſtrangers being ſufficiently allured by the fruitfulneſs of the country, and the great wealth which abounds there; and therefore they reſort thither not only from Tunchim, Cambogia, Chincheos, and other neighbouring places, but from the remoteſt, as China, Macao, Japan, Manilla, and Malacca, all of them carrying ſilver to Cochin-China, to carry away the commodities of the country, which are not bought, but exchanged for plate, which is here put off as a commodity being ſometimes worth more, and ſometimes leſs, according as there is more or leſs plenty of it, as is uſual with ſilk and other goods.

All the coin they uſe is of braſs, and of the ſame value, like a quatrine, five hundred of which make a crown. Theſe pieces are quite round, with the King's arms and enſign ſtamped on them, and every one of them has a hole in the middle, which ſerves to ſtring them by thouſands, and every thouſand is worth two crowns.

The Chineſe and Japaneſe drive the chief trade of Cochin-China, which is managed at a fair held yearly at one of the ports of this kingdom, and laſting about four months. The Chineſe, in their veſſels they call junks, bring the value of four or five millions in plate; and the Japaneſe in their ſhips called ſommes, an infinite quantity of very fine ſilk, and other commodities of their country. The King has a vaſt revenue from this fair by cuſtoms and impoſts, and the whole country receives great profit. The Cochin-Chineſe applying themſelves very little to arts, becauſe plenty

makes them lazy, and being ſoon taken with the curioſities of other countries, it comes to paſs that they put a great value upon, and buy at great rates many things, which to others are of very ſmall worth; as for inſtance combs, needles, bracelets, and pendants of glaſs, and ſuch like women's ornaments. I remember a Portugueſe, who bringing into Cochin-China from Macao a box full of needles, which could not be worth above thirty ducats, made above a thouſand of it, felling for ſix-pence in Cochin-China, what had not coſt him above a farthing at Macao. In ſhort, they out-bid one another, in buying any thing that is very new and ſtrange without ſparing for price. They are very fond of our hats, of caps, girdles, ſhirts, and all other ſorts of garments we wear, becauſe they are quite different from theirs; but above all they ſet a great value upon coral.

As to their ports, it is wonderful that in a coaſt little more than a hundred leagues in length, there ſhould be above ſixty moſt convenient landing places; which is ſo, becauſe there are many large arms of the ſea. But the principal port to which all ſtrangers reſort, and where the above-mentioned fair is kept, is that of the province Cacchian; which has two mouths, or inlets from the ſea, the one called Pulluchiampello and the other of Turon, being at firſt three or four leagues diſtant from one another, but running in ſeven or eight leagues like two great rivers, at laſt join in one, where the veſſels that come in both ways meet. Here the King of Cochin-China aſſigned the Chineſe and Japaneſe a convenient ſpot of ground to build a city for the benefit of the fair. This city is called Faifó, and is ſo large, that we may ſay there are two, one of Chineſe, the other of Japaneſe; for they are divided from one another, each having their diſtinct governor, and the Chineſe living according to the laws of China, as the Japaneſe do according to thoſe of Japan.

And becauſe, as we ſaid before, the King of Cochin-China gave free admittance to all nations whatſoever, the Dutch reſorted thither with all ſorts of commodities. Hereupon the Portugueſe of Macao reſolved to ſend an embaſſador to the King, to demand in their name, that the Dutch, as mortal enemies to their nation, ſhould be excluded all Cochin-China. One Captain Ferdinand de Coſta, a man well known for his valour, was appointed to go upon this embaſſy; which he delivered, and was favourably heard, with aſſurances of obtaining his demands. Nevertheleſs, whilſt he was yet at that court, there arrived a Dutch ſhip, and coming to an anchor in the port, ſome of them landed with much mirth and jollity, and preſently went with rich preſents to the King; who accepted of them very graciouſly, and granted them the uſual liberty of trading freely in his kingdom. Acoſta hearing of it, went preſently to the King, and complaining that his majeſty did not keep his word with him, in a Portugueſe bravado gave a ſtamp on the ground to ſhew his reſentment. The King and all the courtiers were pleaſed at his paſſion, and bidding him have patience and wait the event, for he ſhould find he had no cauſe to complain, diſmiſſed him. In the mean while he ordered all the Dutch to go aſhore, and land all their goods for the fair at Turon, as the Portugueſe did, which they performed: but as they were going upon the river in boats, they were on a ſudden aſſaulted by the gallies, which deſtroyed moſt of them. The King remained maſter of their goods; and to juſtify this action, alledged, that he very well knew the Dutch, as notorious pirates, who infeſted all the ſeas, were worthy of ſeverer puniſhment; and therefore, by proclamation, forbid any of them ever reſorting to his country; and it was actually found, that thoſe very men had robbed ſome veſſels of Cochin-China, and therefore he took this juſt revenge, admitting the Portugueſe as good and ſincere friends. They not long after ſent another ambaſſador from Macao, to obtain of the King a confirmation of the aforeſaid

Drawn by W. Alexander. F.S.A.

Engraved by George Cooke.

# Turon Town in Turon Bay.

## Cochin China.

(taken May 23d. 1793.)

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aforeſaid edict, at the inſtance of Acoſta, alledging as a motive the danger that the Dutch in time might cunningly poſſeſs themſelves of ſome part of Cochin-China, as they had done in other parts of India. But the new embaſſador was adviſed by knowing men of that country, not to mention any ſuch thing to the King, becauſe that very thing would be a motive to him to grant the Dutch a free trade, and invite all Holland to come over. He pretended to be afraid of no nation in the world; quite contrary to the King of China, who being afraid of every body, forbids all ſtrangers trading in his kingdom; and therefore the embaſſador muſt urge other motives to obtain his deſire.

The King of Cochin-China has always ſhewn himſelf a great friend to the Portugueſe who trade in that kingdom, and has ſeveral times offered them three or four leagues of the moſt fruitful country about the port of Turon, that they may build a city there with all ſorts of conveniences, as the Chineſe and Japaneſe have done. Were it allowed me to give His Catholic Majeſty my opinion on this point, I ſhould ſay he ought by all means to command the Portugueſe to accept of the kind offer made them, and to build a good city there as ſoon as poſſible; which would be a refuge, and brave defence, for all the ſhips that paſs by towards China: for here a fleet might be kept in readineſs againſt the Dutch, that ſail to China and Japan, who of neceſſity muſt paſs through the middle of the bay, that lies between the coaſt of this kingdom, in the provinces of Ranran, and Pulucambi, and the rocks of Pulufifi.

The above is what I thought I could with truth give an account of, concerning the temporal ſtate of Cochin-China, according to the knowledge I could gain during ſome years I reſided there; as will farther appear in the ſecond part of this relation.

## PART II.

### OF THE SPIRITUAL STATE OF COCHIN-CHINA.

CHAP. I. — *Of the firſt entering of the Fathers of the Society of Jeſus into that Kingdom: and of the two Churches built at Turon and Cacchian.*

BEFORE the fathers of the ſociety of Jeſus went into Cochin-China, it was the cuſtom of the Portugueſe trading thither, to carry with them from Malacca and Macao, and the Spaniards from Manilla, ſome chaplains, to ſay maſs and adminiſter the ſacraments to them, during their ſtay there, which generally was three or four months in a year. Theſe chaplains having no other obligation but only to ſerve the Portugueſe, never thought of promoting the ſpiritual welfare of the natives of that country, not applying themſelves to learn their language, nor uſing any other means to communicate the light of the goſpel to them. And yet there was one of theſe who had the face to publiſh in Spain, in a book called "The Voyages of the World," that he had catechiſed and baptized the Infanta or Princeſs of Cochin-China, and a great many of her ladies: whereas never infanta, nor any other perſon of all that royal family, till this time, has ſhewn any inclination to become Chriſtian, notwithſtanding we

we fathers go every year to viſit the King, and diſcourſe with all the great men of the court; and yet the Infanta has not given any token of being a Chriſtian, or ſo much as knowing what a Chriſtian is. And it may well be diſcerned how falſely he talks in this point by the other fables he adds in the ſame book concerning that Infanta; as that ſhe ſhould have married the ſaid chaplain, and the like. We know of none but ſome fathers of the order of St. Francis, that went from Manilla, and one of St. Auguſtine from Macao, to Cochin-China, merely for the converſion of thoſe ſouls. But they meeting with no ſucceſs, on account of the many ſeveral difficulties that occurred, they returned to their countries: providence ſo ordering it, which had deſigned that land to be cultivated by the ſons of the holy patriarch Ignatius; which was done as follows—

Certain Portugueſe merchants acquainted the ſuperiors of the ſociety of Jeſus, at Macao, with the great advantages that might be gained, to advance the glory of God in Cochin-China, if there were undaunted and zealous labourers ſent thither; and particularly one captain earneſtly preſſed the father provincial not to abandon a kingdom ſo capable of being inſtructed in the holy faith. The propoſal ſeemed to the father very agreeable to the ſpirit of our vocation; and therefore, without demurring upon the execution of it, he made choice for this enterpriſe of F. Francis Buzome, who had been profeſſor of divinity at Macao, by birth a Genoeſe, but educated in the kingdom of Naples, where he was admitted into the ſociety, and whence he ſet out for India, together with F. James Caravalho, a Portugueſe, who from Cochin-China was to attempt to go over to Japan, as he did. This was he, who being put into a pool of cold water in the dead of winter, and expoſed to the wind and ſnow, gave up his life for the ſake of his redeemer, freezing leiſurely to death. F. Caravalho being gone, F. Buzome was left alone in Cochin-China, with only a lay-brother to attend him. Being zealouſly inflamed with the deſire of ſaving ſouls, he uſed all poſſible means for their converſion, and to this purpoſe began his miſſion at Turon. But as yet he knew not the language, nor could he find any interpreter that knew any more Portugueſe than what was requiſite for buying and ſelling, and ſome words or phraſes, which the interpreters of the chaplains of ſhips, who were there before the fathers of the ſociety, made uſe of to aſk the Cochin Chineſe whether they would be Chriſtians? After this manner they had made ſome, but ſuch as might rather be accounted ſo by name than by profeſſion; for they did not ſo much as underſtand what the name of a Chriſtian meant; and this by reaſon of the phraſe the interpreters uſed to aſk them, whether they would be Chriſtians: for the words they made uſe of ſignified nothing more than that they would become Portugueſe; which F. Francis Buzome found out by the following accident:—A play was acted in the public market-place, at which the father ſaw one in the habit of a Portugueſe, brought in by way of ridicule, with a great belly, ſo artificially made that a boy was hid in it: the player, before the audience, turned him out of his belly and aſked him whether he would go into the belly of the Portugueſe? uſing theſe words, "*Con gnoo muon bau tlom laom Hoalaom chiam?*" that is, "Little boy, will you go into the belly of the Portugueſe or not?" The boy anſwered, he would; and then he put him in again, often repeating the ſame thing to divert the ſpectators. The father obſerving, that the phraſe the player ſo often repeated, *Muon bau tlom laom Hoalaom chiam*, was the ſame the interpreters uſed, when they aſked any one whether he would be a Chriſtian, preſently conceived the miſtake the Cochin-Chineſe were under, who thought that to become a Chriſtian was only to ceaſe being a Cochin-Chineſe and become a Portugueſe; which, to make ſport, was expreſſed in the play by making the boy go into the belly of him that acted the Portugueſe. The father took

took care that ſo pernicious an error ſhould ſpread no farther, teaching thoſe already baptiſed their duty, and inſtructing thoſe that were newly converted what it was to be baptiſed, and become a Chriſtian, taking particular care that the interpreters ſhould be well informed in this particular, that they might afterwards ſerve faithfully in teaching of others; changing the above-mentioned phraſe into this, "*Muon bau dau Chriſtiam chiam?*" that is, "Will you enter into the Chriſtian law, or no?" His great diligence and charity was ſo ſucceſsful, that within a few days he began to reap the fruit of his labours, as well by the reformation of thoſe who before were Chriſtians only in name, as the converſion of many more. Nor was the fame of his charity and zeal for the gaining of ſouls confined to Turon, his uſual place of reſidence, but ſpread abroad into other places; he labouring in all places to inſtruct, convert, and diſpoſe the people to receive baptiſm, with ſuch fervour, and ſo great a concourſe about him, that in a ſhort time thoſe new Chriſtians built a very large church at Turon, in which the moſt holy ſacrifice of the maſs was publicly celebrated, and the Chriſtian doctrine preached and taught, by means of the interpreters, then well inſtructed; all perſons being very much taken with F. Francis Buzome, who, beſides his being a man of great knowledge and virtue, entirely gained the affections of thoſe heathens by his great meekneſs and affability, inſomuch that they all flocked after him. This particularly happened at Cacchiam, the city where the King reſides, ſix or ſeven leagues from Turon, up the river.

Here F. Buzome made ſo great an impreſſion, that a place was preſently allotted him for a church, which was built in a very ſhort time, every body contributing to the expence and to the work, according to their power: beſides, he had a good houſe aſſigned him, fit to make a reſidence of fathers, who were to go thither in time to inſtruct that people in matters of faith: all which was done with the aſſiſtance of a moſt noble lady, who was converted, and in baptiſm took the name of Joanna. She not only undertook the foundation of the houſe and church, but erected ſeveral altars and places of prayer in her own houſe, never ceaſing to bleſs and praiſe God for the mercy ſhewn her, in enlightening and drawing her to the faith. All this his divine majeſty brought to paſs in the ſpace of a year, through the means of his ſervant F. Francis Buzome; whoſe fame being ſpread as far as Macao, the following year our father provincial thought fit to ſend him another father, that was younger, with a Japaneſe brother, that, learning the language, he might afterwards preach without requiring an interpreter. This was F. Francis de Pina, a Portugueſe, who had learnt divinity under F. Francis Buzome. And though this ſecond year the increaſe was not equivalent to that of the firſt, as to the converſion of ſouls, yet the advantage was much greater in the ſufferings of a cruel perſecution, raiſed by the enemy that ſowed the tares, who could not endure to ſee the divine ſeed grow up ſo proſperouſly in thoſe parts, and endeavoured to choke it, as ſhall be ſhewn in the next chapter.

## CHAP. II.—*Of the Perſecution the new Church of Cochin-China endured at its firſt Inſtitution: and how I was ſent thither to be aſſiſting to it, by my Superiors.*

THE perſecution againſt the fathers took its riſe from an accident, at firſt ſight ridiculous and of no moment, which afterwards gave them much cauſe to lament. That year there happened an univerſal barrenneſs throughout the whole kingdom, for want of the uſual inundation in autumn, which, as was mentioned in the firſt part, is ſo neceſſary for bringing up the rice, the chief ſupport of life in that country. Hereupon their prieſts, whom they call omſaiis, held a great council, to find out the cauſe why their idols were ſo angry with all their kingdom, that ſeeing the people ſtarve to death

about the fields, yet they were not the leaſt moved to compaſſion for ſo great a calamity. It was there unanimouſly agreed, that there was nothing new in the kingdom ſo oppoſite to the worſhip of idols as the admitting of ſtrangers freely to preach up a law there, that utterly contradicted the honour given to thoſe idols; and that they being juſtly provoked at it, revenged themſelves by denying them their deſired rain.

This being agreed on as a moſt undoubted truth, according to their ignorance, they preſently went in a tumultuous manner to the King, and urge that the preachers of the new law may be baniſhed all the kingdom, that being the only means to appeaſe the wrath of their gods. The wiſe king laughed at their project, knowing it to be a fooliſh notion of thoſe prieſts, and made little account of it, having a great eſteem for the fathers and a kindneſs for the Portugueſe. Yet this favour of the King availed them but little to oppoſe the fury of the miniſters of Satan; for they ſo ſtirred up the people to inſiſt that the preachers of the goſpel might be expelled the kingdom, that the King, not able to reſiſt without danger of a mutiny, ſent for the fathers, and with much concern told them, he was ſenſible of the folly of the people and ignorance of the prieſts, but that it was not prudence to withſtand a multitude ſo eagerly bent upon ſuch an affair as that was, which was deſigned for removing ſo general a calamity; and therefore they muſt depart this kingdom as ſoon as poſſible. The fathers having heard theſe words, with tears in their eyes, ſeeing themſelves obliged to forſake thoſe new and tender plants of Chriſtianity, yet ever ſubmitting to the will of God, went away to embark; but being got aboard, they could not get out of the harbour, becauſe at that time a ſort of contrary winds, which uſually hold three or four months, had begun to blow, which by the Portugueſe are called Moncao, or general winds. The Cochin-Chineſe obſerving it, would not allow them to return into the city, but obliged them to remain upon the ſhore, deprived of all human comfort, and expoſed to the burning heat of the ſun, which in thoſe parts is very violent. It was a great ſatisfaction to them in the midſt of their ſufferings, to ſee the conſtancy of ſome of thoſe new Chriſtians, who never forſook their maſters, following, accompanying, and relieving them the beſt way they could, becoming voluntary companions in their ſufferings. F. Buzome had here a new trial of his virtue; for the uneaſineſs of this uncomfortable life in a few days cauſed an impoſthume to break out in his breaſt, from which there was a copious diſcharge, which very much weakened him.

The infernal fiend, not ſatisfied in having brought the preachers of the goſpel to this miſerable condition, made yet farther efforts to diſcredit their doctrine and catholic religion, making uſe for this purpoſe of one of thoſe omſaiis, who living a ſolitary life was therefore in great reputation of ſanctity. This man, coming one day from his hermitage, publicly boaſted that by his prayers he would cauſe the idols immediately to ſend rain; and without more to do, went away, followed by an innumerable multitude, to the top of a mountain, where he began to call upon his devils, and ſtriking the earth three times with his foot, the ſky was preſently clouded and there fell a ſhower of rain, which though not ſufficient to ſupply the want, was yet enough to give a reputation to that miniſter of hell, and to diſcredit our holy faith; every one ſaying, they had not yet ſeen the foreign prieſts obtain ſo much by their prayers of the great God, whoſe ſervants they profeſſed themſelves. This accident troubled the fathers more than the miſery they lived in: but Providence comforted them by the means of the lady Joanna above mentioned. She, as it were with a prophetic ſpirit, bid them not be concerned at any thing that had happened; for in a little time God would make the hypocriſy of that omſaii and the vanity of his idols known to all men, by deſtroying the reputation he had gained till then: all which was verified to a tittle ſoon after. For the fame

of his ſanctity being ſpread abroad on account of the rain, and coming to the King's ear, he preſently ſent for him and gave him an apartment in the palace. There he fell in love with one of the King's concubines, and found no difficulty to compaſs his deſign; but the matter being known, though in Cochin-China this be accounted a moſt heinous crime, and it be death to have to do with a woman the King has once touched, yet they could not proceed to execution againſt him, as being a perſon ſacred among them, except according to the form appointed by their laws: the king therefore pronounced the ſentence, that the omſaii ſhould vaniſh; but that he ſhould neither go eaſt, weſt, north, nor ſouth, nor through any part whatſoever of his kingdom. This decree being publiſhed, was immediately executed in ſuch a manner, that the omſaii vaniſhed with great ſhame, and was never more ſeen in the kingdom nor out of it.

But the devil being enraged vented his fury againſt God's ſervants, ſtirring up the people to ſet fire to the church in Turon, to the great grief of the fathers, who beheld all from the ſhore without hopes of redreſs.

In the mean while, the news of the fathers' misfortune was ſpread all about the neighbouring countries, and even ſo far as Macao, which was a great trouble to the fathers of that college, who pitying their brethren, reſolved to ſend them ſome relief by a Portugueſe veſſel that was ready to ſail to Cochin-China; and the fathers judged the buſineſs might ſucceed the better, if two fathers going in it, one had the name of chaplain of the ſhip to return in it; and that the Cochin-Chineſe might have no cauſe to complain, or be incenſed, he that remained was to go diſguiſed. F. Peter Marques, a Portugueſe, was appointed chaplain; and I had the good fortune to be his companion, obedience ſo ordering it: for though I had been deſtined for China by our father-general, I freely and affectionately embraced the opportunity of dedicating myſelf to God in the miſſion of Cochin-China, and for the comfort of thoſe afflicted fathers, ſeeing myſelf quite ſhut out of China, by reaſon of the perſecution raiſed there. I ſet out from Macao in the habit of a ſlave, and ſoon arrived in Cochin-China upon my birth-day, which was very near opening the way for me to a bleſſed life; but it pleaſed Providence to order matters otherwiſe, either becauſe my ſins made me unworthy of ſuch a mercy, or for other cauſes only known to God. As the veſſel was entering the harbour, around which there were abundance of the country people, there happened, I know not how, a quarrel between two Portugueſe, and one of them falling down as if dead, the other leaped into the ſea to eſcape the wounded man's friends and companions, who would have killed him. He ſwam awhile, but being tired, drew towards the ſhip again to ſave himſelf from ſinking, and endeavouring to catch hold, could not, becauſe they were ready above with half-pikes, javelins, and ſwords to wound him. I, ſeeing him in that diſtreſs, endeavoured to relieve him; and though I was in a ſervile habit, ran among them, and calling out to one, and pulling another, took ſuch pains that I appeaſed them. The Cochin-Chineſe who were aboard the ſhip, ſeeing the Portugueſe pacified at the ſight of a ſlave, began preſently to ſuſpect the matter; and knowing by experience that the Portugueſe, when in a paſſion, are not ſo eaſily quelled unleſs religious men interpoſe, ſaid to one another, "This man is certainly no ſlave as his dreſs ſeems to ſuggeſt; and being no merchant as the reſt are, he is certainly one of their religious men, who endeavours, contrary to the King's command, to be concealed in our country, but we will diſcover him to the King himſelf, that he may be puniſhed as he deſerves." They immediately flocked about me, and though I did not underſtand their language, yet I plainly perceived they had all a jealouſy of me; and notwithſtanding all my endeavours not to diſcover myſelf, I could not prevent their ſending advice to court. When I had ſatisfied myſelf as to this point, believing I was

certainly a dead man, I resolved to die as what I was: I accordingly put on my habit of the society, a surplice over it, and a stole about my neck; and in that habit I began publicly to preach the faith of Christ by means of the interpreter; then erecting an altar on the shore, I said mass, and gave the communion to the Portuguese that were present, standing ready for whatsoever it should please God to appoint: but it pleased him that I should not then shed my blood for him. Whilst my cause was in hand, it rained so abundantly day and night, without ever ceasing, that every man applied himself to tilling the ground and sowing rice; and perhaps reflecting that they had obtained at my arrival what they had so long wished for, looking upon it as a good omen, and concluding it was not the fault of the fathers that they had wanted rain, they repented them of all they had done against us, and never gave us any farther trouble, but suffered us to live freely throughout the kingdom.

Matters being thus pacified I resolved to look out for F. Buzome and his companion, since I went thither for that purpose; and whilst I was endeavouring to hear some news of him, the report of my arrival being spread about the city, that lady Joanna above-mentioned found me out. By her I understood that F. Francis de Pina, with the Japanese brother, had been privately conveyed by Japanese Christians to the city Faifó, every one certainly concluding that the fathers were then got out of the kingdom. Upon this information F. Peter Marques, who knew the language of Japan very well, would have us go to Faifó, where we found F. Francis de Pina, who was there hid, but very well used by those good Japanese Christians, to whom he privately administered the sacraments. We received incredible joy in meeting: for besides the general charity of religion, we had been companions and great friends in the college of Macao; and the kindness of the Japanese was extraordinary, for they treated us during a fortnight very splendidly, with great demonstrations of affection and joy.

Here I also understood how, through God's special providence, F. Buzome was also safe in the kingdom, as if God had particularly defended him for the good of that mission, where, whilst he was upon the strand amidst so many afflictions, and with the imposthume in his breast, the governor of Pulucambi came to Turon; who seeing that man so ill used that he looked like a walking ghost, being moved to compassion, asked who he was, and what misfortune had brought him to that miserable condition. He was told all that had happened; and that the want of rain being laid to his and his companion's charge, he had been banished by the King's order. The governor was not a little amazed, and laughed to think that this should be attributed to a poor religious man, which could no way depend on him, therefore he ordered him to be taken from the open shore, and carried into one of his gallies, in which he conveyed him to his province, entertained him in his own house, had him looked after by the most skilful physicians in that city, and made his own children attend him during a whole year, for so long his sickness lasted: all men wondering that a heathen should behave so charitably towards a stranger utterly unknown to him, only out of mere natural compassion.

Thus we were four priests of the society in Cochin-China: F. Buzome, at Pulucambi, one hundred and fifty miles from the port of Turon; F. Peter Marques remained at Faifó as superior, and to serve the Japanese, keeping F. Francis de Pina for his companion; and I returned to Turon, there to serve the Portuguese, to say mass, preach to them and hear their confessions; and learning at the same time the language of Cochin-China, endeavoured, with the assistance of the interpreters, to persuade some of those heathens to be baptised; and above all, to encourage and confirm those that were already baptised. Soon after my first coming, there happened a mean accident worthy

to be known: I was called to make a dying infant a Chriſtian; I did ſo, and it ſoon after gave up the ghoſt. I was concerned, not knowing where to bury it, which made me think of fixing a burying-place for all the Chriſtians that ſhould die for the future. To this purpoſe I ordered a maſt of a ſhip that was laid aſide to be taken, and a ſtately croſs to be made of it: which done, I invited all the Portugueſe and ſailors to help to carry it to the appointed place, I attending with my ſurplice and ſtole. Whilſt the hole was digging to erect the holy croſs, a company of armed men came out from the neighbourhood, who with their muſkets threatened to kill me; which I perceiving, cauſed the interpreter to endeavour to know of them what it was they would be at, and was told they would not have that croſs erected there, becauſe they feared the devils would infeſt their houſes. I anſwered it would be quite the contrary: becauſe the croſs had ſuch a virtue that it put the devil to flight. With this they were ſo well pleaſed that, laying down their arms, they all ran to help: and thus the croſs was ſet up to the general ſatisfaction of all parties, and the burial-place fixed. Soon after the governor of Pulucambi came thither, and brought F. Buzome with him; and we met all four fathers of the ſociety to our unſpeakable joy at Faifó, together with two lay brothers, one a Portugueſe and the other a Japaneſe. After a charitable reception, we conſulted together about the moſt proper means of promoting that miſſion. It was unanimouſly agreed, that F. Peter Marques ſhould ſtay at Faifó with the Japaneſe brother, becauſe he was a good preacher; and the other three with the Portugueſe brother, ſhould follow the governor of Pulucambi, who earneſtly deſired it; which was accordingly done, as ſhall be here related.

## CHAP. III. — *The Governor of Pulucambi introduces the Fathers of the Society into his Province, building them a Houſe and Church.*

F. FRANCIS BUZOME, F. Francis de Pina, and I ſet out from Faifó for Pulucambi with the governor of that province; who all the way treated us with inexpreſſible courteſy and kindneſs, always lodging us near himſelf, and behaving in ſuch a manner, that there being no human motives to incline him ſo to do, it plainly appeared to be the work of Providence.

He appointed a galley only to carry us and our interpreters, not ſuffering ſo much as our baggage to be put on board of it, but ordered another boat for it. In this eaſy manner we travelled twelve long days' journey, putting into a port morning and evening, and all the ports being near great towns or cities of the province of Quanghia, in which province the governor had as much power as in his own at Pulucambi; all people ran to pay their reſpects and acknowledgments, bringing him rich preſents, the firſt of which always fell to our ſhare, he himſelf ſo ordering it, every one aſtoniſhed to ſee us ſo honoured, which gained us much eſteem and reputation among thoſe people, that being the deſign of the governor; and this was much forwarded by the great account he made of our interceſſion, when any criminal was to be puniſhed; for we no ſooner opened our mouths but we obtained all we deſired, by which means we not only gained the reputation of being great with the governor, but of having compaſſion and kindneſs for thoſe people, who therefore loved and reſpected us. Beſides, during the whole voyage he treated us as if we had been ſome great lords, contriving ſports and paſtimes in all parts, cauſing the gallies ſometimes to repreſent a ſea-fight, ſometimes to row for rewards. Nor did there a day paſs but he came on board our galley to viſit us, ſeeming much pleaſed with our converſation, eſpecially when we diſcourſed of religion and our holy faith. In this manner we came to the province of

Pulucambi, through which we had ſtill ſome days' journey to make before we arrived at the governor's palace, who for our greater diverſion would have us travel by land. For this purpoſe he ordered ſeven elephants to be provided; and the more to honour us would have one for each, cauſing an hundred men, ſome on horſeback and ſome on foot to attend us: and the journey being for recreation, we ſpent eight days in it, being royally entertained whereſoever we came; but particularly in the houſe of a ſiſter of his we had a moſt ſplendid entertainment, not only for the variety and number of diſhes, but much more for the rarity of dreſſing, all things being dreſſed after the European manner, though neither the governor, nor any of the family were to taſte of them.

Being at length come to the governor's palace, all the entertainments and dainties of the journey concluded in ſuch a reception as he uſed to make for Kings and great Princes, treating us for eight days together in the moſt ſplendid manner, making us ſit in his royal throne, and eating with us himſelf in public, with his wife and children, to the great aſtoniſhment of all that city, where it was unanimouſly affirmed ſuch a reception had never been ſeen, unleſs it were for ſome royal perſon; and this was the cauſe of the report generally ſpread throughout the kingdom, that we were a King's ſons, and were come thither about matters of great concern; which being known by the governor he was mightily pleaſed, and before the chief men of the court he publicly ſaid, "It is very true, that the fathers were ſons of a King, for they were angels come thither, not for any want or neceſſity of their own, being provided with all things in their own countries, but only out of pure zeal to ſave their ſouls;" and therefore he adviſed them "to give ear to the fathers, and obſerve the law they would preach to them, learn the doctrine they taught, and receive the faith they delivered: for (ſaid he) I have often diſcourſed and converſed with theſe men, and plainly perceive by the doctrine they teach, that there is no true law but theirs, nor no way but that they ſhew, which leads to eternal ſalvation. But take heed what you do; for unleſs you learn that true doctrine which I, your chief, bring to you by means of theſe fathers, your neglect and infidelity will be puniſhed eternally in hell." Thus ſpoke that lord, becoming a preacher of the goſpel, though himſelf a heathen: all men being the more amazed and aſtoniſhed at it, becauſe of the high opinion they entertained of his wiſdom.

After the firſt eight days we gave him to underſtand, that we would rather live in the city, the better to promote the preaching of the goſpel, which we could not ſo well attend to in the palace, becauſe it was three miles from the city, in an open field according to the cuſtom of the country. The governor would not have parted with us, becauſe of the great affection he had for us, but preferring the public good before his own ſatisfaction, he immediately ordered there ſhould be a very convenient houſe provided in the city Nuoecman: and moreover told us, we might ſee above a hundred houſes that were about his palace, and take our choice of the moſt convenient of them to make a church of it; and on acquainting him with it, he would provide all that was neceſſary. We returned him thanks for ſo many favours beſtowed on us during our journey, and thoſe we ſtill received. Having taken our leave for the preſent, we mounted the elephants again, and with a great retinue went away to the city Nuoecman, which extends itſelf five miles in length, and half a mile in breadth, where we were by the governor's order received with extraordinary honour. He, unable to endure being ſo far from us, came the next day to viſit us, to know whether the houſe given us was convenient; and told us, he knew that we being ſtrangers could not have money and other neceſſaries, but that he took upon himſelf to provide every thing; and immediately ordered a good ſum to be paid monthly, and every day fleſh,

fiſh, and rice to be ſent in for us, our interpreters, and all the ſervants of the houſe: and not thus ſatisfied, he frequently ſent us ſo many preſents, that they alone were ſufficient to furniſh us plentifully with all things. The more to honour and credit us among all men, he one day gave public audience in the court of our houſe, in the manner as we mentioned above was practiſed in Cochin-China. Here ſeveral criminals were tried, every one receiving ſentence according to his crime; among the reſt two were condemned to be ſhot to death with arrows, and whilſt they were bound, we undertook to beg their pardon, which was immediately granted, and he ordered them to be diſcharged, publicly proteſting he would not have done it at the requeſt of any other; "but to theſe holy men who teach the true way for the ſalvation of ſouls, (ſaid he,) I can deny nothing; and I am myſelf impatient to be rid of thoſe impediments that obſtruct my being baptiſed and receiving their holy faith, which is what you all ought to do, if you deſire to oblige me."

Then turning to us, he again deſired we would appoint the place for the church, that he might give orders for its ſpeedy fitting up. We ſhewed him a place that ſeemed convenient enough, and he approving of it went away to his palace. Before three days were over news was brought us that the church was coming: we went out with great joy and no leſs curioſity to ſee how a church ſhould come, which, though we knew was to be made of timber, as had been agreed, yet it could not be otherwiſe than a great pile, according to the ſpace it muſt fill, ſtanding upon great pillars. On a ſudden, in the field, we eſpied above a thouſand men, all loaded with materials for this fabric. Every pillar was carried by thirty luſty men; others carried the beams, others the planks, ſome the capitals, others the baſes; ſome one thing, ſome another, and ſo all of them went in order to our houſe, filling all the court, which was very large, to our unſpeakable joy and ſatisfaction. One only thing diſpleaſed us, that we had not proviſions enough in the houſe to give ſo great a multitude a ſmall entertainment; for though they were paid by the governor, yet it looked like ill-breeding to ſend them away without ſome refreſhment: but we were ſoon eaſed of this trouble, ſeeing every one ſit down upon the piece he brought, being obliged to keep and deliver it, and take out of his wallet his pot with fleſh, fiſh and rice, and lighting a fire, fall to cooking very quietly without aſking any thing. When they had eaten, the architect came, and taking out a line, viewed the ground, marked out the diſtances, and calling thoſe that carried the pillars, fixed them in their places; this done, he called for the other parts one after another, that every man might give an account of what he brought and go his way: and thus all things proceeding very regularly, and every man labouring his beſt, all that great pile was ſet up in one day; yet either through too much haſte, or the negligence of the architect, it proved ſomewhat awry and leaning to one ſide; which being made known to the governor, he preſently commanded the architect upon pain of cutting off his legs, to call all the workmen he required and mend it: the architect obeyed, and taking the church to pieces with a like number of workmen, rebuilt it in a very ſhort time quite completely. And we bleſſed God, foraſmuch as, at a time when Chriſtians were ſo lukewarm, it had pleaſed him to ſtir up a heathen ſo zealouſly to build a church in honour of his divine majeſty.

And to ſhew how affectionately the governor looked to our affairs, I will give one particular inſtance, and ſo end this chapter. In the months of June, July, and Auguſt, the ſouth-weſt winds generally reign in Cochin-China, which cauſe ſuch an extraordinary heat, that the houſes are perfectly parched and dried up; and being all of wood, the leaſt ſpark of fire that, through negligence or other accident, falls upon them, immediately catches as it would do in tinder; and therefore during thoſe months there

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are generally great fires throughout the kingdom; for when it has taken hold of one houſe, the flame ſoon ſpreads to thoſe that lie in the direction the wind blows, and miſerably conſumes them. To deliver us from this danger, our houſe being in the middle of the city, and to make it further appear what eſteem the governor had for us, he iſſued an edict, commanding that the tops of all the houſes that lay ſouth-weſt of us ſhould be taken off; and there were ſo many of them that they extended at leaſt two miles; which he did to the end, that if any of them took fire, it might be the eaſier to prevent its paſſing forward to ours: and this was readily performed by them all, on account of the great reſpect they bore us.

## CHAP. IV. — *Of the Governor of Pulucambi's Death.*

OUR affairs advanced very proſperouſly in this city, and it was now the time when divine Providence was, according to its uſual method, to give us a taſte of ſufferings, wherewith God frequently tries his ſervants; and ſo we ever ſee that he gives ſuch a mixture of proſperity and adverſity, that they neither be depreſſed by the one nor puffed up by the other: and as the primitive church was founded by the holy apoſtles upon theſe two pillars, of proſperity and tribulation, even ſo it pleaſed the Almighty that the new church of Cochin-China ſhould be eſtabliſhed by his apoſtolical miniſters. The firſt beginning of this miſſion was very ſucceſsful, as has been ſeen in the firſt chapter of this ſecond part; but very ſoon after enſued that terrible perſecution for want of rain, which had like to have ruined all. Afterwards with the favour of the governor of Pulucambi, the ſtorm ſeemed to be blown off, and the budding vine appeared to promiſe abundance of fruit: but it pleaſed him who diſpoſes of all things, that the governor of Pulucambi's death, like a violent north wind, almoſt deſtroyed all in the bud. This misfortune happened as follows: the governor went out one day a hunting on his elephant, very well pleaſed, and the ſport drawing him on, he did not reflect that he rode all day over a ſcorching plain, where the heat pierced his head in ſuch a manner, that at night he fell into a burning fever; upon notice whereof we haſtened to the palace to viſit, or rather to baptize him, if we found him in imminent danger. He kept us with him two days, we ſtill preſſing him to be baptized, as he had often ſaid he would; to which he always anſwered he was ordering his affairs for that purpoſe, but came to no concluſion. The third day he loſt his ſenſes, God ſo permitting for cauſes only known to himſelf; and perhaps that vain honour he ever paſſionately coveted, was the reward of the good turns he did us: in fine, he began to rave, and ſo continued three days, till overcome by the violence of the diſtemper, he died without baptiſm.

Any man may gueſs how much we were concerned at this accident, ſeeing ourſelves forſaken in a ſtrange country, and deſtitute of all human help; but it chiefly grieved us that a perſon ſo well diſpoſed, and through whoſe means we had conceived hopes that the faith might ſpread throughout the whole kingdom, ſhould die ſo in our hands without baptiſm. Abundance of their rites and ſuperſtitious ceremonies were performed at this governor's death, at which we were preſent to the laſt. It would be endleſs to relate them all, and therefore I will mention two or three, by which the others uſed by thoſe Gentiles may be conceived: firſt, whilſt he lay in his agony, there was a multitude of armed men, who inceſſantly cut and made thruſts in the air with their ſcimitars, caſt darts and fire muſkets in the rooms of the palace; but particularly two, that ſtood on each ſide of the dying man, were continually ſtriking the air abou this mouth with their ſcimitars; and both theſe and the others being aſked, why they

they did ſo? told us, they frightened the devils, that they might not hurt the governor's ſoul as it was departing his body. Theſe ſuperſtitious ceremonies made us pity their ignorance, but not fear any harm to ourſelves, as followed when the governor was dead: for we had much cauſe to apprehend being expelled the province of Pulucambi, and perhaps all the kingdom, with the loſs of all we had acquired towards ſettling Chriſtianity, and perhaps worſe. It is the cuſtom when any great perſon dies for all the omſaiis, or prieſts of the country, to meet together, in order to find out, not the natural, but the ſuperſtitious cauſe of his death; and being unaminous upon what it may be, immediately that thing to which it is attributed, is ordered to be burnt, whether it be a houſe, garment, man or beaſt. Accordingly all the omſaiis being aſſembled in a great hall, they began to argue this point: we who were preſent, remembering the perſecution for want of rain, there being at that time nothing extraordinary in the province, but the governor's kind reception to us, and his aſſigning a houſe, and building a church in the city, with ſuch extraordinary tokens of affection for our holy law, did not at all queſtion, but that theſe things being repreſented to them, they would lay the death of that lord to our charge, and conſequently would order us all to be burnt alive, together with our houſe and church, and all our goods. Therefore we ſtood in a corner of the hall, recommending ourſelves to God, and preparing ourſelves for whatſoever his divine Majeſty ſhould ſuffer to be decreed againſt us; when one of the omſaiis, who was the eldeſt of them, and as it were their dean, ſtanding up, ſaid with a loud voice, that, in his opinion, the only cauſe of the governor's death was the falling of a beam ſome days ſince in the new palace; and he was the more apt to believe it, becauſe all the diſtemper was in his head, as appeared by his raving; an evident ſign, as he ſaid of the ſtroke he had received in his head by the aforeſaid beam, all which he meant metaphorically and in a ſuperſtitious ſenſe, and therefore it pleaſed the other omſaiis, who all unanimouſly agreed in the ſame ſentiment, and ſo riſing without more to do, they went and ſet fire to that palace, which was all reduced to aſhes, whilſt we gave thanks to God for having eſcaped ſo manifeſt a danger.

This done, ſome other omſaiis who profeſs necromancy, came to the governor's palace to perform another ſuperſtitious ceremony according to the cuſtom of the country. The kindred of the party deceaſed looking upon it as a great bleſſing, that any body inſpired by an evil ſpirit ſhould ſpeak concerning the ſtate of the ſoul departed; and to this purpoſe thoſe wizard omſaiis were called, of whom they all earneſtly beg that deviliſh favour, he that obtains it being much envied by the reſt. Theſe conjurers made their circles, and uſed ſeveral charms both in words and actions, that the devil might enter into ſome one of the governor's kindred, who were there in a ſuppliant poſture, but all in vain. At laſt a ſiſter of the governor, for whom he had an extraordinary affection, came in, and begging the ſame favour, immediately gave manifeſt ſigns that ſhe was poſſeſſed: for being decrepid by reaſon of her great age, and not able to go alone, ſhe began, to the aſtoniſhment of the ſpectators, to ſkip as nimbly as if ſhe had been a young girl, and the ſtick ſhe threw from her hung in the air all the while the devil was in her body, during which time, talking in a raving manner, and doing many diſorderly actions, ſhe uttered ſeveral extravagancies about the ſtate and place her brother's ſoul was in; and concluding her mad diſcourſe, the devil leaving her, ſhe fell down as if ſhe had been dead, remaining ſo exhauſted for the ſpace of eight days, that ſhe could not ſtir for mere weakneſs; all the kindred and friends flocking to viſit her, and congratulate her happineſs, in that ſhe had been

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choſen among all the relations for an action (as they thought it) ſo glorious and honourable to the dead man.

At length they began to order the funeral of this lord; and as in the Catholic church it is the cuſtom to honour the memory of men renowned for ſanctity of life, by a ſolemn canonization, ſo in Cochin-China, the devil always mimicking holy things, the more to delude the people, it is cuſtomary to honour the death of thoſe who have been univerſally reputed juſt men, and upright in their actions, and adorned with moral virtues, with great ſolemnity and magnificence, canonizing them, if we may ſo call it, after their manner, by eternizing their memory, and giving them immortal veneration. For this reaſon the governor of Pulucambi, who by all men, not only in his own province, but throughout all the kingdom, was for his extraordinary natural parts, reputed a man of great wiſdom and incomparable prudence, his government being adorned with ſingular juſtice and integrity, together with an unuſal inclination and affection for all needy perſons, was judged not to require a doleful ſad funeral pomp, as was due to others; but on the contrary all demonſtrations of joy and grandeur, which might declare him worthy of religious honours, and to be added to the number of their gods. This being decreed, they all endeavoured to lay aſide their mourning and ſorrow, and to expreſs entire pleaſure and ſatisfaction; and to this purpoſe all the governor's kindred, for the ſpace of eight days, ſumptuouſly treated all the people, during which time they did nothing from morning till night, but eat and drink, ſing, dance, and play upon muſical and warlike inſtruments.

After eight days the body was carried in a ſilver coffin, gilt, under a canopy, to the city where he was born, called Chifu, three day's journey diſtant, attended by a multitude of all ſorts, of people dancing and rejoicing, leaving the palace where he died utterly uninhabited, that it might fall to ruin, and no ſign of it remain; ſo that the memory of the governor's death might be loſt in perpetual oblivion, he ſtill remaining alive with continual praiſe and veneration in the hearts and mouths of all men. Being come to a ſpacious plain without Chifu, they all fell to work upon a palace twice as magnificent and ſumptuous as that the governor died in; and to make a greater ſhew of the dead man's wealth, they built as many gallies as he uſed to keep, upon wheels, for them to run upon dry land. In the ſame manner they made wooden elephants and horſes, and all other moveables uſed when the governor went abroad when alive without ſparing any coſt. In the midſt of the palace they erected a ſtately temple, with a fine altar, on which they placed the coffin covered, and hid with ſuch curious workmanſhip, that the hieroglyphics, carving, and painting greatly move thoſe gentiles to reſpect. For three days continually they performed ſeveral ſacrifices and ceremonies, by the miniſtry of five or ſix hundred omſaiis, all clad in white, who ſpent the time in ſinging and ſacrificing, offering wine, oxen, and buffaloes in great numbers; the public entertainments continuing theſe three days for above two thouſand men of note, every one having his table to himſelf, according to cuſtom, and each of them covered with above two hundred diſhes. At the end of the three days they ſet fire to all that pile, burning the palace and temple, with all the perfumes and furniture, only ſaving the coffin with the body, which was afterwards buried, and privately removed to twelve ſeveral graves, that the people being always in doubt where it had been left, that uncertainty might increaſe the honour of the new idol, they adoring it in all thoſe places where they thought the bones might be. Thus the ſolemnity ended for that time, till ſome months after, that is, in the ſeventh moon, according to their computation of time, it was repeated in the ſame manner as it had been

been performed at firſt; a few months after, it was done a third time; and ſo from time to time for three years, all the revenues aſſigned the governor of that province by the King being ſpent upon this ſolemnity for three years; and therefore no other governor was appointed during that time, they being perſuaded that the dead man's ſoul, which was placed among the gods, would continue in the government for theſe three years. However, his own ſon was appointed deputy governor, or lieutenant.

We three fathers of the ſociety then in that province were preſent at moſt of this ſolemnity; and though we did not attend at their ſuperſtitious ceremonies, yet to avoid being thought ungrateful and unmannerly, we were forced to accept of ſome invitations, in one of which we were forewarned we ſhould be aſked where the governor's ſoul was, aſſuring us that if we ſaid it was in hell we ſhould preſently be cut to pieces. We were ſoon after publicly aſked the queſtion, and anſwered, that no man could be ſaved without baptiſm; but that, through the mercy of God, and earneſt deſire to be baptiſed ſufficing, where better cannot be, if the governor at laſt had ſuch a deſire, as it was likely he had becauſe of the affection he bore our faith, as mentioned above, and that he would have aſked it, but that the violence of his diſtemper hindered, therefore it might be believed he was ſaved and not damned.

This anſwer, though new and unexpected, in ſome meaſure ſatisfied them, in token whereof they offered us ſome whole buffaloes, ſome boiled, ſome roaſted, which had been ſacrificed to their new idol, the dead governor; but we refuſing them, ſaying, our law forbid us to eat of that fleſh ſo defiled by their ſacrifice, inſtead of the dead ſacrificed buffaloes, they ordered others alive to be given us: the governor's kindred afterwards ſending us elephants, that we might return on them to Pulucambi with as much honour as when the governor was living.

Theſe were the laſt favours we received in virtue of the governor of Pulucambi's favour; and therefore returning home, we were left like fatherleſs children, forſaken by all the world. Now nobody regarded us; the allowance of rice for our maintainance failed, and we having but twenty crowns muſt in a few days have been reduced to great miſery and want; and if any one fell ſick we durſt not call any body to open a vein, becauſe we had not wherewithal to pay for it: and though there were among them people very ready to ſupply the needy, eſpecially with ſuſtenance, as was ſaid above, yet it was not convenient for us to aſk any thing, leſt we ſhould loſe all the advantage we gained, as to the converſion of ſouls, becauſe they would have ſaid we went not thither to preach the law of Jeſus Chriſt, but to ſupply our wants under the protection of the governor. Nobody now came to our houſe, that firſt ſhew of authority ceaſing; and though we had learned the language of the country, yet they made no account of the words of three poor men left in the midſt of infinite idolators, and deſpiſed our doctrines, as an invention of our own carried thither to oppoſe their ancient ſects and tenets.

Three years paſſed after this manner, and yet we were not ſo much troubled at our own wants, which God knows were very great, as to ſee every day leſs hopes of promoting the ſervice of God among thoſe pagans, having during theſe three years converted but very few, and that with unſpeakable labour and toil. Things were in this ſtate, in ſome meaſure deſperate, we being inclinable to believe the time was not yet come when it would pleaſe God to enlighten the darkneſs of thoſe people, either becauſe our ſins obſtructed it, or ſome other hidden judgment of God. But when our human frailty ſhewed itſelf moſt diffident of divine aſſiſtance, even then, the more to confound us, the God of mercy ſhewed the wonderful effects of his divine omnipotence, that the noble undertaking of converting ſouls might be wholly attributed to

him, we then owning we had no power to proceed in it; and that we might know experimentally, that neither he who waters nor he who plants does any thing, but it is God that gives the increaſe, as will appear in the following chapter.

## CHAP. V. — *How God made Way for the Converſion of the Province of Pulucambi, by Means of the nobleſt Perſons in it.*

WE having nothing to maintain us at Pulucambi, and converting nobody, diſperſed ourſelves into ſeveral parts: F. Francis de Pina went to live at Faifó, a Japaneſe city as before mentioned, with a deſign to ſerve thoſe Chriſtians whoſe paſtor he had been before, and to live upon their alms. He being well ſkilled in the language of Cochin-China, and talking it naturally, never ceaſed there to preach our holy faith. F. Francis Buzome went away for Turon, carrying along with him the beſt interpreter we had, to endeavour to obtain ſome alms of the Portugueſe there that might at leaſt maintain us two in Pulicambi, in our houſe at Nuoecman, till ſome ſupply came from Macao.

Thus was I left at Pulucambi ſolitary and diſconſolate, without any hopes of the converſion of thoſe gentiles, when one day being at home, far from any ſuch thought, I ſaw a number of elephants before our door, with many ladies, and a large retinue of gentlemen, after whom followed a great lady and principal matron, moſt richly clad, and adorned with abundance of rich jewels according to the faſhion of the country. I was much ſurpriſed at the unuſual appearance and majeſty of the lady, and in ſuſpenſe, not imagining what might be the intention of this new viſit. Going out at laſt to receive her, I underſtood ſhe was wife to the ambaſſador the King of Cochin-China was ſending to the King of Cambogia, which ambaſſador was a native of Nuoecman where we dwelt, and next the governor the chief man in that city, who was then at the court of Sinuá, treating with the King upon the ſubject of his embaſſy. After the uſual ceremonies and compliments, according to the cuſtom of the country, the lady being unwilling to loſe time upon matters that were not to her purpoſe, "Let us come (ſaid ſhe) to the buſineſs I aim at. I have been fully informed, father, of your coming into this country and province, and of the occaſion of your coming; I ſee the holy and unblemiſhed life you lead; I know you preach and teach the true God; and being ſatisfied that this is moſt agreeable to reaſon, am perſuaded that there is no true law but yours, nor other God but yours, nor any way to life everlaſting but that you teach; and therefore my coming to your houſe is for no other intent but earneſtly to beg of you, that, bathing me in your holy water, you will add me to the number of Chriſtians: this is the utmoſt of my wiſhes and deſires." In the firſt place I commended her good and holy reſolution, exhorting her to return thanks to God for ſo ſignal a mercy beſtowed on her in calling her to the knowledge of his holy law, there being nothing in this world to be valued equal to the ſalvation of the ſoul. Next I made my excuſe for not complying immediately with her pious and reaſonable requeſt; becauſe although I had ſome knowledge of the Cochin-Chineſe language, yet it was not enough to inſtruct her in the lofty myſteries of our Chriſtian religion; and therefore I adviſed her excellency to wait for F. Buzome, who in a few days was to return from Turon, having with him an excellent interpreter, by whoſe means ſhe would be inſtructed as ſhe ought to be to her own ſatisfaction, and obtain the end of her holy deſires. "The great fire (replied ſhe) that inflames my heart will not allow of ſuch a long delay; and the more ſince my huſband is hourly expected from court, with whom I am ſoon to embark for the kingdom of Cambogia, where the dangers of the ſea being frequent, a ſtorm may happen to riſe, where dying I may periſh for ever."

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She added that it was enough if I diſcourſed of divine matters as I did of other things, for ſhe ſhould underſtand all I ſaid. Theſe viſible tokens of her reſolution obliging me to it, I began in the beſt manner I could to inform her in ſeveral matters and principles of our holy faith. Soon after it pleaſed God F. Buzome returned, and ſeeing this good ſucceſs, gave infinite thanks to God. The lady was much pleaſed with the arrival of the interpreter, whom ſhe had ſo earneſtly expected; with whoſe aſſiſtance, and her continual application, ſtudy, and attention at catechizing, which was done for two hours before and two hours after dinner, in a fortnight's time ſhe became perfect in the Chriſtian doctrine. Above all, what made the greateſt impreſſion on her heart was the knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt, true God, made man, and humbled for the ſake of man; and therefore, in ſome meaſure to imitate our Saviour's great humility, ſhe for the future came to our houſe, which was a good mile from her's, not only without the ſtate and elephants ſhe uſed before, but bare-footed, in dirt, and upon ſtones, obliging her gentlemen and ladies, by her example, to imitate her devotion.

In our ſpiritual diſcourſes, and expoſition upon the catechiſm, when we came to make mention of hell, deſcribe its torments, repreſent the greatneſs, eternity, and variety of torments there ſuffered, the horrible company of devils, the darkneſs of thoſe infernal dungeons and uninhabitable dens, and laſtly the torture of fire, both ſhe and her ladies were ſo terrified, that having by themſelves all night conſidered upon what they had heard, they came again the next day to tell us they would all be Chriſtians to avoid that everlaſting miſery. But we telling them it was impoſſible, they being ſervants, and conſequently concubines to the ambaſſador, according to the cuſtom of the country, as has been mentioned in the firſt treatiſe, the ambaſſador's lady anſwered, "That impediment does not concern me."—"It is ſo," ſaid we, "for your excellency is your huſband's only wife, and has not to do with other men, and therefore may freely be baptiſed." At theſe words, lifting up her hands to Heaven, ſhe gave ſuch tokens of joy as if ſhe had been beſide herſelf, though ſhe had never been truly ſo much *herſelf* as when ſhe ſhewed ſuch ſigns of joy for that which ought to be the only cauſe of all our *ſatisfaction*. Her women, on the other hand, ſeeing themſelves excluded the way of ſalvation, cried out aloud they would forbear being the ambaſſador's concubines, ſince it obſtructed their baptiſm, and was the way to damnation. The lady ſeconded their good purpoſes, taking upon her to deliver them from that ſin, and get every one of them a huſband. All lets and impediments being removed by the promiſes of the lady and firm purpoſes of the women, one day, which was the moſt joyful I ever ſaw in my life, the ambaſſador's lady richly apparelled and decked with jewels, and nobly attended to our church by gentlemen, was baptiſed with twenty-five of her women, and as the chief of them called Urſula, to the glory of Jeſus Chriſt, who by means of theſe few women opened a way to the converſions made by our miſſion in Cochin-China.

After they were baptiſed we went in proceſſion to the palace of the ambaſſador's lady Urſula, where there was an oratory, in which ſhe uſed before to perform her ſuperſtitious devotions to an idol. When we came in we firſt ſprinkled the houſe with holy water, and then the lady and her women courageouſly laid hold of the idol, and throwing it violently againſt the ground, beat it to pieces, trampling on it; in whoſe place we ſet up a fine picture of our Saviour, which thoſe new devout Chriſtians falling down devoutly worſhipped, owning themſelves his moſt humble and devout ſlaves. Then we put about their necks ſome Agnus Dei's, croſſes, medals, and relics, which they valued above the gold chains and ſtrings of pearls they were adorned with. Having obtained this victory over the devil, after ſaying the litany and other prayers in the

oratory, now bleſſed, F. Buzome and I returned home with that ſatisfaction and thankſgiving that every man may imagine. The ambaſſador's lady and her women came after this every day duly to maſs, catechize, and other ſpiritual exerciſes, with great tokens of fervour and Chriſtian piety.

At this time the ambaſſador, huſband to the lady Urſula, came from court to depart in a ſhort time upon his embaſſy to the King of Cambogia. It is the cuſtom of that country, when the head of a family comes from afar off, for the wife children, and the reſt of the family, to go out at leaſt a mile upon the way to meet him. The lady Urſula failed to perform this ceremony, being then retired in her oratory. The huſband wondering at it, and ſuſpecting ſhe might be hindered by ſickneſs, aſked what was become of her; but underſtanding ſhe was well, wondered at it the more, till coming to the gate of his palace and miſſing the uſual reception, he began to miſtruſt ſhe was angry with him. At length he went up and into the oratory, where he found his lady and her maids, with Agnus Dei's and relics about their necks, beads in their hands, and other Chriſtian ſigns, praying before the image of our Saviour. The ambaſſador was aſtoniſhed at this ſight, and his lady, directing her diſcourſe to him, bid him not wonder that ſhe had forbore the uſual compliments to him, becauſe ſhe was raiſed to a higher pitch of honour than he was, both ſhe and her women being children of the true God and Saviour of the world, Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe picture ſhe ſhewed him, ſaying, he ought to adore him if he would be equal to them in dignity. The ambaſſador, moved by his lady's words and the beauty of the picture, with tears in his eyes fell down and adored: then ſtanding up, he turned to his wife and women ſaying, "How is it poſſible you ſhould be Chriſtians? Have you a mind to leave me? Do not you know that the law the fathers preach forbid polygamy? Therefore you muſt either find another dwelling-place, or I leave this to you and ſeek out another houſe." His lady anſwered, "Neither need you depart nor we leave you, for there will be a remedy for all things:" wiſely concealing for the preſent the prohibition of plurality of wives, to avoid that difficulty which would have bred a diſturbance. The ambaſſador took heart at theſe words, and conceiving as yet that he need not be obliged to leave his women, thus piouſly impoſed upon, he ſaid he would be a Chriſtian too, and follow the good example ſet him by his wife and her women.

The next morning betimes the ambaſſador came to our houſe to tell us, that ſince we had made his wife a Chriſtian, he had a mind to embrace the ſame religion, if we thought it practicable. Very practicable, ſaid we, full of joy and ſatisfaction at ſo grateful a queſtion; for in caſe he were reſolved, we would in a ſhort time inſtruct him ſufficiently to be baptiſed. He was pleaſed; and as the affairs of his embaſſy took up the day, ſo that he had not leiſure to be inſtructed, upon his requeſt we agreed to go to his houſe at night, where we began to catechize him, continuing it for twenty nights four or five hours at a time, acquainting him with the myſteries of our holy faith, from the creation of the world till the redemption of man, the glory of heaven and pains of hell. It was no ſmall matter for ſo great a perſon, and ſo full of buſineſs, to loſe his ſleep to hear the word of God; and he paid great attention to it, aſking many very ingenious queſtions, which ſhewed his great wit. In all our diſcourſes our whole aim was to imprint the truth of our holy law in the heart of this nobleman, and make it agreeable to reaſon, ſo that being made ſenſible of the great importance of ſalvation, and the terror of the pains of hell, and being well inclined to, and convinced of the certainty of, our religion, he might afterwards make leſs difficulty in the main point concerning polygamy, which was the only thing he ſtuck at, and which we till then had deſignedly forbore to ſpeak of. Having gone ſo far towards the ambaſſador's

baſſador's converſion, we began to expound upon the commandments, where we informed him, that among Chriſtians it was unlawful to have many wives.

The propoſition was ſo unexpected, that like fire with water thrown on it, the ambaſſador preſently cooled, and taking leave of us, ſaid this was a matter of great conſequence, and therefore required time to come to a reſolution. This anſwer was ſo diſpleaſing and grievous to us, that returning home we ſpent that night in prayer and mortification, praying to God with all the fervour we could, that he would be pleaſed to put a happy concluſion to the work he had ſo well begun. Next morning one of the moſt learned omſaiis in the city came to us from the ambaſſador, to examine the reaſons for the prohibition of polygamy. Among other objections this man made one, in his opinion of the greateſt force; which was, why plurality of wives ſhould be forbid, ſince generation and children were a work of perfection, and ſo agreeable to nature, chiefly when a man had a barren wife, as was the ambaſſador's caſe, and might not have another to get heirs upon. We wanted not anſwers according to our divinity, but perceiving they were not ſatisfactory to them who were not uſed to our theological notions, we at laſt added a reaſon out of ſcripture, whereof the ambaſſador had before ſome knowledge from us, and it pleaſed God this made an impreſſion on his heart, and abſolutely convinced him. This was putting him in mind, that God being ſo juſt, and the law he had preſcribed ſo agreeable to natural reaſon, as he himſelf had owned, he ought without doubt to obey in this point, ſince God himſelf commanded it; and this ſo much the more in regard that God creating man, intimated the ſame to him, when there was moſt occaſion for propagating the human race, and yet he gave Adam but one wife, whereas he could as eaſily have given him many more, that man might multiply the faſter. This reaſon, I ſay, fully ſatisfied the ambaſſador, yet finding it difficult to obſerve the precept, as being a thing he was much addicted to: "Is there no remedy," ſaid he, "or diſpenſation from the pope, or any other means, though never ſo difficult, to have this point remitted?" We told him it was in vain to ſeek any redreſs whatſoever in this caſe; and therefore, if he deſired to be ſaved, he muſt diſmiſs the other women, and ſtick to his wife. Then the ambaſſador lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, as it were ſtruggling with himſelf, and preſſed on by truth, with a generous reſolution ſaid, "If then multiplicity of wives be inconſiſtent with my ſalvation, let them all go in the name of God; for it is a pity to loſe an eternity of glory, for a tranſitory delight." Then turning to his concubines, who were preſent with his wife, he diſcharged them all: but perceiving they laughed at his diſcharge, as a thing that would never ſtand good, to ſhew he was in earneſt, he ordered his wife to pay them all off immediately, and let not one of them ſtay in his palace that night. After which turning again to the fathers, "Behold," ſaid he, "I have readily performed all you commanded me." Having obtained our deſires, we went home to give thanks to Almighty God.

But the devil found out a way ſtill to make oppoſition, making uſe of the lady Urſula's womaniſh temper; for ſhe had not the heart to turn away thoſe women ſhe had bred up from their infancy in her houſe, and loved them as if they were her own children. Therefore ſome ſtrife ariſing between the man and his wife, he preſſing to have them gone, and ſhe oppoſing, the ambaſſador diſſatisfied came to us to juſtify himſelf, and deſire to be baptiſed, ſince the impediment was removed, he being willing the women ſhould depart from his houſe. We were about going to work, perceiving he ſpoke rationally, and particularly becauſe he reſolved they ſhould not continue in his houſe as his concubines, but as his lady's ſervants. But the good man making a pauſe as if he were reflecting, at laſt ſaid he had a ſcruple to propoſe: "Since,

"Since, according to what you fathers have taught me," ſaid he, "God ſees into the heart of man, and cannot be deceived, though I deſire to forſake and ſend away the women, yet whilſt they continue in the houſe, I plainly ſee, either my old habits or the frailty of nature will eaſily cauſe me to fall again into ſin; therefore methinks I do not proceed with due ſincerity in this affair." We perceiving, by the ambaſſador's diſcreet and Chriſtian diſcourſe, he foreſaw the danger of being in the immediate opportunity of ſin, ſtudied ſome proper means to remove ſo conſiderable an impediment; but nothing occurring for the preſent, he himſelf being very earneſt upon the buſineſs, propoſed a method, which we adhered to as the beſt of all others: "Fathers," ſaid he, "the ſafeſt way I can think of is, that you as their directors powerfully perſuade the Chriſtian women that were my concubines, (for the heathens I will infallibly make my wife turn away), that in caſe through frailty I ſhould be under any temptation they reſiſt me reſolutely; and foraſmuch as I bear a great reſpect to, and ſtand in awe of our Saviour's picture placed in the oratory, if the women lie in that place, I will rather be torn to pieces than have any thing to do with them in the preſence of that great lord; and they being thus ſecured againſt me, till there be an opportunity of marrying them, it will be known abroad that they are not kept in the houſe as my concubines, but only as ſervants to my ſole wife Urſula, and the people will be ſenſible I do not act contrary to the law of God." This method was ſo well approved of, that the day after it was put in execution, the ambaſſador was baptized in great ſtate, attended by drums, fiefs and other inſtruments, and he himſelf clad in rich apparel. With him were baptized twenty other gentlemen, his beſt friends, and he had the name of our holy patriarch Ignatius given him. After which, taking his wife Urſula by the hand, ſhe renewed the old contract of matrimony as a ſacrament of the church. The joy they all experienced at their baptiſm and new marriage was unſpeakable.

It now remained that the ambaſſador ſhould depart on his embaſſy for Cambogia; and he ordered that the ſhip which was to carry him, ſhould have a croſs in its colours, and the picture of the glorious father St. Ignatius his protector, cauſing all the jacks and pennants to expreſs the religion he profeſſed. Embarking with all his gentlemen and Chriſtian women, he had a proſperous voyage from Nuoecman to Cambogia. When the ſquadron appeared, being well known to the people of Cambogia to be the ambaſſador's, they were all aſtoniſhed at ſeeing Chriſtian colours ſet up; and therefore they imagined that the King of Cochin-China, inſtead of the ordinary ambaſſador, had ſent ſome extraordinary Portugueſe Chriſtian; but their doubt was ſoon cleared, on ſeeing the uſual ambaſſador land with a croſs and medals on his breaſt among the gold chains and jewels. This ſight on the one hand moved the Portugueſe and Japaneſe Chriſtians, who reſide there on account of trade, to give ſhouts of joy, and bleſs God for this new offspring Cochin-China had produced; and on the other, the heathens could not believe that the ambaſſador, who before was obſerved to be exceſſively laſcivious, ſhould embrace the Chriſtian religion, which forbids all immodeſty. But the grace of the Holy Ghoſt ſoon appeared to ſtrengthen human frailty; for though the ambaſſador at his palace in Cambogia, had double the number of concubines, that generally uſed to attend his wife, he ordered them to be all diſmiſſed; nor did he ever lift up his eyes to look at them; which made his fame ſpread abroad, as of a man of ſingular ſanctity and virtue; and being reputed a man of great knowledge, his example moved many of the moſt learned perſons of Pulucambi to be baptized.

CHAP.

## CHAP. VI. — *How God opened another Way to Chriſtianity, through the Means of the learned People among the Heathens.*

GOD's infinite mercy, and his ardent deſire for the ſalvation of mankind, diſcovers various means ſuitable to the ſeveral conditions of perſons, which are as it were ſo many ways to direct and lead them to that end for which they were created. Thus we ſee he himſelf in perſon called upon his people, and complying with the inclination of the perſons, invited the wiſe man by means of the ſtar; Denis the Areopagite, the aſtronomer, by the prodigy of the wonderful eclipſe; St. Auguſtine by the knowledge of the true light and law, and the confuſion and obſcurity of former errors; and in fine, he calls the ignorant multitude, by the means of prodigies, wonders, and miracles. So it fell out in the new church of Cochin-China; for when his divine majeſty had by himſelf convinced ſome of the principal perſons, as has been ſhewn, next he called not only the learned and wiſe philoſophers and mathematicians, by means of ſome eclipſes, as ſhall be explained in this chapter, but alſo the omſaiis or prieſts, who were hardened in the errors of their heathen ſects, to the knowledge of the true religion, as the following chapter will make appear. And laſtly in the next to that we ſhall ſet down how he opened the way of ſalvation to the people by means of ſeveral prodigies and miracles.

Now to come to the manner of converting the wiſe and learned Cochin-Chineſe, reputed excellent mathematicians, by means of the eclipſe. For the better underſtanding of what follows, it is requiſite in the firſt place to be acquainted with a cuſtom they have in this kingdom relating to the ſcience of aſtrology, but particularly of eclipſes; for they make ſuch a great account of it, that they have large halls where it is taught in their univerſity, and there are ſpecial allowances aſſigned the aſtrologers; as for inſtance, lands which pay them a tribute or ſtipend. The King has his peculiar aſtrologers, and ſo has the Prince his ſon, who uſe all their art to ſet down eclipſes exactly. But wanting the reformation of the calendar and other matters, relating to the motion of the ſun and moon which we have, they commit ſome miſtakes in the calculation of the moons and eclipſes, wherein they generally err two or three hours, and ſometimes, though not ſo often a whole day; though generally they are right as to the material part of the eclipſe. Every time they hit right, the King rewards them with a certain quantity of land; and ſo when they miſtake, that ſame quantity is taken from them.

The reaſon why they make ſuch account of foretelling the eclipſe, is becauſe of the many ſuperſtitions at that time uſed towards the ſun and moon, for which they prepare themſelves in a very ſolemn manner: for the King being told the day and hour a month before the eclipſe happens, ſends orders throughout all the provinces of the kingdom, for the learned and common people to be in readineſs that day. When the time is come, all the lords in every province meet with their governors, commanders, and gentry, and the people with their proper officers in every city and liberty. The greateſt aſſembly is at court, where the principal men of the kingdom are, who all go out with colours and arms. Firſt goes the King clothed in mourning, and after him all the court, who lifting up their eyes to the ſun or moon, as the eclipſe comes on them, make ſeveral obeiſances and adorations, ſpeaking ſome words of compaſſion for the pain thoſe planets endure; for they look upon the eclipſe to be no other, but that the dragon ſwallows up the ſun or moon; and therefore, as we ſay, the moon is all or half eclipſed, ſo they ſay, "Da an nua, Da an het;" that is, the dragon has eaten half, now he eats all.

This way of expreſſion, though it be nothing to the purpoſe, yet it ſhews that they aſſign the ſame ground for the eclipſe originally that we do, which is the cutting of the eclipſe, that is the ſun's circle and the line of the courſe of the moon in thoſe two points which we call the dragon's head and tail, as aſtronomers well know: whence it follows, that the very ſame doctrine and the ſame terms and names of the dragon, are common to both us and them, and ſo they give names like ours to the ſigns of the zodiac, ſuch as Aries, Taurus, Gemini, &c. And thus in proceſs of time the people have invented fabulous cauſes of the eclipſe, inſtead of the true, ſaying that the ſun and moon, when eclipſed are drowned by the dragon; whereas at that time they are really in the head or tail of the aſtronomical dragon.

Now to ſpeak of the compaſſion they have for thoſe ſuffering planets; when the adoration is over, they begin firſt at the King's palace, and then throughout all the city, to fire muſkets and cannon, ring bells, ſound trumpets, beat drums, and play upon other inſtruments, even to the clattering of the kettles, and other utenſils of the kitchen in all houſes: and this is done in order that the dragon may be frightened with the great noiſe, and not proceed to eat any more but vomit up what he has already eaten of the ſun or moon.

When we were informed of this cuſtom, the firſt eclipſe that happened was one of the moon in the year 1620, on the 9th of December at eleven at night. I was then in the city of Nuoecman in the province of Pulucambi, where was the commander of the ward we lived in, whoſe ſon was become a Chriſtian; though the father, being proud of his own learning, deſpiſed not only our religion, but our knowledge; and we earneſtly deſired his converſion, hoping that if he received the Catholic faith, his example would induce thoſe of his ward or quarter to do the ſame. This man came once to viſit us before the eclipſe of the moon happened, and in diſcourſe we chanced to talk of it, he poſitively affirming there would be no ſuch eclipſe: and though we demonſtrated it to him, according to our calculation, and ſhewed him the figure of it in our books, yet he would never believe it; alledging among other arguments for his obſtinacy, that if any ſuch eclipſe were like to be, the King would doubtleſs have ſent him notice a month before, according to the cuſtom of the kingdom, whereas there wanted but eight days of the time by us appointed; wherefore he having no ſuch advice, it was a certain ſign there would be no ſuch eclipſe. He perſiſting obſtinately in his opinion would needs lay a wager of a cabaia, which is a ſilk gown. We agreed to it on condition that if we loſt we were to give him ſuch a garment; but if we won, inſtead of paying the gown, he was to come to us for eight days ſucceſſively, to hear the catechiſm and myſteries of our faith expounded. He replied, he would not only do ſo, but the very moment he ſaw the eclipſe would become a Chriſtian: for he ſaid, if our doctrine was ſo certain and infallible in ſuch hidden and heavenly things as eclipſes are, and theirs ſo erroneous, there was no doubt but our religion and knowledge of the true God was no leſs certain and ſafe, and theirs falſe. The day of the eclipſe being come, the aforeſaid gentleman, with a great many ſcholars, came to our houſe at night, bringing them as witneſſes of the event. But becauſe the eclipſe was to be at eleven at night, I went to ſay my office, turning up the hour glaſs in the meanwhile. An hour before the time theſe men came ſeveral times, calling upon me by way of deriſion to ſee the eclipſe, thinking I had not withdrawn to ſay my office, but had hid myſelf for ſhame that there would be no eclipſe. Yet they could not but wonder at my aſſurance in anſwering them that the hour was not yet come, till the glaſs was run out, which they gazed at, as if it had been ſome wonderful thing. Then going out, I ſhewed them that the circle of the

moon on that ſide the eclipſe began, was not ſo perfect as it ſhould be, and ſoon after all the moon being darkened, they perceived the truth of my prediction. The commander and all of them being aſtoniſhed, preſently ſent to give notice of it to all the ward, and ſpread the news of the eclipſe throughout the city, that every man might go out to make the uſual noiſe in favour of the moon; giving out every where, that there were no ſuch men as the fathers, whoſe doctrine and books could not fail being true, ſince they had ſo exactly foretold the eclipſe, which their learned men had taken no notice of; and therefore in performance of his promiſe, the commander with all his family became Chriſtians, as did many more of his ward, with ſome of the moſt learned men of the city and others of note.

Such another accident happened at the ſame time, though among people of greater quality, and in a more eminent place. Though the King's aſtrologers had not foreſeen this eclipſe, yet thoſe belonging to the Prince at Cacciam, being more ſtudious and intelligent, foretold it, but with a groſs miſtake as to the time: for it was not of an hour or two as uſual, but of a whole day, giving out that the full moon and conſequently the eclipſe would be a day ſooner than it was. F. Francis de Pina, who was then at court, had given notice of it to a courtier who was very great with the Prince, being his omgne; that is, ſimilar to maſter of the ceremonies. The father told him, that ſince the eclipſe was not to happen as their aſtrologers ſaid, but as F. Chriſtopher Borri affirmed, the following night, he ſhould give the Prince his maſter notice of it. But the omgne not giving entire credit to the father would not do that duty of his office at that time. The hour appointed by the aſtrologers being come, and the Prince having notice of it, he went out with his whole court, according to cuſtom, to ſee and help the moon, that as they ſaid was to be eclipſed; but finding he was deceived, and growing angry with his mathematicians for their miſtake, he ordered they ſhould forfeit the revenue of a town, according to the cuſtom before mentioned. Hence the omgne took occaſion to acquaint the Prince that the European father had, before this happened, told him the eclipſe would be the night following. The Prince was mightily pleaſed that the fathers ſhould hit right, where his mathematicians had miſcarried.

The omgne repaired immediately to the father, to know the preciſe time of the eclipſe; who having ſhewed him that it was to be exactly at eleven the following night, he ſtill continued doubtful of the truth of the matter, and therefore would not wake the Prince till he ſaw the beginning of the eclipſe. Then he ran to rouze him, and he coming out with ſome of his courtiers, performed the uſual ceremonies and adorations to the moon. Yet he would not make the matter publicly known, for fear of utterly diſcrediting their books and mathematicians, though all men conceived a great opinion of our doctrine, and particularly the omgne, who from that time forwards for a whole month came to hear the catechizing, diligently learning all that belongs to our holy faith. However he was not baptized, wanting reſolution to overcome the difficulty of the multiplicity of women, as the ambaſſador Ignatius had done before. He forbore not nevertheleſs with much fervour publicly to declare that our doctrine and law were true, and all others falſe, and ſaid he would certainly die a Chriſtian, which excited many others to deſire to be baptized.

Having mentioned the eclipſe of the moon, we will conclude with another of the ſun, which happened on the 22d of May 1621, and which the King's aſtrologers foretold was to laſt two hours; but having conceived a great opinion of us as to this particular, for their own greater ſecurity they came to aſk our opinion concerning it. I told them it was true there would be an eclipſe of the ſun, the figure of which I ſhewed

in our ephemerides; but I purpoſely forbore to let them know that it would not be ſeen in Cochin-China, by reaſon of the moon's parallax to the ſun. Now they know not what the parallax is, which is the reaſon they are often deceived, not finding the juſt time by their books and calculations. This I did, that their error being obſerved, our knowledge might appear the more: I therefore demanded time to find out the preciſe time, ſaying, in general terms, it was requiſite to meaſure heaven by the earth, to diſcover whether that eclipſe would be viſible in their country; and I delayed the anſwer ſo long, till the time of making known the eclipſe being come, the aſtrologers, ſatisfied that our book agreed with their opinion, without farther reflection, concluded the eclipſe was moſt certain, and adviſed the King to publiſh it after the uſual manner. When the aſtrologers had ſpread their falſe predictions throughout the kingdom, I gave it out that the eclipſe would not be ſeen at all in Cochin-China. This aſſertion of ours was communicated to the Prince, who being doubtful in the matter, ſent his mathematicians to me to aſk my opinion, and argue the point. This diſpute had no other effect on them but only to increaſe their doubt, and hold the Prince in ſuſpenſe, whether he ought to ſend his orders throughout the kingdom, as the King his father had done, or publiſh the contrary; for, on the one hand, it wrought upon him to ſee that both their books and ours granted the eclipſe, wherefore he thought it would be a diſhonour to him in caſe he happened not to have ſent the uſual advice; and, on the other hand, he had a great opinion of us on account of the antecedent eclipſe of the moon. Hereupon ſending to conſult me again, I anſwered, that having calculated the eclipſe very exactly, I found it could not poſſibly be viſible in his kingdom; and therefore he need not take any care to ſend advice about the country, for I would be anſwerable for his and his aſtrologers' reputation, againſt the King and his mathematicians. He at laſt relied upon my words, and took no care to give notice in his liberty of the eclipſe; the whole court and King's aſtrologers wondering at it, and they enquiring into the cauſe of the Prince's neglect, were anſwered, that he had better mathematicians in his court than the King his father: by which they underſtood that ſome of our fathers being there, he forſook the opinion of the natives for theirs. However the publication they had made being irrevocable, the uſual preparations were made againſt the day of the eclipſe, till the hour being come, they experimentally perceived their error. The day was clear and not a cloud to be ſeen, and though it was the month of May, when the ſun is there in the zenith, and the time of the day about three in the afternoon when the heat is violent, yet the King did not omit to go out with his courtiers, enduring all the burning ſun for a long time; but finding himſelf impoſed upon, and being much incenſed, as well on account of the great heat he endured as at the ignorance of his mathematicians, who had put him to that trouble without any reaſon, he reprimanded them ſeverely. They alleged for their excuſe that there would be an eclipſe infallibly, but that they had made a day's miſtake as to the conjunction of the moon, and therefore it would be ſeen the next day at the ſame hour. The King ſubmitted to his aſtrologers, and coming out the next day at the ſame hour, ſuffered the ſame inconvenience of heat, to the great ſhame of his aſtrologers, who eſcaped not unpuniſhed; for he not only took away their revenues, but ordered they ſhould kneel a whole day in the court of the palace bare-headed, expoſed to the heat of the ſun, and to the ſcorn of all the courtiers. To return to the Prince who had got the better in this point, he wrote to his father in a jeſting manner, that though he was his ſon, he had outdone him as to the eclipſe, and had more learned men at his court.

It is not to be imagined how much reputation this accident gained us among the learned, inſomuch that even the King's and Prince's mathematicians came to us, earneſtly

earneſtly begging we would receive them as our ſcholars; and upon this account the fame of the fathers was every where ſo great, that not only our knowledge in aſtronomy but our religion was extolled above their own; they arguing from the heavenly bodies to things above the heavens, as I ſaid before.

## CHAP. VII. — *How God opened another Way to Chriſtianity, by means of the Omſaiis, or Heathen Prieſts.*

GOD in his infinite wiſdom foreknowing of how great conſequence it would be for the converſion of thoſe heathens, that ſome of their prieſts or omſaiis ſhould be converted, becauſe of the great authority they have among all the people, it pleaſed his divine majeſty to open even this way to his holy faith. An omſaii, whoſe name was Ly, lived near to our houſe, and had the charge of an idol temple, and being a neighbour had frequent opportunities of converſing with us, and of coming to ſome knowledge of our rules, actions, and courſe of life. This pleaſed him ſo well, that proceeding ſtill farther, he would needs be informed as to the law of God, whereof we gave him a full account; and coming to diſcourſe of the reſurrection of our Lord, ſhewing him how he roſe again, that he and all men might riſe again the laſt day, he was ſo pleaſed at it, that being inſpired by God, he aſked to be baptized, which was accordingly granted to him and all his family on Chriſtmas night, which he ſpent on his knees in prayer with floods of tears, uttering theſe words: "*Tuii ciam biet;*" that is, "I knew not:" as if he would have ſaid, "Forgive me, my God, for till now I knew you not." Then continuing ſome time very ſtill, as it were contemplating, he repeated the ſame words, making a ſweet harmony to the new born infant. After baptiſm he took ſuch an affection for us, that he reſolved to come to us with all his family, that he might live under our rule; but being informed that could not be done, becauſe he was married, he reſolved to live nearer to our houſe, that he might regulate his actions by the ſound of our bell, even to ſaying the long litany in his oratory, at the time we uſed to ſay it every day, according to the cuſtom of the ſociety. And it is remarkable, that obſerving us at a certain hour uſed to ſay our beads walking, he would walk at the ſame time, to the amazement of his countrymen, who look upon walking as a ſtrange and ridiculous action, for they never going a ſtep but what is about buſineſs, or to ſome diverſion, regarded our walking as idle, becauſe we went to a place for no other purpoſe but to return; ſo that the people flocked to ſee us walk, and admiring the ſtrangeneſs of it ſaid, "*Omſaii di lay;*" that is, "the father goes and comes, goes and comes." Yet their gazing did not make omſaii Ly leave off his cuſtom, which tended to nothing but to be like us in all points. He had but one wife, and had lived about thirty years, which was his age, ſo ſtrictly up to the law of nature, that he had never, as he ſaid, to that time, knowingly deviated in any matter of conſequence from what was juſt and upright; and his adoring of idols was becauſe he thought it contrary to reaſon not to adore them. This ſhews how true that doctrine of divines is, namely, that God never fails to have baptiſm adminiſtered, either by the hands of men, as this was, or the miniſtry of angels, to a heathen who lives a good moral life, according to the dictates of reaſon and law of nature. This omſaii Ly wholly devoted himſelf to the ſervice of God, and after providing for the maintenance of his family, all he and they could earn was beſtowed upon our church, taking ſpecial care of its neatneſs and decency, and of adorning the altars.

Nor was this all God required of this his beloved ſervant; for he ſo inflamed his heart, that he applied himſelf to preach the faith of Chriſt publicly, making the myſtery

of the reſurrection the uſual ſubject of his diſcourſe, whereby he attracted and converted abundance not only of the common ſort, but ſeveral omſaiis; and though he was none of the moſt learned, yet his fervour ſo well ſupplied that defect, that among thoſe who came to deſire baptiſm there was one of the moſt learned and famous men of the kingdom, whoſe authority, he himſelf proving the falſity of the heathen ſects, immediately increaſed the harveſt of the church. This man therefore took upon him to oppoſe the other gentiles, eaſily confuting them, as being well acquainted with the grounds they went upon; hereby very much eaſing our fathers, who not being ſo well acquainted with their ſects, could not ſo well oppoſe them.

And in truth there was need of this aſſiſtance; for there is ſuch variety of omſaiis in that country, that it looks as if the devil had endeavoured among theſe gentiles to repreſent the beauty and variety of religious orders inſtituted by holy men in the Catholic church, their ſeveral habits anſwering their ſeveral profeſſions; for ſome are clad in white, others in black, ſome in blue, and other colours; ſome living in community, ſome like curates, chaplains, canons, and prebends; others profeſs poverty, living upon alms; others exerciſe the works of mercy, miniſtering to the ſick, either natural phyſic or magical charms, without receiving any reward; others undertaking ſome pious work, as building bridges or ſuch other things for the public good, or erecting temples, and going about the kingdom, begging alms to this purpoſe, even as far as the kingdom of Tonchin; others teach the doctrine of their religion, who being very rich, have public ſchools, as univerſal maſters. There are alſo ſome omſaiis who profeſs the farrier's trade, and compaſſionately cure elephants, oxen and horſes, without aſking any reward, being ſatisfied with any thing that is freely given them. Laſtly, others look to the monaſteries of women, who live in community, and admit of no man among them but the omſaii who looks after them, and they are all his wives.

There are vaſt temples with beautiful towers and ſteeples, nor is there any town, though never ſo little, without a temple to worſhip its idols, which are generally very large ſtatues with abundance of gold and ſilver ſhut up in their breaſts or bellies, where nobody dares to touch it, till extreme neceſſity obliges ſome thief to gut the idol, without regard to ſo great a ſacrilege as that is accounted among them; and what is very remarkable, they have chaplets and ſtrings of beads about their necks, and make ſo many proceſſions that they outdo the Chriſtians in praying to their falſe gods. There are alſo among them ſome perſons reſembling abbots, biſhops, and archbiſhops, and they uſe gilt ſtaves not unlike our croſiers, inſomuch that if any man come newly into that country, he might eaſily be perſuaded there had been Chriſtians there in former times: ſo near has the devil endeavoured to imitate us. This will give us an opportunity of here adding a chapter of the ſects in Cochin-China, to give ſome light how we may draw that people out of ſuch darkneſs, and bring them into the light of the goſpel.

## CHAP. VIII. — *A ſhort Account of the Sects in Cochin-China.*

THE end of all ſects is either the god they adore, or the glory and happineſs they expect; ſome believing the immortality of the ſoul, others concluding that all ends when the body dies. Upon theſe two principles the eaſtern nations build all their ſects; all which took their origin from a great metaphyſician of the kingdom of Siam, whoſe name was Xaca, much more ancient than Ariſtotle, and nothing inferior to him in capacity, and the knowledge of natural things. The acuteneſs of this man's wit

exciting him to conſider the nature and fabric of the world, reflecting on the beginning and end of all things, and particularly of human nature, the chief lady of this worldly palace; he once went up to the top of a mountain, and there attentively obſerving the moon, which riſing in the darkneſs of the night, gently raiſed itſelf above the horizon to be hid again the next day in the ſame darkneſs, and the ſun riſing in the morning to ſet again at night, he concluded that moral as well as phyſical and natural things were nothing, came of nothing, and ended in nothing. Therefore returning home, he wrote ſeveral books and large volumes on this ſubject, entitling them, "Of Nothing;" wherein he taught that the things of this world, by reaſon of the duration and meaſure of time, are nothing; for though they had exiſtence, ſaid he, yet they would be nothing, nothing at preſent, and nothing in time to come, for the preſent being but a moment, was the ſame as nothing.

His ſecond argument he grounded on the compoſition of things: let us inſtance, ſaid he, a rope, which not being naturally diſtinguiſhed from its parts, inaſmuch as they give its being and compoſition, ſo it appears that the rope as a rope is nothing; for as a rope it is no diſtinct thing from the threads it is compoſed of, and the hemp has no other being but the elements whereof its ſubſtance conſiſts; ſo that reſolving all things after this manner into the elements, and thoſe to a ſort of *materia prima* and mere *potentia*, which is therefore actually nothing, he at laſt proved, that the heavenly things, as well as thoſe under the heavens, were truly nothing!

In the ſame manner did he argue as to moral things: that the natural happineſs of man did not conſiſt in a poſitive concurrence of all that is good, which he looked upon as impoſſible, but rather in being free from all that is evil, and therefore ſaid, it was no other thing but to have no diſeaſe, pain, trouble, or the like; and for a man to have ſuch power over his paſſions as not to be ſenſible of affection or averſion, to honour or diſgrace, want or plenty, riches or poverty, life or death, and that herein conſiſted true beatitude: whence he inferred, that all theſe things being nothing, they took their origin as it were from a cauſe not efficient but material, from a principle which in truth was nothing but an eternal, infinite, immenſe, immutable, almighty, and to conclude, a God that was nothing, and the origin of this nothing!

As a prelude or introduction to his ſect, this philoſopher gave ſome account of the making of the world under two metaphors. The one was that the world came out of an egg, which ſtretched out ſo vaſtly that the heavens were made of the ſhell; the air, fire and water of the white; and of the yolk, the earth and all earthly things. The other metaphor he took from the body of a vaſt great man, whom they call Banco, whom he would call Microcoſm; ſaying, that the maſs of the world came from him, his ſcull extending to form the heavens, his two eyes making the ſun and moon, his fleſh the earth, his bones the mountains, his hair plants and trees, and his belly the ſea; and thus applying all the limbs and parts of man's body to the fabric and ornament of the world, he added, that the other men ſpread about all the world, were made of this great man's lice!

Having eſtabliſhed this doctrine of nothing, he gathered ſome ſcholars, by whoſe means he ſpread it throughout all the eaſt. But the Chineſe, who knew that a ſect which reduced all things to nothing was hurtful to the government, would not hearken to it, nor allow there was no puniſhment for wicked men, or that the happineſs of the good ſhould be reduced only to the being free from ſufferings in this world, and the authority of the Chineſe being ſo great, others following their example rejected his doctrine. Xaca diſſatisfied that he was diſappointed of followers, changed his mind, and retiring wrote ſeveral other great books, teaching that there was a real origin

origin of all things, a lord of heaven, hell, immortality, and tranſmigration of ſouls from one body to another, better or worſe, according to the merits or demerits of the perſon; though they do not forget to aſſign a ſort of heaven and hell for the ſouls of departed, expreſſing the whole metaphorically under the names of things corporeal, and of the joys and ſufferings of this world.

This ſecond doctrine being made public, the Chineſe received it, and above others the bonzes, who are generally the meaneſt and moſt inconſiderable people in Japan, who being zealous for their ſpiritual advantage admitted this doctrine, and preſerved it in twelve ſeveral ſorts of ſects all differing from one another, though that which is moſt followed and eſteemed is the opinion and ſect that believes all to be nothing, which they call genſiu. Theſe ſometimes go abroad into a field to hear a ſermon, that is, a diſcourſe of bliſs made by a bonzo, who treats of no other ſubject but to perſuade his congregation that human bliſs is nothing, and that he is happy who values not whether he has children or no children, whether he is rich or poor, ſick or well, and the like; and the bonzo preaches this doctrine with ſuch ſtrength of argument and vehemence, that the audience being fully bent upon the contempt of all things, which in themſelves they look upon as nothing, ſuffering themſelves to be in a manner tranſported, they expreſs their ſatisfaction and happineſs in this manner, often crying out with a loud voice, "xin, xin, xin," that is, nothing, nothing, nothing, accompanying their voices with certain bits of boards they clap between the fingers of one hand, ſtriking them together with the other (as boys play on their ſnappers), and with this noiſe they are quite beſide themſelves, as if they were drunk, and then they ſay they have done an act of bliſs. The Japaneſe and others making ſo great account of this opinion of nothing, was the cauſe that when Xaca the author of it approached his death, calling together his diſciples, he proteſted to them on the word of a dying man, that during the many years he had lived and ſtudied, he had found nothing ſo true, nor any opinion ſo well grounded as was the ſect of nothing; and though his ſecond doctrine ſeemed to differ from it, yet they muſt look upon it as no contradiction or recantation, but rather a proof and confirmation of the firſt, though not in plain terms, yet by way of metaphors and parables, which might all be applied to the opinion of nothing, as would plainly appear by his books.

But it is time to return to our Cochin-Chineſe, who not receiving this moſt fooliſh and vain doctrine, which denying the ſubſtantial form, reduces all things to nothing, they generally throughout all the kingdom hold the immortality of the ſoul, and conſequently eternal rewards for the juſt, and puniſhments for the wicked, yet mixing a thouſand errors with theſe truths. The firſt of which is, that they do not diſtinguiſh between the immortal ſoul and the demons, calling both by one and the ſame name Maa, and attributing to them both the ſame practice of doing miſchief to the living. The ſecond is, that they aſſign one of the rewards of the ſoul to be tranſmigration from one body to another more worthy, nobler, and in greater dignity; as from one of the common ſort to a King, or great lord. The third, that the ſouls of the dead ſtand in need of ſuſtenance and corporeal food, and therefore at certain times in the year according to their cuſtom, the children make plentiful entertainments for their dead parents, men for their wives, and friends for their acquaintance departed, waiting a long time for the dead gueſt to come and ſit down at table to eat. We one day confuted theſe errors with arguments, which philoſophers call *à priori*, and therefore told them, that the ſoul was a ſpirit, and had no mouth or other material part to eat, and therefore they were deceived to think they could feed. And then *à poſteriori*, for

in caſe they did eat, the diſhes would not be ſo full after they had done as they were before. They laughed at theſe arguments, ſaying, theſe fathers know nothing; and to ſolve both difficulties, anſwered, that meat conſiſted of two parts, one the ſubſtance, the other the accidents of quantity, quality, ſmell, taſte and the like. The immaterial ſouls of the dead, ſaid they, taking only the ſubſtance of the meat, which being immaterial was proper ſuſtenance for the incorporeal ſpirit, left only the accidents in the diſhes, as they appear to our corporeal eyes, to which purpoſe the dead had no need of corporeal parts, as we ſaid. Any wiſe man may by this falſe anſwer diſcover the acuteneſs of the Cochin-Chineſe philoſophers, though they abſolutely err as to the reality of the argument.

They alſo err in reſpect to the ſouls themſelves, adoring thoſe of men who were looked upon as holy in this world, adding them to the number of their idols, whereof their temples are full, placing orderly according to their ſeveral degrees, in rows along the ſides of the temples, the leaſt firſt, and ſo bigger and bigger till the laſt are extraordinary large. But the high altar being the moſt honourable place in the temple is purpoſely kept empty, behind which is a vacant dark ſpace, to expreſs that he whom they adore as God, and on whom the pagods call, who like us were viſible and corporeal men, is inviſible, wherein they think the greateſt honour conſiſts. Such a multitude of idols, by them accounted gods, giving us occaſion to endeavour to demonſtrate to them, that there can be but one only God; they anſwered, they agreed to it, ſuppoſing thoſe that were placed along the ſides of the temples, were not they that had created heaven and earth, but holy men whom they honoured, as we do the holy apoſtles, martyrs, and confeſſors, with the ſame diſtinction of greater and leſſer ſanctity, as we aſſign among our ſaints. And therefore to corroborate their aſſertion, they added, that the vacant dark place about the high altar, was the proper place of the creator of heaven and earth, who being inviſible, and quite remote from our ſenſes, could not be repreſented by viſible images of idols, but that under that vacuity and darkneſs, due adoration was to be given him as to a thing incomprehenſible, uſing the interceſſion of the idols, that they may obtain favours and bleſſings of him. And although, according to what has been hitherto ſaid, they ſeem to have an efficient and intellectual cauſe for God, yet upon mature examination of the matter and their books, we find that they certainly adore a predominant element.

## CHAP. IX. — *How God opened another Way to the Converſion of the meaner Sort by miraculous Means.*

IT remains that we ſhew how God acted conformably to the mean vulgar people of Cochin-China, who were accuſtomed to ſee phantoms, viſions, and apparitions, the devil often appearing to them, was pleaſed to ſhew ſome miracles, to the end that declining in their opinion of diabolical prodigies, they might own the only Lord and ſingular worker of true wonders. The devils appear ſo frequently among thoſe heathens, that not to ſpeak of the oracles they deliver by the mouth of idols, which are in great eſteem among the wretched gentiles, they walk about the cities ſo familiarly in human ſhapes, that they are not at all feared, but admitted into company; and this is carried ſo far that there are abundance of Incubi and Succubi. And among great people thoſe huſbands account themſelves happy who know their wives to have ſuch familiars; for generally they have to do with none but married women, publicly boaſting that they are worthy to mix with a nature ſo much above their own as is the devils. It happened in my time, that a woman of great quality, mother of two ſons who

who were Chriſtians, envied by her neighbours, not ſo much for her beauty, as for her diſhoneſt familiarity with a devil, poſitively refuſing to become a Chriſtian, happened to die in labour, and by the aſſiſtance of the devil brought forth two eggs. Now it being held as moſt certain among them, that the devil her Incubus was god of the rivers, they did not bury the body in a cave, building a chapel over it, as is the uſual cuſtom, but carrying it in ſolemn proceſſion to a river, caſt it, into the deep, together with the two eggs, ſaying, "let her go to the lord of the river ſince ſhe was worthy to have to do with him when living." Among the common ſort this filthineſs is not eſteemed an honour, but they rather account it a grievous diſtemper when their women are thus moleſted by the devil, as we ſhould their being poſſeſſed. Theſe women therefore underſtanding that the religion of the fathers was altogether oppoſite to the devil, they imagined they might have ſome medicine againſt this diſtemper, calling holy things, as the water of baptiſm, Agnus Dei's, and the like medicines, and therefore came to our houſe to beg ſuch medicines; and by the grace of God all thoſe that carried away with them any bit of Agnus Dei, were never more moleſted by the devil, yet with this difference, that thoſe who were not Chriſtians ſaw the Incubus come to the bed-ſide, but had not power to lay hold on or touch their perſons, whereas the Chriſtians perceived that he could not come near the chamber door, which occaſioned ſeveral to be baptized.

Though theſe Incubi devils appearing in human ſhapes do no harm to the body, yet ſometimes there are others that appear in horrid and frightful ſhapes, and the Cochin-Chineſe who have often ſeen, deſcribe them after the ſame manner as we paint them, for example, with a cock's face, a long tail, a bat's wings, a hideous look, bloody flaming eyes; and when they appear in ſuch ſhapes, they are much feared, being then generally hurtful to men, ſometimes carrying them up to the tops of houſes to caſt them down headlong. We once heard a wonderful noiſe of people in our ſtreet, crying out very loud, "Magui Maco," that is, the devil in a monſtrous ſhape; whereupon ſome gentiles came running to beſeech, that as we had weapons againſt thoſe evil ſpirits, we would go relieve thoſe diſtreſſed people who were infeſted by them. Having recommended ourſelves to God, and armed ourſelves with croſſes, Agnus Deis and relics, two of us went to the place where the devil was, and came ſo near, that we only wanted turning round a corner to be upon him, when he ſuddenly vaniſhed, leaving three prints of feet upon the pavement, which I ſaw, and were above two ſpans long, with the marks of a cock's talons and ſpurs. Some attributed the devils flying to the virtue of the holy croſs and relics we carried with us.

Theſe frightful apparitions God has made uſe of to attract many to his holy faith, yet not denying them good viſions, as will appear, by the following accidents, which happened before me in that kingdom. The firſt was, as we were one day in our own houſe, we ſaw a proceſſion of a vaſt multitude of people in a field, making towards us, and when they came, being aſked what they would have, they anſwered, that a moſt beautiful lady came from their land through the air, on a throne of bright clouds, who bid them go to that city, where they ſhould find the fathers, who would ſhew them the ſure way to bliſs, and the knowledge of the true God of heaven. This made us give thanks to the bleſſed Virgin, whoſe great benefit this was acknowledged to be, and having catechized and baptized the people, ſent them home well pleaſed.

The ſecond was at another time, F. Francis Buzome and I returning homeward together, ſuch a multitude of people came to another place, who having paid us very much reſpect, told F. Francis Buzome, they were come to him to teach them what he promiſed them the night before when he was in their town. The father was aſtoniſhed

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at their demand, having never been in the place they ſpoke of; but examining into the matter, I found that God of his infinite mercy had cauſed ſome angel in the father's ſhape, or in a dream, had given thoſe people ſome knowledge of our holy faith. The fame of theſe miracles being ſpread abroad, ſuch numbers of people were converted, that the church given us by the governor was too little, and we were obliged to build one larger, his wife, children and kindred, with many other Chriſtians, contributing towards it.

## CHAP. X. — *Of the Churches and Chriſtians of Faifo, Turon and Cacchiam.*

F. FRANCIS de Pina being gone to Faifo, a city of the Japaneſe, as before mentioned, he there joined F. Peter Marques, and they did great ſervice in that city. The latter, who was maſter of the Japaneſe tongue, in a ſhort time reformed ſome of thoſe Chriſtians who were become libertines and kept women, and converted many pagans. The other, who underſtood the language of Cochin-China, made many Chriſtians, and having convinced ſome bonzos and omſaiis, by that means drew over many more to the holy faith; ſo that between the Japaneſe and Cochin-Chineſe, that church for number and religious obſervance might be compared with many in Europe; ſuch was their piety, zeal, frequenting of the ſacraments, and other godly works. The church of Turon, which we mentioned in the ſecond chapter of this book the heathens burnt down during the firſt perſecution, was by God's permiſſion rebuilt by means of the fathers of the ſociety, who gained many Chriſtians in that city.

Abundance of people were likewiſe converted to our faith at Cacchiam; which good work was much forwarded by the Omgne, who, on account of the father's foretelling the eclipſe ſo certainly, as was before obſerved, publicly affirmed there was no other true religion but that which the fathers taught. This was the ſtate of affairs there, when I came away out of that country for Europe, which was in the year 1622.

Afterwards, by the annual letters ſent me by thoſe fathers my companions left there cultivating that vineyard, I underſtood that there were ſtill about a thouſand converted and baptized in a year, and that Chriſtianity flouriſhed more than ever it had done, at Cacchiam particularly. But now of late they write, that the King had forbid any more becoming Chriſtians, and threatened to expel the fathers out of the kingdom, becauſe the Portugueſe trade failed. Yet it pleaſed God this perſecution went no further, the King being ſatisfied, provided one of the fathers went away to Macao, to endeavour to perſuade the Portugueſe to continue the trade, as it ſeems was afterwards done; ſo that things are now quiet, and the fathers continue gaining new Chriſtians as they did at firſt.

## CHAP. XI. — *Of the Kingdom of Tunchim.*

WHEN the ſuperiors of Macao ſent me into Cochin-China, they told me they did not abſolutely intend I ſhould continue in that miſſion, but only to learn the language, that I might afterwards diſcover the kingdom of Tunchim. For this reaſon, during the five years I dwelt there, I almoſt made it my buſineſs to enquire into and obtain certain information of the affairs of that kingdom, the language being the ſame, as formerly it was but one kingdom. I will therefore mention as much of it as any way concerns Cochin-China, which has ſome dependence upon Tunchim, and this according

ing to the accounts given me by natives of Tunchim, who came to the province of Pulucambi, where I reſided moſt part of my time; the reſt I will leave to the news we ſhall receive from our fathers, who are there ſtill making further diſcoveries.

This kingdom, beſides Cochin-China, which belongs to it, contains four other provinces, all extending equally in length and breadth. In the very centre of them is the royal city of Tunchim, from which the whole kingdom takes its name; there the court is kept and the King reſides, being encompaſſed on all ſides by thoſe four provinces, compoſing a ſquare four times as big as Cochin-China. On the eaſt ſide of this kingdom is the gulf of Ainam, into which falls a great and navigable river that runs down eighteen leagues from the city Tunchim, and Japaneſe ſhips called jonks go up it. This river generally overflows twice a year, in June and November, drowning almoſt half the city, but it does not laſt long. On the ſouth are the frontiers of Sinuva, the court of Cochin-China, as has been already obſerved. On the north of it is China, without the defence of a wall, the trade and commerce between the Chineſe and Tunchimeſe being ſo mutual and conſtant, that it will not allow of walls and gates ſhut as they are againſt other foreigners. This is the reaſon that induces the fathers of the ſociety to attempt the entrance into China that way, knowing they ſhall not on this ſide meet with all thoſe impediments that ſtrangers meet with throughout all the reſt of the kingdom, and more eſpecially about Canton. Laſtly, on the weſt it borders on the kingdom of Lais, into which F. Alexander Rhodes of Avignon made his way through Cochin-China: and this kingdom I am of opinion cannot but border upon that of Tibet, newly diſcovered; which I am apt to believe, as well by reaſon of the extent and length of the land of Tibet and borders of Lais, as by the greatneſs and compaſs of theſe two kingdoms, it ſeems impoſſible that any other land ſhould lie betwixt them; as alſo much more on account of what the ſame fathers who were there, relate of Tibet, who report that the fartheſt province of Tibet eaſtward borders upon and trades with a people who ſell them raw ſilk and fine diſhes, like thoſe of China, and ſuch like commodities, which we know Tunchim abounds in, and ſell them to the Laiis.

As to the government of this kingdom it is hereditary, and ruled as follows: — The ſupreme regal dignity reſides in one they call Buna; but he of himſelf does nothing at all, every thing being left to his favourite, whom they call Chiuua, whoſe power is ſo abſolute both in peace and war, that he is come by degrees to own no ſuperior; the Buna remaining in his royal palace, quite cut off from all management of the public affairs, ſatisfied with an exterior reſpect due to him as a ſort of ſacred perſon, and with the authority of making laws, and confirming all edicts. When the Chiuua dies, he always endeavours to have his ſon ſucceed him in the government; but for the moſt part it falls out that the tutors of thoſe ſons aſpiring themſelves to that dignity, endeavour to murder them, and by that means poſſeſs themſelves of the dignity of Chiuua.

The Chiuua's power is ſo great, that, agreeable to the largeneſs of the kingdom, he is able to bring into the field three or four times the number of men as the King of Cochin-China, whoſe army, as mentioned above, amounts to eighty thouſand men. Nor is it any difficult matter for the Chiuua, as often as he pleaſes to raiſe three hundred thouſand armed men or more, becauſe the chief lords of his kingdom, ſuch as among us, dukes, marquiſſes, and earls, are obliged in time of war to furniſh them at their own expence. The Buna's ſtrength is not above forty thouſand men for his guard. Yet he is always owned as ſuperior to the Chiuua of Tunchim by the King of Cochin-China,

and by that other Chiuua we obſerved in the firſt book to be fled into the province bordering upon China, though theſe are continually at war againſt one another; and the King of Lais bordering upon Tunchim pays him a certain tribute.

Therefore when we ſay this crown is hereditary, it is to be underſtood only in reference to the Buna, whoſe children always ſucceed, the royal race being continued in his family. This is as much as I thought fit briefly to ſay of the kingdom of Tunchim, from what I could learn of it till my return into Europe.

Since then I have been informed, that F. Julian Baldinotte, an Italian born at Piſtoria in Tuſcany, was ſent into that kingdom to make ſome way for the goſpel, and arrived from Macao at the city Tunchim after a month's ſail. As to what the ſaid father found in that country, what paſſed between the King and him, the ſolemnity of his reception, and the firſt foundation he laid for Chriſtianity, I refer the reader to the account given lately by that father himſelf; and we are ſtill expecting freſh advices from the other fathers, as F. Peter Marques, a Portugueſe, and F. Alexander Rhodes of Avignon, who we ſaid before had been in Cochin-China, and are there ſtill gaining Chriſtians. We therefore hope both theſe kingdoms of Tunchim and Cochin-China will ſoon be united to the flock of the church, acknowledging and giving the due obedience to the univerſal paſtor and vicar of Chriſt our Lord on earth.

## *The Concluſion.*

IT is impoſſible but that ſuch as have leaſt inclination to the diſcovery of the world, and are moſt affected to their own countries and homes, muſt be excited by this ſhort account to deſire to ſee not only the variety but the truth of ſuch ſtrange things, which, though they be not ſupernatural, may yet be termed miracles of nature. Such are thoſe I have mentioned I ſaw in Cochin-China, a land as to its climate and ſeaſons of the year habitable, on account of the fruitfulneſs of its ſoil abounding in proviſions, fruit, birds and beaſts, and the ſea in choice and delicious fiſh; and moſt healthy becauſe of the excellent temperature of the air, inſomuch that theſe people do not yet know what the plague is. It is rich in gold, ſilver, ſilk, calamba, and other things of great value, fit for trade on account of the ports and reſort of all nations; peaceable becauſe of their loving, generous and ſweet diſpoſition; and laſtly ſecure, not only by the valour and bravery of the Cochin-Chineſe, accounted ſuch by other countries, and their ſtore of arms, and ſkill in managing them; but even by nature, which has incloſed it on the one ſide by the ſea, and on the other by the rocky alps and uncouth mountains of the Kemois. This is that part of the earth called Cochin-China which wants nothing to make it a part of heaven, but that God ſhould ſend thither a great many of his angels, ſo St. John Chryſoſtom calls apoſtolical men, and preachers of the goſpel. How eaſily would the faith be ſpread abroad in this kingdom of Cochin-China, where there are not thoſe difficulties which we fathers of the ſociety diſperſed about the eaſt meet with in other countries; for there is no need here of being diſguiſed or concealed, theſe people admitting all ſtrangers into their kingdom, and being well pleaſed that every one ſhould live according to his own religion. Nor is it neceſſary before preaching to ſpend many years in ſtudying their letters and hieroglyphics, as the fathers in China do, for here it is enough to learn the language, which as has been mentioned is ſo eaſy, that a man may preach in a year. The people are not ſhy, nor do they ſhun ſtrangers, as is practiſed in other eaſtern nations, but make much of them, are pleaſed with their perſons, prize their commodities, and commend their doctrine.

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They do not lie under that great impediment to receiving the grace of the goſpel, that is, the ſin of ſodomy, and others contrary to nature, which is frequent in all the other eaſtern countries, the very name of which the Cochin-Chineſe naturally abhor. In ſhort, theſe people may very eaſily be taught the principal myſteries of our holy faith; they, as we have ſhewn, in a manner adoring but one only God, accounting the idols as inferior ſaints, allowing the immortality of the ſoul, eternal puniſhments for the wicked, and bliſs for the juſt, uſing temples, ſacrifices, proceſſions, ſo that changing the objects, it would be eaſy to introduce the true worſhip. That there will be no difficulty in making out the myſtery of the holy euchariſt may appear by the diſtinction they make between the accidents and ſubſtance of the meat they provide for the dead, as before mentioned in this ſecond book. All theſe things inflame the minds of the children of the ſociety, who, though recluſe and ſhut up in the colleges and provinces of Europe, have an ardent deſire to convert the world. And though many of them put it in practice with the aſſiſtance of the holy ſee apoſtolic, which with a fatherly care relieves the miſſion of Japan, as alſo by his catholic majeſty King Philip, and his council of the Indies, who ſo frequently with incredible bounty ſupply the Eaſt and Weſt Indies with miniſters of the goſpel; yet it is impoſſible that theſe two great pillars, which ſupport other mighty weights, and bear almoſt all the world on their ſhoulders, can ſufficiently ſupply all that daily occurs and is diſcovered. I therefore truſt in God that his divine providence will rouze up ſome generous ſoul, inflamed with the zeal of God's honour, to ſend and maintain ſome evangelical miniſters, who, ſatisfied with a religious and poor ſuſtenance, may convey the food of the goſpel, not only throughout Cochin-China, but unto the great kingdom of Tunchim, founding a church and Chriſtian flock that may be compared with the moſt renowned in the world.

END OF THE NINTH VOLUME.

Strahan and Preſton,
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